
Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Culture

Divider Title: _____

✓

Copyright 1993 Star Tribune
Star Tribune

November 2, 1993, Metro Edition

SECTION: News; CULTURAL CLASH // Doing business in Russia

HEADLINE: Having a Radisson in Moscow helps pave way for U.S. business deals

BYLINE: Josephine Marcotty; Staff Writer

BODY:

Second of five stories.

Radisson's Slavjanskaya Hotel in Moscow is by no means the most elegant in the city.

The Metropole, with its stained glass ceilings and white marble staircase, can claim that honor. Nor is the Slavjanskaya the most efficient - the German-owned and managed Marco Polo attracts contingents of Japanese businessmen who like its level of service.

But the three-year-old Slavjanskaya is an American oasis in an alien city. It's comfortable, familiar and, it is said, more business deals have been cut in the lobby bar than anywhere else in Russia. U.S. senators and corporate executives stay there. The U.S. ambassador lunches at the hotel.

As the gathering spot for Americans, the Slavjanskaya makes Moscow a small town.

Creating this ease in a city that borders on the dysfunctional has required a Herculean effort far larger than what is normal in operating a hotel. And running a hotel that lives up to Western standards is without a doubt one of the most problematic business investments that can be made in the middle of the chaos that is Moscow today.

Virtually everything in the hotel, from pats of butter to the point-of-sale computer system, is shipped in from America or Europe, adding 30 to 35 percent to the cost of doing business - and the prices for guests. For every \$ 1 in payroll, the hotel pays 85 cents in taxes to the Russian government. Still, to get phones repaired it has to mollify the city telephone repair crew.

For Radisson, a subsidiary of Minnetonka-based Carlson Companies, the Slavjanskaya is worth the hassles because its significance goes far beyond the profits that it now generates. It is the company's gateway to the other half of the world - the former Soviet bloc - and a market that is virtually hotel-free.

"Some of my friends have said you are a pioneer and pioneers end up with their faces in the mud and arrows in their backs," said John Norlander, president of Radisson Hotels. "We want to establish ourselves as international players, and if we can learn to live under these awful conditions we can survive under any conditions."

Selling comfort

The Slavjanskaya has more than survived - it's thriving. It has 400 of the estimated 3,500 hotel rooms in Moscow that are up to Western standards. But they are not nearly enough to satisfy the number of Westerners moving through the city, despite prices that range from a low of \$ 215 a night at the Slavjanskaya to \$ 350 at the Metropole.

The conditions that Norlander referred to are indeed awful. It has always been difficult - if not impossible - to do business in Russia. Though the doors have now been opened for Western investment, the last three years of economic turmoil have created a different set of problems. Nothing illustrates that better than the Kievskaya train station, which is separated from the Slavjanskaya by only a wrought iron fence.

All train travelers going to or from Ukraine pass through this station. If Russia is in bad economic shape, the Ukraine is desperate with some regions on the verge of starvation. The Russian ruble, useless elsewhere in the world, is worth far more than the Ukrainian ruble. The massive stone station teems day and night with crowds who have come to find money and work. Many of them drag huge bundles and carts full of things to sell at the markets or on the streets of Moscow.

All public gathering points in Moscow, including train stations, are said to be controlled by gangs who are organized for economic gain - everything from "protection" for vendors to theft. Westerners in their trench coats and anoraks stand out as wealthy, easy marks, as they would in any impoverished nation.

For an American, stepping through the gate to the Slavjanskaya is, literally, crossing a perimeter to a comfortable, safe and predictable environment. And walking through the front doors is like entering a downtown Minneapolis hotel.

To the right is the coffee shop that sells cappuccino and croissants. Past the elevators is the bar area that spills its plump couches and chairs into the wide-open atrium. The language you hear is English and the laughter boisterously American.

This familiarity is what the Slavjanskaya sells.

The systems that support it are huge but unobtrusive. "You won't see them, but they're there," said Dick Mason, general manager of the hotel.

That is especially true of the security systems and guards. "We wanted to keep an open environment," Mason said, in keeping with an American-style hotel. That contrasts with other Moscow hotels, where security guards and TV cameras crowd the entrances and people who look "Russian" - that is, not well dressed - are usually turned away.

Fighting graft

The Slavjanskaya is not above turning away questionable people, but largely it uses other methods to ensure a classically Western environment. The bar takes only credit cards - the better to keep out prostitutes and other undesirables. And after 10 p.m., hotel staff members do spot checks to determine if people going up the elevators have resident cards proving that they are guests.

At some hotels in Moscow prostitutes wander the hallways at night, knocking on doors to offer their services.

The rise in prostitution and theft in Moscow is largely attributable to desperate economic times and the disarray of the legal system that cannot enforce the laws. Moreover, those crimes are equally prevalent in many Third World countries.

Bribery and what by American standards would be described as corruption, are and always have been a way of life in Moscow. The Russian perspective is that you must pay in advance to ensure adequate service, and bribes are considered a regular - and necessary - source of income.

The Slavjanskaya, by virtue of its prominent position in Moscow and as an American emissary of sorts, refuses to pay graft either to gangs or government officials in order to get things done. It's a policy typical of Minnesota corporations established in Russia.

So the staff at the Slavjanskaya has learned to be creative.

When the local phone system was shorted out by heavy rains, it caused chaos in the hotel complex, which also has a business center and office suites it rents to Western companies, including several news services.

Requests to the city for service were fruitless.

"So we went out in a truck and found the workmen in the manhole," Mason said. "We brought the workmen hot coffee and sandwiches, and transported them to and from their homes for several nights just to get the work done. You have to be actively involved in solving the problem."

The work ethic

That proactive stance is especially important in conveying American standards of service and work ethic to Russian employees. It is by far one of the Radisson's most difficult tasks.

It has a staff of 1,100 Russians, hired using some fairly unusual criteria. Those with previous experience in Russian hotels and restaurants need not apply. The hotel prefers to start fresh rather than try to break old attitudes about service. To get the job, applicants have to smile at least once during the interview, and anyone who says that paying bribes is acceptable is politely ushered to the door.

There remains, however, an undeniable work ethic gap between the Americans and Russians that at times seems insurmountable. It is clearly expressed by the conflict in Irina Kashkovskaya's life.

She is a server - a waitress - in the new Press Club restaurant the Slavjanskaya opened last month, one of four restaurants on the premises. Before coming to work at the hotel she was a school teacher, earning about 40,000 rubles per month, or \$ 40.

As a waitress at the Radisson she earns a minimum ruble salary of 7,740 per month, plus \$ 195 per month in incentive pay if she meets certain criteria, and tips in hard currency. All

told, she earns the equivalent of 200,000 rubles, or \$ 200 per month, waiting tables. That makes her one of the top paid workers in Moscow.

Despite the money, she finds herself in a quandary.

"This is very difficult for me," she said. "The profession of server is not respectable. My mother is a teacher; my father is an engineer. I haven't told them I am a server. I tell them I am a hostess because they don't know what a hostess is, and I say it is something like an interpreter. If I tell them I am a server, they won't accept me."

Her family - including her husband, she said - did not believe that the higher salary, the opportunity for advancement and education that came with the waitressing job was worth taking what they believe is a less respectable position. In short, in Russia graft is OK. Waitressing is not.

Yet at the same time the Slavjanskaya and Western companies in general have no shortage of applicants, proving that there are plenty of Russians like Kashkovskaya who understand the stepping stone concept of work or those who simply want higher salaries.

Expanding market

The Slavjanskaya is not the only hotel that has had to figure out how to create Western luxury and efficiency in a Russian environment. There are now 10 Western-style hotels like the Slavjanskaya in Moscow, and one more slated to open in the next year or two.

The Slavjanskaya, however, was the first Western hotel company to enter the market after Mikhail Gorbachev opened up the country through perestroika.

The project started as a joint venture between what used to be In tourist and Radisson. After the break-up of the Soviet Union, In tourist became Mosintour, the Moscow government entity that controls Moscow's hotel industry and tourism.

The opportunity to be a partner with the Russians was brought to the Radisson by H.R. (Bob) Haldeman, President Nixon's former right-hand man who has interests in the hotel industry and who knew that Radisson was looking for a way into Russia. Haldeman is a principal in Americom, the company that is Radisson's majority partner in the American half of the joint venture.

Americom's investment was a critical piece of the ownership structure because after the coup two years ago, the political uncertainty caused the bank financing for the project to fall apart. The banking industry's wariness was well founded. During the start-up phase of the project the Russians "lost" \$ 600,000 of Radisson's money for six weeks when it was transferred to a government-controlled bank.

"They made use of our money until we figured out a way to force them to give it back," Norlander said. To do that Radisson had to "find the right people," he said.

The Russian banking system has improved somewhat, in part because there are now many banks and corporations that do not have to do business with the "government" bank and because some banking regulations have been established. Radisson, of course, also has

developed relationships, learned how the Russian system works and proved through its staying power that it's a contender.

Cold cash

The problem of doing business in a country with a limited ability to exchange rubles for hard currency is a major hurdle for Western companies. Radisson is fortunate that the hotel's clientele is almost exclusively Westerners. Its revenue stream is from credit cards and dollars, allowing it to bypass the Russian monetary system almost entirely. The company declined to reveal what the hotel's revenues or its profits are, and would say only that its investment costs are in "the millions."

Companies doing other types of business in Russia are often not so fortunate, and spend months trying to find opportunities that generate hard currency and a means of repatriating profits.

Ownership of property is another major barrier to doing business in the Western fashion, and the Slavjanskaya's solution, though typical, shows the precariousness of the project.

The hotel leases both the hotel and the land from the city of Moscow, which owns both - at least Radisson hopes. Of course, if the government, the officials or the laws change, the lease agreement could suddenly be moot.

If that were to occur, the country's poorly developed court system and laws probably wouldn't be able to resolve the dispute.

The Radisson is confident that its position is as secure as possible, but a rational system for ownership of property is just one of the issues that the Russian government has not yet addressed.

That lack of control over assets, however, continues to be a problem in bank financing for the Radisson and other corporations. This year the hotel plans to start upgrading its first-generation guest rooms, which are comfortable and clean but quite plain, to those with higher ceilings and more elegant furnishings. The construction costs will be paid for with the hotel's cash flow, not debt.

The project will take two to three times longer than it would in the West, Mason said, because the Russian workers are hampered by lack of experience and insufficient tools.

At this point, however, those problems are minor. The Radisson is now a player in the Russian market as evidenced by the fact that it has two more hotels under construction - one in Riga, Latvia and the other in Sochi, a resort town in Russia on the Black Sea. And it expects to complete negotiations for a management contract on a second Moscow hotel in six months.

Russia, after all, has 11 time zones and is three times the size of the United States, with hardly a Western hotel on the horizon.

So the Slavjanskaya is not just a hotel - it's a beachhead.

Copyright 1993 RUSSICA Information Inc. - RusData
DiaLine

Russian Press Digest

May 14, 1993

SECTION: News

LENGTH: 1264 words

HEADLINE: Resources Of The Family In The Changing World

BYLINE: Yevgenniya Manucharova

SOURCE: IZVESTIA, p. 6

HIGHLIGHT:

Russia will survive only if more attention is given to moulding healthy and happy families.

BODY:

Almost one half of the sentenced criminals in Russia are juveniles. Most of them have no families, do not work or study -- for them, the Mafia has become their home, place of employment and school. Degradation, helplessness and dysfunction of the family -- the main element that makes up a society -- lead to the formation of a whole multitude of "social orphans," and this means that the state is being deprived of its future citizens, the author writes in her commentary on the United Nations' decision to proclaim 1994 -- International Year of the Family.

The solution of this pressing problem of "strengthening the family" will require serious efforts on the part of the Government, declared Ludmilla Bezlepkina, Director of the Department for Families, Women and Children, in the Social Protection Ministry, at a meeting conducted by the First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeiko.

Russia, IZVESTIA writes, has decided to actively participate in this worldwide undertaking next year. True, the author notes, the decision is "somewhat late," but nevertheless, the Government's efforts are aimed in that direction.

The role of the family as the prime and basic element in society is to be firmly fixed in the President's draft of the Constitution [see relevant RPD files]. Shumeikov underscored the need to raise the "state status" of the family, "because without that, we will not be able to raise Russia."

It is expected that a whole package of laws concerning the family is to be adopted, while the Government is working out the concept of a family policy that is to dovetail with the new economic policy of the country.

Bezlepkina explained that although discrimination of women in Russia had been "juridically eliminated," the status of women still remains "very acute" in this country. And this "real lack of rights" for women directly affects the functioning of families, breeds greater numbers of orphans, higher rates of juvenile delinquency, lower birth rates and shorter life expectancy.

In her commentary, the author emphasizes that in order to cope with this task, the Government will have to give serious thought to "purposeful financing" and creating an integrated network of special establishments for educating delinquents and providing them with medical care.

"No matter how complicated tasks in this area may be," she concludes, "they are, nevertheless, surmountable, if one understands the main thing: it is possible to save Russia, only by saving the family."

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE-MDC: May 17, 1993

DAILY LOG for FIRST LADY
from MCA
12/6/93

*Belena -
please
see me*

CORRESPONDENCE:

-- 12/4/93 fax from Derek Shearer - He and Ruth appreciated seeing you Friday.

He suggests idea for the book - Letters to the First Lady. Have staff put together ASAP to get out early in 1994 and help build pressure for the health plan. Find a publisher, such as Random House, that could get it out quickly.

He offers suggestions for your trip to Russia and recommends that your staff contact Katrina Van Den Heuvel, the one woman in the states who is a expert on Russian women in politics. She's married to Steve Cohen, Professor of Politics at Princeton and one of leading experts on Russia in U.S. She and Steve will be in Russia December 16 - January 2. Try to peruse Lenin's Tomb by David Remnick. Best book on how women suffered under Soviet system is by Francoise Du Plessix Grey

Have great family Christmas. They'll see you when they come back to DC for Ambassador School. They look forward to having you visit them in Helsinki.

☒ See		
☒ Direct cc to	<i>Patti -</i>	for followup on book
☒ Direct cc to		for followup on Russia
trip		<i>per HRC</i>
Respond		

derek shearer

655 ashland avenue • santa monica • california 90405 • tel: 399-51

To: Hillary Clinton
Office of 1st Lady
Fax: 202-456-6244

From: Derek Shearer

Fax: 310-452-7899

Message:

*Personal memo for Hillary attached.
3 pages to follow.*

If there is any problem with this transmission,
please call: 310-399-5924



OCCIDENTAL COLLEGE
1600 CAMPUS ROAD
LOS ANGELES, CA 90041-3314

*Kim Tillet
- This is
the origin of
the Russian
women - wbg Peter
Jeff McAnally*

Dec. 4 1993

*12/10
She will
Send
info*

Dear Hillary,

Ruth and I appreciated the chance to see you yesterday, and to catch up on personal and family stuff.

As a follow-up to some of what we talked about:

(1) The idea for the book--Letters to the First Lady. I think that you should have your staff put this together as soon as possible, so that you could get it out early in 1994, and have it help build pressure for the health plan. The letters should mostly be ones dealing with health matters, and you might give the book a subtitle like: Why we have to change our health system. You could write a brief intro, and perhaps Koop could put in a word.

The first place to look for a publisher who could get this out quickly might be Random House. Talk to Peter Osnos, the chief editor. Peter handled the extremely quick production of Putting People First. He's an old friend of Eli Segal's, and I believe that Eli set up the deal with Peter for publishing PPF.

I think that this could be a best seller. You should also announce that all profits from the book would go to a children's health foundation, or some health related cause.

(2) Your trip to Russia early next year. I've attached a good article on women in Russian politics from the Financial Times. While I'm sure that Strobe, the Embassy, and other American officials will have some ideas of Russian women for you to meet, I recommend that you have your staff contact the one woman in the states who is an expert on Russian women in politics. Her name is Katrina Van Den Heuvel. She's a friend, and married to Steve Cohen, Professor of Politics at Princeton and one of the leading experts on Russia in the U.S. (Steve is CBS's commentator on Russian events.)

* Katrina's number is: 212-222-9320, Fax: 212-865-3873. She and Steve will be in Russia from Dec. 16 - Jan. 2, in case you decide to ask her down to brief you, something that I'd recommend. You should ask your staff, at a minimum, to get copies of Katrina's articles about Russian women for you. Steve, in fact, will be over for Bill's Summit with Yeltsin, doing CBS commentary. You might even consider, if you like Katrina, seeing about having her accompany you. I believe that her Russian is fluent. In any case, I can't think of a better, smarter woman in the US to brief you and to suggest smart women for you to meet. *

(Note: Steve is a bit skeptical about our leaning too much on Yeltsin.)

Other more general material on Russia: try to peruse the book, Lenin's Tomb by David Remnick, the New Yorker's Russian expert. David was formerly the WP's man in Moscow. Probably the best book on how women suffered under the Soviet system is the one by the Francois Du Plessix Grey (I can't remember the title). It's particularly good on how the Soviet medical system mistreated women.

Have a great family Christmas. We'll see you some time in 1994, when



OCCIDENTAL COLLEGE
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90041-3392

INTERNATIONAL AND
PUBLIC AFFAIRS CENTER
DIRECTOR, DEREK SHEARER
(213) 294-2539
FAX (213) 250-3734

-2-

we come back to DC for our two weeks of Ambassador School.

And, of course, we're looking forward to having you visit us in Helsinki some time later in the first term.

Ruth sends her love.


Derek

Mrs Alastina Fedulova is the best Russia can offer as a female leader with the kind of clout once held by Mrs Thatcher. Blonde and articulate, she hopes to make big political advances for women as leader of the country's first party dedicated to female rights. In next week-end's parliamentary elections, Women of Russia is putting up 44 female candidates for the 450-seat State Duma.

Mrs Fedulova has a reputation as a formidable operator. Under the old Communist regime she headed the Pioneer youth organisation, which ran holiday camps for millions of children, where Marxist-Leninist values were mixed with games and music lessons.

This experience is both a disadvantage as well as a plus. Her background as a pillar of a Communist regime that did little to advance women's well-being means female voters, eager for a greater voice in Russian politics and society, are reluctant to support her. She admits the Communists "proclaimed rights which were never applied in practice".

It is ironic that Mrs Fedulova finds herself the founder of Women of Russia - and it is a sign of the difficulties women's rights activists have had in organising themselves in a fledgling democracy. So far, few women have been able to gain the experience necessary

Few ladies in red

Leyla Boulton on women in Russian politics

to form parties.

The problem is not new. Equality between the sexes, promised by the Bolsheviks in 1917, meant, in practice, that many women were forced to work in heavy industry and other traditional male jobs but still to carry the burden of domestic duties.

As a result, Women of Russia seeks to appeal to women voters through largely pragmatic issues - for instance, pledging to give women the option of staying at home and stressing the importance of improved healthcare. It talks about bringing "feminine qualities" - meaning reliability and tenderness - into Russia's male-dominated political arena.

The party is unique in trying to turn women's rights into a political issue - even though females account for 75 per cent of the unemployed and abortion remains the most common form of birth control. The concerns of most other political parties revolve around the threat of a declining birth rate to Russia's influence as a world power and promises of improving health care.

One exception - Russia's Choice, the party set up by young radical reformers in the

Russian government - has put Ms Ella Parnikova, the social welfare minister at number three on the party list used in the system of proportional representation. But in spite of her popularity, most women activists regard her selection as a token gesture.

Similarly, Mr Grigory Yavlinsky, the economist, has promised that the radical alliance he leads would try to pilot an equal opportunities law through the new parliament.

The pervasive indifference is due largely to the lack of pressure from women themselves. Many blame themselves for the dominance of men in Russian society and politics. "We spoil our men," explains Mrs Natalya Starkova, a 60-year-old English-language teacher at Moscow University. "They are accustomed to expecting Russian women to go out to work, to do everything at home and to look pretty for them in the evening." Women made up less than 5 per cent of the last Russian parliament - against a third under the Soviet regime.

Politicians' wives traditionally stay in the background

Mrs Raisa Gorbachev, the only Soviet leader's wife to venture into the limelight, became unpopular because of her aloof image and taste for foreign clothes. President Boris Yeltsin has tried to avoid the same problem, keeping Mrs Naina Yeltsin behind the scenes. Not one candidate's wife has appeared on the campaign trail or posters.

Olga, the 36-year-old wife of Arkady Mitrashov, a leading candidate for Russia's Choice, says politicians' wives could play a more prominent role "if things are done well, not like Mrs Gorbachev".

The result of the relative sidelining of women is that the elections are unlikely to advance their cause. Nor are they likely to help themselves in Russia's first democratic election. Many believe that supporting Women of Russia would be to waste their vote when economic reform as advanced by Russia's Choice is more important at this stage in Russia's history.

"I'm all for getting more women into parliament," says Mrs Starkova, who plans to vote for Russia's Choice. "But this time the main task is to fix our economy and Women of



Indifference: women have failed to organise effectively

Russia can't do this."

Mrs Valentina Konstantinova, one of Russia's few self-proclaimed feminists, says women must first increase their self-esteem before putting other women into parliament.

A few others are running as independents with an emphasis on women's rights.

Mrs Fedulova agrees women themselves are part of the problem. Her task is to convince them of their strength.

TO: KIM

FROM: MAUREEN

DATE: 1/7/94

In finding the woman I spoke with you about this morning, I also found out about this organization:

Moscow Children's Fund which is a hospital outreach program for children. Yekaterina Kahotlubey is the staff person and was recently in this country for leadership training. Telephone is: 011-095-7-214-0693. They are in desperate need of doctors, nurses, medical supplies, you name it.

Galina Bodrenkova is the woman I know through my husband, Kenn Allen. She was on the Moscow City Council but was recently defeated and now heads the Moscow Charity House - telephone - 011-7-095-206-8334 or 8335. The Charity House primarily provides technical assistance to 45 affiliated neighborhood agencies which serve the elderly, handicapped, and poor. While none of their programs are related directly to health, Galina is certainly very knowledgeable and might be a useful resource. The Charity House offers these programs: food and clothing distribution; transportation program for handicapped; meals on wheels for elderly; information and referral service for individuals needing social service assistance; emergency relief program, ex. raising money for someone in hospital. Staff of 16 with 2,000 volunteers. Number of elderly they deal with is 300,000 and a similar number for the handicapped.

Soviet Union a country study

Federal Research Division
Library of Congress
Edited by
Raymond E. Zickel
Research Completed
May 1989



Soviet Union: A Country Study

In 1985 the government raised the age limit for assistance to twelve years and under. In 1981 the subsidy to an unwed mother with a child increased to 20 rubles per month; in early 1987 an estimated 1.5 million unwed mothers were receiving such assistance, or twice as many as during the late 1970s.

Family Size

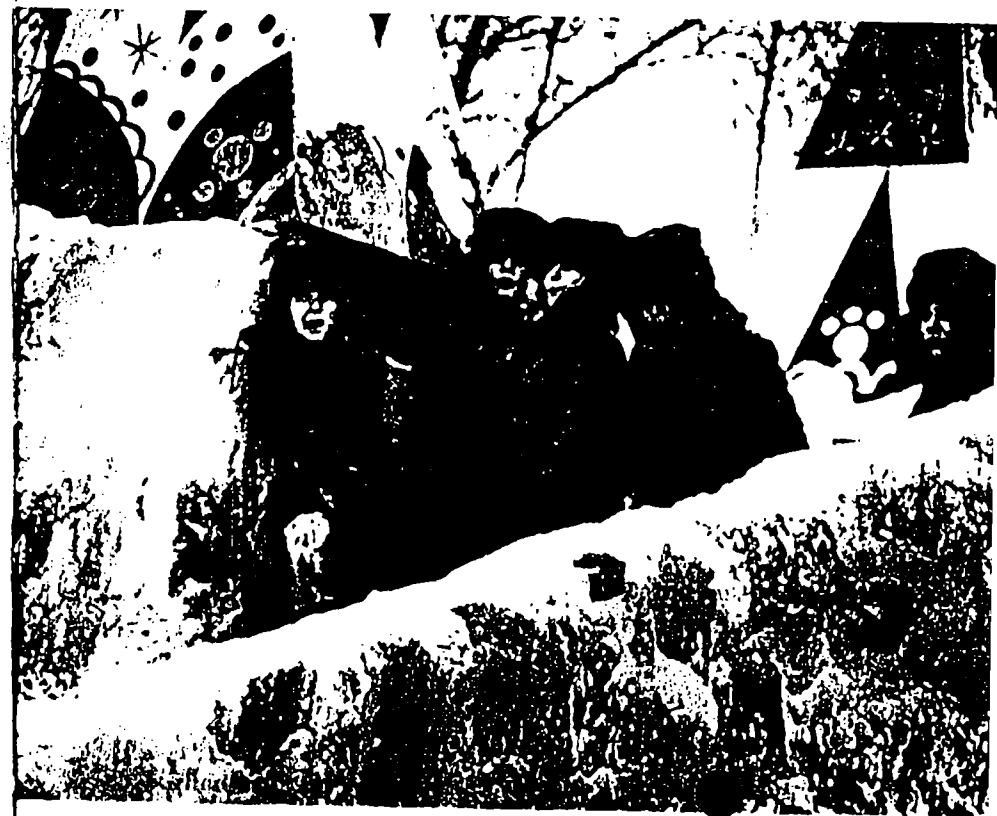
Family size and composition depended mainly on the place of residence—urban or rural—and ethnic group. The size and composition of such families was also influenced by housing and income limitations, pensions, and female employment outside the home. The typical urban family consisted of a married couple, two children, and, in about 20 percent of the cases, one of the grandmothers, whose assistance in raising the children and in housekeeping was important in the large majority of families having two wage earners. Rural families generally had more children than urban families and often supported three generations under one roof. Families in Central Asia and the Caucasus tended to have more children than families elsewhere in the Soviet Union and included grandparents in the family structure. In general, the average family size has followed that of other industrialized countries, with higher income families having both fewer children and a lower rate of infant mortality. From the early 1960s to the late 1980s, the number of families with more than one child decreased by about 50 percent and in 1988 totaled 1.9 million. About 75 percent of the families with more than one child lived in the southern regions of the country, half of them in Central Asia. In the Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian, Moldavian, Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian republics, families with one and two children constituted more than 90 percent of all families, whereas in Central Asia those with three or more children ranged from 14 percent in the Kirgiz Republic to 31 percent in the Tadzhik Republic. Surveys suggested that most parents would have had more children if they had had more living space.

Beginning in the mid-1980s, the government promoted family planning in order to slow the growth of the Central Asian indigenous populations. Local opposition to this policy surfaced especially in the Uzbek and Tadzhik republics. In general, however, the government continued publicly to honor mothers of large families. Women received the Motherhood Medal, Second Class, for their fifth live birth and the Heroine Mother medal for their tenth. Most of these awards went to women in Central Asia and the Caucasus (see table Appendix A).

*Children playing in Orel,
Russian Republic
Courtesy Jimmy Pritchard*



*Children playing on an ice slide
during winter holidays
in Khabarovsk, Soviet Far East
Courtesy Jimmy Pritchard*



members ranging in age from fourteen to twenty-eight. The Komsomol's structure mirrored the party's structure, from its primary units in schools and workplaces to its first secretary. The congress of the Komsomol met every five years and elected a central committee, which in turn elected a bureau and secretariat to direct the organization's day-to-day affairs between central committee meetings. Komsomol members were encouraged to take part in political activities of the CPSU and to assist in industrial projects and harvesting. Most important, its members received preference for entry into higher education, employment, and the CPSU.

The other two youth groups, the Young Octobrists and the Pioneers, were organizations devoted to the political indoctrination of children through age fifteen. The Young Octobrists prepared children ages six to nine for entry into the Pioneers, which in turn prepared them for entry into the Komsomol beginning at age fourteen.

Sports Organizations

In 1989 the Soviet Union had thirty-six sports societies, consisting of an urban and rural society for each of the fifteen union republics and six all-union (see Glossary) societies. All but two of these organizations were operated by the trade unions. The State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports served as the umbrella organization for these societies. Each society built its own sports facilities, secured equipment for its members, and hired a permanent staff of coaches and other personnel. Each held local and all-union championships for various sports, and each society's teams played against the teams of other societies. Although in theory the Soviet Union had no professional sports, each society supported athletes who played sports full time. Furthermore, the best, or "master sportsmen," received additional pay from the State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports.

Gender and Family Roles

In 1989 the Soviet Union resembled other modernized European societies in terms of divorce rates, roles of men and women in marriage, and family size, structure, and function. The twin pressures of urbanization and industrialization have radically changed gender and family relations in the Soviet Union since 1917. These changes, however, were less evident among the non-Russian populations of Soviet Central Asia and the Caucasus.

Role of Women

Article 35 of the Soviet Constitution clearly states that women are "have equal rights" and possess equal access to education

and training, employment, promotions, and remuneration and to participation in social, political, and cultural activity. Women also receive special medical and workplace protection, including incentives for mothers to work outside the home and legal and material support in their role as mothers; the latter support includes 112 days of maternity leave at full pay. At the conclusion of their maternity leave, women may take up to a year of leave without pay and return to the same job if they desire. Employers may not discriminate against pregnant or nursing women by reducing their pay or dismissing them, and mothers with small children have the right to work part time.

Nevertheless, both within society in general and within the family, the position of women in 1989 was not equal to that of men. Soviet authorities have often pointed to the high percentage of women in certain fields as proof of gender equality in the country. For example, in the 1980s women constituted just over half the country's work force, four-fifths of its health workers, more than two-thirds of its physicians and economists, and three-quarters of those employed in education. The authorities neglected to add, however, that the average pay for most women in these fields was below the country's average pay. Moreover, the higher the level in a profession, the smaller the percentage of women. For instance, in 1984 women constituted 83 percent of elementary school directors but only 42 percent of secondary school directors and 38 percent of middle school directors. In the early 1980s, 46 percent of all collective farm workers were women, but they constituted only 1.9 percent of collective farm chairpersons.

Women were also underrepresented in the CPSU and its leadership. In 1983 women constituted only 27.6 percent of the membership of the party and only 4.2 percent of the Central Committee; in 1986 they were totally absent from the Politburo (see Social Composition of the Party, ch. 7).

Male-Female Relationships

Male-female relationships in the Soviet Union reflected not only the stresses generally present in urban and industrial societies, plus those peculiar to communist societies, but also the influence of different cultural traditions. Predictably, the non-Russian Central Asian and Caucasian nationalities exhibited more traditional attitudes regarding marriage, divorce, and abortion than did the European population of the country.

Marriage

Unless specified otherwise by the laws of the individual republics, Soviet citizens may marry at age eighteen without parental

permission. The Latvian, Estonian, Moldavian, Ukrainian, Armenian, Kazakh, and Kirgiz republics have lowered this age to seventeen years. In 1980 approximately 73 percent of the brides and 62 percent of the grooms were under twenty-five years of age. One-third of all marriages involved persons under twenty years of age, and in 20 percent of the marriages involving persons under that age the bride was pregnant.

In the larger cities, newly married couples often lived with either set of parents; often the honeymoon consisted of a short private stay in the parents' home. About 70 percent of childless young couples lived with parents during the first years of marriage because of low income or a shortage of housing.

Cultural compatibility played a larger role in the selection of a mate than did race, religion, occupation, or income. Soviet surveys also pointed to love, mutual attraction, and common interests as important reasons given for marriage. British sociologist David Lane has observed that "companionship" between spouses has been a more important notion in the West than in the Soviet Union, where couples have often taken separate vacations while the children were sent to camp.

Roles in Marriage

Most married women in the Soviet Union worked outside the home in addition to fulfilling their roles of wife, mother, and homemaker. As in other industrialized countries, women had difficulty reconciling the demands of career and home. At home, Soviet women spent more than twice as much time on housework as men—an average of twenty-eight hours a week as opposed to twelve—and women resented this. Before marriage, the average woman was said to have had forty-two hours a week of free time, but after marriage this number was cut in half. Not surprisingly, Soviet research has shown that marital happiness was directly connected to the extent a husband shared in domestic work. Husbands and wives from the elite tended to share decisions and housework to a greater extent than those from other social strata. In blue-collar and agricultural families, the husband was considered head of the household, although the wife held the purse strings.

Nationality appeared to be less of an influence on marital roles than social status and place of residence. By the mid-1970s, even most Muslim husbands were willing to share in some housework with their wives; the higher the socioeconomic status of the family, the more the husband shared the work. In Muslim families and in other nationality groups where the patriarchal system has remained strong, the husband was regarded as the head of the family

and made most of the major family decisions. Among younger and better educated Muslims, however, and in the European part of the Soviet Union, the husband and wife shared in the decision making, a practice that may have resulted from the wife's increasing contribution to family income.

Divorce

With a rate of 3.4 divorces per 1,000 people, the Soviet Union was second only to the United States (4.8 divorces) among industrialized countries in 1986. David Lane has asserted, however, that the real family disintegration rate between these two countries was comparable because the legal difficulties and expense of a divorce in the Soviet Union encouraged "unofficial" divorces or separations.

The Soviet divorce rate varied according to region and population density. In Soviet Central Asia, it was two to three times lower than in European areas; the rate was also higher in cities and in newly developed regions. Divorce rates in rural areas averaged about 40 percent of those in cities.

Surveys have shown that couples divorced for a variety of reasons. Drunkenness, incompatibility, and infidelity were major causes; jealousy of the spouse, separation, and physical incompatibility were minor causes. In the Muslim areas of the country, conflict between the wife and the husband's parents was a major reason for divorce; however, Muslim women were less likely to initiate divorce than women in other regions of the Soviet Union. Stronger devotion to family life and the nature of marriage itself lowered acceptance of divorce in Muslim areas. Soviet surveys have shown that 87 percent of urban and 84 percent of rural Uzbeks opposed divorce for couples with children, whereas only 54 percent of urban Russians and 51 percent of urban Estonians held this view.

Housing problems and the lack of privacy contributed significantly to the high rate of divorce. One study showed that nearly 20 percent of divorces occurring during the first years of marriage were attributed to housing problems and about 18 percent to conflicts with parents. In 1973 in Leningrad, 31.7 percent of divorcing couples had lived with parents or in a hostel, 62.3 percent in a shared apartment, and only 5.1 percent in a separate apartment.

Divorces cost between 60 and 200 rubles depending on income and were granted more quickly if the couple had no children. In general, divorces were relatively simple to obtain, but the court always attempted to reconcile the couple first. Courts also generally awarded the mother custody of the children.

Family and Kinship Structures

The extended family was more prevalent in Central Asia and the Caucasus than in the other sections of the country and, generally, in rural areas more than in urban areas. Deference to parental wishes regarding marriage was particularly strong in these areas, even among the Russians residing there.

Extended families helped perpetuate traditional life-styles. The patriarchal values that accompany this life-style affected such issues as contraception, the distribution of family power, and the roles of individuals in marriage and the family. For example, traditional Uzbeks placed a higher value on their responsibilities as parents than on their own happiness as spouses and individuals. The younger and better educated Uzbeks and working women, however, were more likely to behave and think like their counterparts in the European areas of the Soviet Union, who tended to emphasize individual careers.

Extended families were not prevalent in the cities. Couples lived with parents during the first years of marriage only because of economics or the housing shortage. When children were born, the couple usually acquired a separate apartment.

Function of Family

The government has assumed many functions of the pre-Soviet family. Various public institutions, for example, have taken responsibility for supporting individuals during times of sickness, incapacity, old age, maternity, and industrial injury. State-run nurseries, preschools, schools, clubs, and youth organizations have taken over a great part of the family's role in socializing children. Their role in socialization has been limited, however, because preschools had places for only half of all Soviet children under seven. Despite government assumption of many responsibilities, spouses were still responsible for the material support of each other, minor children, and disabled adult children.

The transformation of the patriarchal, three-generation rural household to a modern, urban family of two adults and two children attests to the great changes that Soviet society has undergone since 1917. That transformation has not produced the originally envisioned egalitarianism, but it has forever changed the nature of what was once the Russian Empire.

* * *

Excellent monographs analyzing Soviet society include *Soviet Economy and Society* by David Lane and *Modern Soviet Society*, originally

published in French, by Basile Kerblay. In *Poverty in the Soviet Union* and other articles and books, Mervyn Matthews discusses the problems of poverty and low wages in certain sectors of the Soviet economy. Providing a general overview of the Soviet Union, Vadim Medish's *The Soviet Union* contains useful insights into Soviet society, as does the *Cambridge Encyclopedia of Russia and the Soviet Union*. In their monograph *Modernization, Value Change, and Fertility in the Soviet Union*, Ellen Jones and Fred W. Grupp provide useful information on the position of women in Soviet society and on male and female roles. Genia K. Browning's *Women and Politics in the USSR* focuses on the position of Soviet women in society in general and Soviet feminism in particular. Gail Warshofsky Lapidus has written several informative books and articles on Soviet women. (For further information and complete citations, see Bibliography.)

WHITE HOUSE PRESS STATEMENT

[to be released jointly with Russian Presidential Press Office on Monday, December 27, 1993 at 9 a.m. EST (5 p.m. Moscow time)]

President Clinton will make a state visit to Moscow January 12-15, 1994, at the invitation of Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin. In their meetings, the two Presidents will seek to broaden the bilateral partnership they initiated at their meeting in Vancouver in April 1993. The talks in Moscow will continue the comprehensive dialogue on the entire range of issues in U.S.-Russian relations. The Presidents will review progress in their efforts to rid their bilateral relations of the legacy of the Cold War, and will discuss cooperation in light of the reforms taking place in Russia. In addition, the agenda will encompass security issues, including cooperation in arms control and the global nonproliferation regime, and key international issues, to include multilateral peacekeeping and regional conflicts.

December 22, 1993

TO: Hillary
FR: Kim

The attached is an assignment memo from the NSC to the State Department regarding briefing information for your trip to Moscow and Minsk. The papers listed are specific to your needs and will not appear in the President's briefings. You will, as you did for Japan and Korea, also receive a copy of the President's briefings.

Is there any additional information you want?

___ YES

___ NO

___ DISCUSS

Medical Supplies and Equipment

Regarding your question of donating medical supplies and equipment, we're asking the NSC to determine the appropriate procedure. We checked whether any of the other First Ladies have donated supplies and found only references to cash gifts. While our research isn't done, our preliminary sense is that it appears actions of this type traditionally haven't generated much notice or controversy. We'll have the information for you when you get back from Hilton Head.

What did we
give to
Russia
Melanne
HRC
Maggie
material to
Melanne

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

December 17, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR JIM SCHUMAKER

Deputy Director, EUR/ISCA
Department of State

FROM: JOHN BEYRLE *JB*
Director, Russian, Ukrainian, and Eurasian Affairs
National Security Council

SUBJECT: Briefing Papers for The First Lady

As discussed, following is a list of papers needed for Mrs. Clinton's briefing book for Moscow and Minsk. Event papers should be prepared according to the attached sample. Because new events may be added to Mrs. Clinton's schedule as advance work on the visit goes forward, you should keep in touch with both Embassies to ensure that all contingencies are covered. I will let you know of any changes or additions that come to my attention. The First Lady's staff has agreed that no separate papers are required for the First Lady for those events in which she and the President participate together.

Please ensure that I have all materials in hand, accompanied by WordPerfect 5.2 compatible diskette(s), not later than COB Monday, January 3. Many thanks in advance.

MOSCOW

Event paper: Visit to Medical/Dental Clinic

Event paper: Spaso House Tea/Luncheon with Russian Women

Background papers:

- Health Care
- Status of Women
- "Women of Russia" Political Party
- Life for Americans in Russia
- Public/Media Image of Mrs. Clinton
- Russian Ballet
- Bolshoi Theater
- Russian Customs and Manners
 - (i.e., etiquette rules/protocol for Mrs. Clinton)
- Country Profile/Background Notes
- Courtesy phrases and key names (phonetic)
- Mrs. Pickering biographic info

MINSK

Event Paper: Visit to Children's Hospital

Event paper: Luncheon hosted by Mrs. Shushkevich

Background papers:

- Health Care
- Belarus and Chernobyl
- Status of Women
- Belarusian Ballet
- Public/Media Image of Mrs. Clinton
- Life for Americans in Belarus
- Belarusian Customs and Manners
 - (i.e., etiquette/protocol for Mrs. Clinton)
- Country Profile/Background Notes
- Courtesy Phrases and Key Names (phonetic)
- Mrs. Swartz biographic info

Attachment: Sample Event Paper

December 7, 1993

memo to
John 10024

TO: Patti
Kim
FROM: Pam
SUBJECT: HRC's trip to Moscow

I spoke to Strobe Talbot yesterday and debriefed HRC. He is proposing that his assistant, a career foreign service officer named Victoria Newland, personally brief HRC before her trip. HRC is agreeable to this, but not until January. I conveyed this information to Talbot's office and said that our scheduling office would coordinate in the future.

647-3112

• Russian politics - texture + understanding of walking into the various events

• Duplex
• Examine the Pleasure Coast - 2 years ago - women's health issues

• Hemingway Tomb

* Tatiana Tolstaya - New Republic - '90

good writer

• HRC's Book At the Height
last pol. dip overview

E X E C U T I V E O F F I C E O F T H E P R E S I D E

02-Dec-1993 04:56pm

TO: (See Below)

FROM: David Leavy
 Office of Communications

SUBJECT: Stm. on POTUS Trip to Europe

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office Of The Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

December 2, 1993

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

The President's planned trip to Europe and the former Soviet Union in January will reaffirm the importance of Europe to U.S. political, economic and security interests. It will also provide an opportunity for the President to articulate his vision of transatlantic relations and to further the process of enlarging the community of market democracies while replacing cold war divisions with a more integrated and unified Europe.

The President will open his trip in Brussels on January 9 with a major address on U.S.-European relations. He will then attend the NATO Summit on January 10 and 11, followed by meetings with the leadership of the European Union. The President will help to reshape NATO's relationship with the new democracies in Europe's east and reaffirm the importance of U.S.-EU cooperation on political and economic matters.

The President will next visit Prague on January 11 and 12, where he has proposed to meet with leaders of the Visegrad countries --Poland, Hungary, Slovakia and the Czech Republic. The United States appreciates the willingness of the Czech government and President Havel to host this regional meeting. The meeting in Prague will underscore U.S. support for the security of the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe, for their transformation to fully-functioning market economies, and for their cooperation with one another as they deepen their partnership with the United States, Western Europe and Western organizations.

The President has accepted an invitation from President Boris Yeltsin to make a state visit to Russia from January 12 to 15. This summit will further strengthen the new democratic partnership established between the United States and Russia during the Vancouver meetings in April 1993. In addition to discussions with President Yeltsin on economic, security and regional issues, the President plans meetings with a variety of Russian reform leaders to obtain a first-hand understanding of progress toward economic and political reform in Russia.

Following his visit to Moscow, the President will travel to Minsk on January 15, at the invitation of Belarusian President Shushkevich. By ratifying the START-I and Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaties, Belarus has demonstrated its commitment to a non-nuclear future. During the visit to Minsk, the two Presidents will discuss ways in which the United States and Belarus can expand their bilateral relationship in support of the democratic and economic reform process in Belarus.

The scope of the President's travel and the developing schedule of meetings and events underscore the importance of the transatlantic partnership in the post-Cold War era. In this regard, and reflecting the deep American consciousness of the history, interests, and sacrifices that the United States shares with the states of Europe, the President has accepted invitations to visit Great Britain, France, and Italy in conjunction with his attendance at World War II commemoration events in June, 1994.

In conjunction with his attendance at the G-7 Summit in Naples, scheduled for July, 1994 the President has also accepted with pleasure an invitation to visit Germany.

Distribution:

TO: Alexis Herman
TO: Doris Matsui
TO: Mike Lux
TO: Amy Zisook
TO: Remote Addressee
TO: Remote Addressee
TO: Elizabeth C. Bowyer
TO: Alison Muscatine
TO: Christian M. Baldia
TO: Helen H. Dickey
TO: Carter Wilkie
TO: Manager Infomgt
TO: Julie K. Anderson
TO: Barry J. Toiv
TO: Lori E. Abrams
TO: Anne M. Edwards
TO: FAX (98286422,AP)
TO: FAX (98988383,REUTERS)
TO: FAX (98988057,UPI)
TO: FAX (98877686,ABC)
TO: FAX (93311765,CBS)
TO: FAX (98987565,CNN)
TO: FAX (93622009,NBC)
TO: FAX (98953133,FOX)
TO: FAX (98620340,NY TIMES)
TO: FAX (93345451,WASHINGTON POST)
TO: FAX (98871050,LA TIMES)
TO: FAX (98629266,WALL ST. JOURNAL)
TO: FAX (917035583935,USA TODAY)
TO: FAX (94566210,PRESS OFFICE)
TO: Ricki Seidman
TO: David Dreyer
TO: Keith Boykin
TO: Ken Chitester
TO: Jason Solomon
TO: Robert Boorstin
TO: Michael Waldman
TO: Anne Walker



OCCIDENTAL COLLEGE
1600 CAMPUS ROAD
LOS ANGELES, CA 90041-3314

Dec. 4, 1993

Dear Hillary,

Ruth and I appreciated the chance to see you yesterday, and to catch up on personal and family stuff. As a follow-up to some of what we talked about:

(1) The idea for the book--Letters to the First Lady. I think that you should have your staff put this together as soon as possible, so that you could get it out early in 1994, and have it help build pressure for the health plan. The letters should mostly be ones dealing with health matters, and you might give the book a subtitle like: Why we have to change our health system. You could write a brief intro, and perhaps Koop could put in a word.

The first place to look for a publisher who could get this out quickly might be Random House. Talk to Peter Osnos, the chief editor. Peter handled the extremely quick production of Putting People First. He's an old friend of Eli Segal's, and I believe that Eli set up the deal with Peter for publishing PPF.

I think that this could be a best seller. You should also announce that all profits from the book would go to a children's health foundation, or some health related cause.

(2) Your trip to Russia early next year. I've attached a good article on women in Russian politics from the Financial Times. While I'm sure that Strobe, the Embassy, and other American officials will have some ideas of Russian women for you to meet, I recommend that you have your staff contact the one woman in the states who is an expert on Russian women in politics. Her name is Katrina Van Den Heuvel. She's a friend, and married to Steve Cohen, Professor of Politics at Princeton and one of the leading experts on Russia in the U.S. (Steve is CBS's commentator on Russian events.)

Katrina's number is: 212-222-9320, Fax: 212-865-3873. She and Steve will be in Russia from Dec. 16 - Jan. 2, in case you decide to ask her down to brief you, something that I'd recommend. You should ask your staff, at a minimum, to get copies of Katrina's articles about Russian women for you. Steve, in fact, will be over for Bill's Summit with Yeltsin, doing CBS commentary. You might even consider, if you like Katrina, seeing about having her accompany you. I believe that her Russian is fluent. In any case, I can't think of a better, smarter woman in the US to brief you and to suggest smart women for you to meet.

(Note: Steve is a bit skeptical about our leaning too much on Yeltsin.)

Other more general material on Russia: try to peruse the book, Lenin's Tomb by David Remnick, the New Yorker's Russian expert. David was formerly the WP's man in Moscow. Probably the best book on how women suffered under the Soviet system is the one by the Francois Du Plessix Grey (I can't remember the title). It's particularly good on how the Soviet medical system mistreated women.

Have a great family Christmas. We'll see you some time in 1994, when



OCCIDENTAL COLLEGE
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90041-3392

INTERNATIONAL AND
PUBLIC AFFAIRS CENTER
DIRECTOR, DEREK SHEARER
(213) 259-2539
FAX (213) 259-2734

-2-

we come back to DC for our two weeks of Ambassador School.

And, of course, we're looking forward to having you visit us in Helsinki some time later in the first term.

Ruth sends her love.

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Derek".
Derek

who has access?

Research

RUSSIA

12/2

Mrs. Yeltsin is stopped through protocol & press etc

1. Dental Clinic

2. Tea - prom - Women's Party / status of women
newly created running in Russia

Invitation to HRC by Mrs. Yeltsin

Spaso House info

~~Back~~ Background on Kremlin -

Obtain

Byelorussia

Minsk - 4 hrs -

Children's Hospital for Victims of Chernobyl

U of Pitts - sharing agreement

Mrs. Shushkevitch - hostess

① David Remnick Lening Tomb
non-fic Review of R since 5 U.

② fic - what R. will be in yr 2010

store rec copy to B

③ store At the highest levels

reviews Requiem

FUR

clothes - MONDAY

Russian Requiem
Boris
Aug 23
Mervin
leaving 4:30 (p?)

- Christmas Schedule

Cindy ~~Lee~~

9:00
Russia

HRC Material for Russia

1. Health care in Russia
 - who else in addition to the NSC can provide this?
2. Russian Etiquette
 - custom Do's & Don'ts - what will never be said
 - superstitions
3. How HRC is viewed by the Press
4. Articles of Interest
5. Phonetic pronunciation of individuals & key phrases
6. Country Profile
7. Book Recommendations
 - Tea w/ Russian women
 - Dental Equipment
8. Clothing

Can Russia reform?

AFTER centuries of tyranny under the tsars and decades of misery under communism, Russians vote in a free general election on December 12th. Elation, however, is not the mood of the moment. Dispirited by the sight of politicians squabbling while living standards fall, most Russians are losing faith in political reform. No more than 60% may turn out to vote. Most Russians, according to a recent opinion poll, believe democracy has stopped growing. They are wrong.

So are westerners who, seeing the opposition to change, melodramatically predict six months of mud-dle followed by another violent confrontation between reformers and reactionaries. To be sure, much evidence supports a degree of gloom. Twelve of the 13 parties vying for seats in the new parliament say that economic reform has been a mistake (see pages 23-25). They want to ease up. Anyone looking for accelerated reform after Sunday's vote is probably in for a disappointment.

Anyone looking for a smoothly running government is likely to be just as forlorn. A coalition will probably take charge after the election, and it will be a disputatious affair. If the voters are sour, it will be disputatious and anti-reform. If they are more cheerful, it will be disputatious and pro-reform. Either way it will haggle. The rosier result from a reformer's point of view would be that the two parties most enthusiastic about change—Yegor Gaidar's Russia's Choice and the Yavlinsky-Boldyrev-Lukin block—will win enough votes to form a government. And that is only partly rosy. The two parties' policies would mesh, but their members would clash. The two groups have been at each other's throats for much of the campaign.

With backsliding and bickering in prospect, the election seems unlikely to mark the start of a great era of democratic stability. In this the pessimists are right. Yet it would be a mistake to judge it only in these terms. After the turbulence of the past few years, the mere fact that a free election—the first since the fall of communism—is being held at all is itself significant.

The countries of post-communist Europe fall into three categories. First are those that have held free elections and formed non-communist governments. This group includes Hungary, the Czech Republic and Estonia. Their inflation rates range from 20% to 50% a year. Next come those countries that have held free elections and chosen reformed communist governments (Romania, Bulgaria and, recently, Poland). Their inflation rates range from 50% to 200% a year. Last come those that have not held free parliamentary elections at all: Serbia, where inflation is 20,190% a month, and Russia.

Ideally, Russia needs to move smartly into category one. If Russia's Choice forms a government, it may conceivably be able to do so. But even a move into category two would be an



advance, especially if it managed to bring inflation into the lower end of the 50-200% range. And it might.

If so, it would be thanks to democracy. In post-communist countries, unrepresentative bodies (such as Russia's former parliament) are vulnerable to interest groups like arms manufacturers and corrupt officials whose privileges are threatened. They are not dominated by groups that have been hurt by reform, such as the poor and unemployed. On the contrary, the poor in general still have a stake in the suc-

cess of reform, whereas corrupt officials do not. That is why representative bodies pursuing misguided policies usually turn out better than unrepresentative ones, even if these intermittently support reform (as the old parliament did). The most important result of this election is that it may produce an assembly that listens to its constituents.

True, a voter-sensitive parliament would work better with a functioning multi-party system, which Russia will not have. Most parties were set up to fight this election and some may soon split. But a start has been made. A combination of stiff registration requirements and a 5% electoral threshold could produce a parliament with only five or six parties.

A better constitution

Moreover, though party politics in Russia is less sophisticated than in Eastern Europe, in one respect Russia is ahead: constitution building. This has been haphazard in Eastern Europe, but in Russia a new constitution will be voted on in a referendum on election day. If passed, it will correct the worst flaws in Russian politics.

The basic shortcoming has been the lack of a separation of powers between president and parliament. In theory, the old parliament was sovereign, the president subordinate. In practice, only the president had legitimacy, parliament functioned without a mandate and, for any policy to be made at all, it had to delegate emergency powers to him. This caused endless disputes. Though the new constitution does not separate powers clearly enough—president and parliament may still be allowed to issue competing laws and decrees—the other drawbacks should be diminished.

For a start, the constitution defines who does what. Foreign, defence and security policies are mostly in the presidential domain; parliament's upper house takes the lion's share of jurisdiction over matters affecting the centre and regions; the lower house oversees economic policy. Second, the president's powers will be increased. He will have the upper hand in appointing ministers. He can reject a parliamentary vote of no confidence in his government. If parliament persists in attacking him, he can call an election. Such powers may prove too wide if

Russia comes to enjoy stability. In the current chaos, they have a temporary justification.

All that said, constitutions work only if people let them. With parties in their infancy and democratic traditions weak, the president's own role will be decisive. Boris Yeltsin, for all his readiness to embrace reform, has shown an alarming tendency towards authoritarianism. It is a tendency he will have

to lose. Unless Russia's Choice wins a big victory and gives him its support, Mr Yeltsin is almost certainly going to feel frustrated. Nevertheless, with a newly legitimated body containing a more manageable range of opinions, the task of building consensus and of making parliament and government co-operate should be achievable. If so, Sunday's election will indeed turn out to have been a milestone on the road to Russian democracy.

Twist again, Arafat

Flexible enough to accept peace, the PLO's leader should now accept democracy



A CRUEL spiral of Israeli-Palestinian killing has taken over as Israel prepares to withdraw from the Gaza Strip and a bit of the West Bank. Muddle over the timing and terms of withdrawal has allowed wild men, on both sides, to turn this interim period into a violent and ominous twilight. Both Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organisation have to show that they can quell the violence of people who oppose the peace deal. But the PLO also has to show that, when it moves into liberated Palestine, it is able to offer honest and accountable government. At present few outsiders would include honesty or accountability among the PLO's strengths.

The organisation's survival, against the odds, as a resistance movement is a tribute to its leader, Yasser Arafat. But the PLO is not a ready-made government and should not pretend to be one. It is an autocracy run secretly, and sometimes erratically, by Mr Arafat and a band of cronies. Other Palestinians are resentful. Perhaps the most valuable lesson they have learnt from Israel, after its quarter-century of occupation, is the value of democracy. They speak with scorn of totalitarian Arab regimes, expecting more for themselves. It would be an undeserved irony if what they get, when the Israelis are gone, is an unregenerate Arafat dictatorship.

The timetable set out in September's peace agreement provides that Palestinians should elect a council by next July to run most affairs in the West Bank and Gaza. Yitzhak Rabin, Israel's prime minister, is as keen as Mr Arafat that the PLO should win that election: a victory by Hamas, the Islamic resistance movement, would destroy the whole deal. The question is whether,

before then, the PLO can absorb new blood, shed its reprehensible old skin and emerge as a respectable political party.

Greater democracy in decision-making has long been pressed on Mr Arafat by many of his senior colleagues. But in earlier times the dispute was academic; now it is angry—and crucial. Mr Arafat's critics are urging him to write a Palestinian constitution that will respect democracy and human rights, and to devolve at least some of his powers to the "national authority" that is to run Gaza and Jericho in the delicate pre-election period. He has shrugged off much of their advice. Not that he refuses to talk to others: he likes to work through the PLO's unelected institutions—its Executive Committee, Central Council and National Council—so long as he remains the boss.

The power of the purse

Matters have come to a head, as they usually do, over money. Some \$2 billion of aid is supposed to be filling the authority's coffers in the West Bank and Gaza over the next five years. The PLO's top brass are determined to get their hands on this loot. But others—potential donors and Palestinians whose livelihoods will depend on responsible economic development—are just as determined that they should not.

Palestine, or the parts of it that are about to come under the PLO's control, cannot become a democracy overnight. Its chances of going the right way depend on Mr Arafat letting in new voices and new scrutiny. Impossible? Not necessarily. Mr Arafat, under pressure, has shown that he can twist, turn and bend with the wind—maybe even a democratic one.

The red and the black



Should you be alarmed about Italy? No. But disappointed? Yes

THE soufflé, it seems, is France's gift to gastronomy, Italy's to politics. Italians who voted in municipal elections last weekend found that the centre had collapsed, leaving only the parties of the extremes round the rim. Once exposed to the chill winds of scrutiny, Italy's half-baked political system had been unable to rise to the electoral occasion, and many voters were thus offered no more of a choice than between ex-communists and neo-fascists. Except in Lombardy, where the populist-federalist Northern League was on the menu, most chose to go for

ex-communists (see page 54).

In the circumstances, that was the better choice. Even before it split and changed its name, Italy's Communist Party was not quite like Brezhnev's. With an honourable record of opposition to fascism during the second world war, it struggled for decades to make itself look respectable enough to become a party of government. In several places it succeeded, and ran efficient local administrations. At the national level it failed, thus ensuring that it would not subsequently be blamed by the

voters for the system of bribery and speculation that has now come to light. The Party of the Democratic Left (PDS) is the more enlightened wing of the old party, and the one that has now carried Rome, Genoa, Naples, Trieste and Venice in coalition with greens, independents and other left-wingers. It would like to be seen as a mainstream social-democratic group.

It is true that some ex-communists have been accused of corruption. It is also true that the entire party was happy to take charge of one of the state-owned television channels in the *lottizzazione* system, whereby the ruling parties divided Italy's abundant public-sector spoils among themselves. Do not imagine, therefore, that the Communists were innocents. But do not imagine, either, that in voting for them—or the neo-fascist MSI or the Northern League—Italians have become extremists. They supported these parties because those of the centre, discredited by the revelations of the past year, richly deserved to be chastised for their complicity in a corrupt system.

Moreover, the centre parties—chief among them the Christian Democrats, who have dominated every Italian government for nearly half a century—have yet to show that they have unambiguously turned their backs on the past and are ready to build a new order. One reason for doubt is the law parliament has passed for voting in general elections: a first-past-the-post arrangement for three-quarters of the lower-house seats with a party list system added on for the remainder—a clear attempt by the old guard to hang on to influence.

Another reason for doubt is the lack of enthusiasm for the 1994 budget among many of these old deputies. The budget, designed to bring some order to Italy's free-range finances, will

inhibit the old rogues from using public money to buy votes. They reckon, probably correctly, that this is their only chance of re-election and possibly therefore their only chance of keeping their parliamentary immunity and staying out of jail.

But events are not going their way. In an effort to look responsible, the PDS has said it will support the budget; the Northern League may abstain. Accordingly, the outlook for the budget, and for privatisation, has improved. And the voters' rebuke to the centre parties in the local elections strengthens the hands of the reformers.

The less-good news

All of this is reason for hope. That hope, however, is tempered by disappointment that no leader has yet emerged from the rubble who might plausibly preside over Italy's reconstruction. Giorgio La Malfa, the leader of the small Republican Party, who was once such a cogent critic, is tainted. Umberto Bossi, the leader of the Northern League, is too much of an opportunist. Achille Occhetto, the leader of the PDS, has served too long under communism's colours to inspire much confidence. And Mario Segni, a former Christian Democrat who has twice promoted referendums on voting reform that have been backed overwhelmingly by the voters, has dithered. Had he seized his moment and been forthright in his policies, he could by now have emerged at the head of a party of the centre. Instead, he risks being left behind.

Next year Italians will vote in a general election. In the absence of a great man, they may have to decide who is to have greatness—or failure—thrust upon him.

Women on top

Labour-market deregulation is helping to create new jobs—but not necessarily for the men thrown out of their old ones

“HI HO, HI HO, it's off to work we go...” chanted the seven dwarfs, as they left Snow White to tend the house, and, of course, to look pretty and vulnerable. These days, it's a fairy tale. The seven dwarfs sit at home, unemployed, lamenting the shortage of jobs for unskilled males—perhaps, for lack of anything to do, turning the pages of the plan released this week by Jacques Delors, president of the European Commission, to revive the European economy and restore full employment (see page 53). Snow White has no time for such things. She is off to work.

And so it is in the real world. The balance between the sexes in the labour markets of Western Europe and America has changed. Understanding why and how is a crucial first step towards framing an effective policy on unemployment.

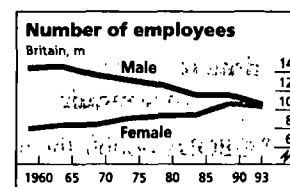
Women still account for a lamentably small share of senior jobs; but lower down the ladder, things are different. In Britain, the number of women in work has increased by 18% since the late 1970s, while male employment has fallen by 7%. Britain now has almost as many female employees as male ones, though many are part-timers. In America, too, women have taken the larger share of America's new jobs since the late 1970s. On current trends, a “typical” worker in America and Britain will be a woman by early in the next century.

A main cause of this change is the shift from manufacturing

to services. The demand for unskilled, manual labour has slumped: brains are more use than brawn in the new jobs being created in information technology, health, education and other services. This puts women and men on more equal terms than in manufacturing. And for many employers, women workers are a bargain. Often eager for part-time jobs that allow them to combine work with child-rearing, they are willing to work for less. And the flexibility of part-time hours lets firms use labour more efficiently.

The rise in female employment is welcome—both for the new employees and for the economy as a whole. By and large, the new women workers are not taking jobs previously done by men; they are paying taxes and adding to output. Nonetheless, the slump in demand for unskilled labour and the influx of female workers have combined to depress pay for unskilled and part-time jobs. Men are less willing to work for very low pay. They may prefer to work in the black economy, or live off welfare. Many of them (unlike the women who had hitherto worked in the home) may choose crime. For these reasons, their condition raises pressing questions for public policy.

Also, the shift from male to female employment is often happening not within households but between them. In Britain, as a new study shows, women are more likely to work if their husbands also have jobs (see page 63). One reason is that



#Estimate
##Forecast

Gross domestic product -- Percent change from previous year
1990 -2%
1991 -9%
1992 -19%
1993 -10%

UNITED STATES

Land Mass: 3.6 million square miles.
Population: 248.7 million.
Life expectancy: men, 72; women, 78.9.
Infant mortality: 8.5 per 1,000 live births.

Percentage of U.S. households with a:
Television 98.9%.
Refrigerator 99.8.
Washing machine 76.3.
Car 89.3.

Consumer price inflation -- Percentage change from previous year-end
1990 6.1%
1991 3.1
1992 2.9
1993# 2.5

#Based on the first nine months.

Gross domestic product -- Percent change from previous year
1990 5.6%
1991 3.2%
1992 5.5%
1993# 4.2%

#Through 2nd quarter of 1993.

Sources: Handbook of International Economic Statistics; Residential Energy Consumption Survey; Business Eastern Europe; Survey of Current Business; Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Books/Rhoda Koenig

FROM RUSSIA WITH HORROR

C T 100

"...When Bonner was eleven, she hid behind the draperies to witness a new entertainment: 'In that room they had the purges'..."

Mothers and Daughters, by Elena Bonner. Translated by Antonina W. Bouis. Alfred A. Knopf; 368 pages; \$23.

SOME ASPECTS OF ELENA BONNER'S LIFE IN prewar Russia were very like those of a well-to-do childhood on the West Side: going with her grandmother to a department store for prettier clothes than her mother allowed; falling asleep in her spacious apartment to the music from a restaurant on the floor below; playing cosacks and robbers. But others were decidedly not and, though sounding like extracts from a thirties farce, were all too real: Elena was told that, although she should not be friends with one of her schoolmates, another was acceptable because his father "was a poet who suited the Party despite his permitting some wrong motifs"; her mother never hugged or kissed her, as such behavior was "petit bourgeois."

The greatest disparity, however, between Bonner's parents and Western ones was their fate. Like her late husband, Andrei Sakharov, Bonner's mother and father were harshly punished for displeasing the Soviet regime. Her first inklings of what would befall them insinuated themselves subtly into her cozy world of dark velvet, cherry jam, and Pushkin. The apartment hotel where they lived contained a large, columned hall used for movie showings and New Year's-tree parties. In 1934, when Bonner was eleven, she hid behind the draperies to indulge her "love of eavesdropping and spying" and to witness a new form of entertainment: "In that room they had the purges."

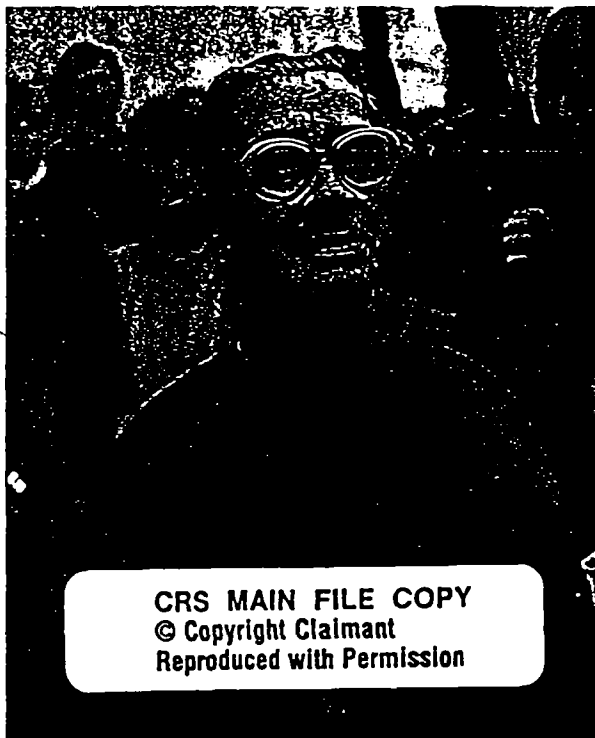
One night, after watching her nervous neighbors being quizzed about their domestic lives and their knowledge of party policy, she saw her father, a high official in the Comintern, called to the head of the room. "Someone at the table said that Papa had written something incorrect in Leningrad. Papa immediately agreed and said he hadn't understood right away. Another man at the table mentioned a name and said that Papa had insulted that man

and had been crude and that he had to correct himself. Papa agreed again." What was more distressing for the little girl than seeing her father so uncharacteristically meek was hearing him pressed to talk about his non-proletarian first wife. Bonner put the unpleasantness out of her mind, but a process had started that reached its climax when she came home from school three years later to find her mother distraught and trembling ("She seemed to be pulling an invisible shawl

and I offered her some change and a piece of bread." Her father never came back. The mother's death, five years ago, in Bonner's house, was the first time the death of anyone in her family had not been a mystery.

Bonner's poignant memoir of her first fourteen years—sensitively translated by Antonina W. Bouis—points up the similarity between being a child and living under Communism. Both instill a fear of seemingly random punishments, a resentment of lack of privacy and of senseless rules; both encourage one to make the most of eavesdropping and inferences. And with both, rebellion is a necessary prologue to maturity or freedom. Bonner dates the great change in her thinking from the day she learned that the shots she had heard in the night were fired by a man upstairs who had killed two of the secret police who had come for him and wounded another. "No one wanted to talk to me about him, but he became a hero for me. That was a break, a chasm in my consciousness. I couldn't connect the thought that he was a hero, that everyone should shoot when they come for him, with my conviction that our country was the best, and that the whole world needed the Revolution."

Bonner's recollections of summer holidays, favorite sweets, and first loves ("Six or seven girls from my class jumped me when I came out of school alone. They knocked me down and hit me with their schoolbags, shouting that I shouldn't sit with Shura, since they were all in love with him, too") are all the more touching, given our knowledge of how they will disappear. She still finds it hard to believe that such things happened, but even harder to believe that some people still deny them. "When I hear people say that they didn't know, say, 'God, could it really have been like that?' or more rarely, 'It couldn't have been!' I want to shout, 'Don't believe them!' It means they didn't want to see, didn't wish to know. And most importantly, it means that their heart never ached, they never helped with a package, a letter, compassion, a word, a



ELENA BONNER: One of the "strange orphans" of Russia.

around herself"), her father gone, and the room full of soldiers. "Mama's look at me was in farewell. That meant it was she. That was better than Papa, because Papa would save her. No. No one could save anyone. Otherwise they would have saved their friends. Then it would be better if it were Papa. No." It was both.

Bonner's mother was taken to a labor camp for eight years, her father for ten, without correspondence privileges, making Elena one of what Ilya Ehrenburg called "the strange orphans." When her mother returned unexpectedly and rang the doorbell, "I thought she was a beggar

CRS MAIN FILE COPY
© Copyright Claimant
Reproduced with Permission

Elena Bonner

In early August 1991 a man who introduced himself as Andrei Stanislavovich Pukhbedomsky telephoned, saying he was assistant to Chairman Ivanenko of the Russian Republic KGB. His chief, he said, wanted to meet with me. Out of old dissonant habit, I replied that I didn't pay calls on the KGB and if they wanted to see me they should send an official warrant. The man quickly assured me that I had misunderstood, that "they" had great respect for me and simply wanted to meet me. At the time the independent KGB of the Russian Federal Republic was in its infancy, I had no idea what it would become, but expected nothing good. Still, I was curious.

I said, "If you really want to get acquainted, come to see me."

A few days later, they did. At first our conversation didn't go very well. We had little to say to each other. We chatted about my articles in *Moscow News*, which they said they had liked, and the Sakharov Congress. I finally asked them why they had come. They said that they wanted to establish contact with political figures and with the public at large. They wanted a clearer idea of what was expected of them and hoped to work out a new concept for their organization.

As for the new concept, I recommended that they get in touch with one of the Congressional experts who had studied the new (Union) law on the KGB and had found that it violated almost every human right. I told them that I didn't consider myself a political figure and that when I spoke out on issues that worried me I was expressing only my own opinion, that I didn't belong to any political party, and that they therefore had made a mistake in coming to see me. But in general, our conversation was amicable. I had never seen people from the KGB trying to act in this way, especially in my own kitchen over a cup of coffee on a bright sunny day. So I said that I'd like to have something from them: permission to read the KGB files on my parents and my uncle and help in locating the manuscripts and diaries of Sakharov that were stolen by the KGB in Gorky.

Ivanenko promised to satisfy my first request immediately, but he wasn't sure what he could do about the second. And with that, they left.

A few days later Andrei Stanislavovich called and invited me to come to the KGB on Monday to read the files. But that Monday was August 19—the day of the *Putsch*. It was only on the twentieth, when I caught a fleeting glimpse of Ivanenko in the Moscow White House, that I remembered the offer—and immediately forgot it. But Andrei Stanislavovich called again, and soon I was crossing for the first time in my life the marble threshold and mounting the marble steps of the building on Lubyanka Square, the place everyone calls the Big House.

I walked down what seemed miles of corridors. I saw the internal prison, now an accounting office—a small three-story building in the inner courtyard connected by a complicated pas-

Copyright © 1992 Elena Bonner

seway to the main building that surrounds it on all sides. There were several cells, very small, on two floors. Prisoners were kept there for short periods, just a day or two. They were tried in a courtroom separated from the prison by a short corridor and up a short flight of stairs. A pleasant young lieutenant showed me around. In the passageway between the inner prison and the courtroom, which was now sealed, he told me that his grandfather had been tried in the courtroom and

1963 at my suggestion but later rejected. It's too bad I hadn't known about this edition earlier. I never knew which edition the former leaders of the Soviet Union had read—the KGB one, the one published in *Zvezda* magazine, or the American edition. At the concert that opened the Sakharov Congress in 1991 Gorbachev told me that he had read the memoirs with great attention, and I could have asked him then.

The second present Bakatin gave me was more modest, since it only

Resolution
On stopping surveillance of File of Operative Development No. 10740, on August 9, 1989, I. Kulnev, Stetschuk A. A., chief of First Department Fifth Directorate KGB USSR, examined the materials of file No. 10740 on "Fos" on "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" and found that the materials have lost their relevance, in connection with which (Bonner, Elena Georgievna POO No. 10740) I resolve: close the case, removing "Fos" from all operative surveillance and destroy the materials.

At the bottom "Agree, Chief Ninth Department Fifth Directorate KGB USSR Colonel Baranov, A. V."

At the top of the page: "Secret. Confirmed. Chief Fifth Directorate KGB USSR Major General Avakov, E.F., 6 September 1989." On the reverse side:

Order on destruction of file No. 10740... September 6, 1989... burn volumes 1, 41, 71, 136, 200, 280, 340. Previously destroyed by decree of 10/17/1988 a total of 116 volumes... Order of 12/19/1988... 116 volumes. Order of 1/4/1989... total of 114 volumes... Order of 4/5/1989... 42 volumes. Order of 5/29/1989... 44 volumes. Order of 6/5/1989... 43 volumes. Order of 7/28/1989... 40 volumes. Order of 7/28/1989... 44 volumes. Order of 8/1/1989... 17 volumes

This means a total of 583 volumes were destroyed. The first seven were burned on the basis of the resolution quoted. But what was the basis for the destruction of case files compiled before September 6, 1989?

Did the burned volumes include Andrei Dmitrievich's manuscripts and diaries? I keep hoping that they will be found. I hope that they destroyed only the evidence of the many years of surveillance—reports by informers, and other materials they describe with the words "operative development." First they fill up so much paper and then they destroy it—200 volumes on Andrei and 383 on me. I'm not much interested in how they investigated us, how deeply they got into our intimate life. And I don't want to know the names of the people we considered friends but who worked for the KGB. Today I continue living as I had before—the methods and concerns of the old KGB do not interest me. And I'm not so sure that it can be changed enough to meet the standards of a democratic state.

In my first visits to the Big House, the Russian KGB had modest offices on a single floor, the seventh. Andrei Stanislavovich told me that he couldn't understand why the KGB of the USSR didn't arrest him while he shopped back and forth between that building and the White House. Why did they allow him to leave? Why did they let him back in? But by November the Russian KGB had expanded, and in December his office had moved to the fifth floor. It was strange to look out the window of his office and see the large round square below, with the empty pedestal of the Dzerzhinsky monument in the middle, and the Okhotny Ryad perspective radiating

CRS MAIN FILE COPY
© Copyright Claimant
Reproduced with Permission



had gotten the most common sentence of those days—execution by shooting (the most extreme punishment).

The sentence was carried out on the other side of Lubyanka Square in the cellar of the Military Collegium building. An underground passage, which goes beneath the entire square, under the subway tunnels and city communication lines, connected it with the main building of the KGB. This had been the last road walked by many thousands of people. I didn't see the passage and I don't even know if it is still there. A lump in my throat kept me from asking.

I took the underground passage from the old KGB building to the new one twice in order to see V. V. Bakatin, the new post-*Putsch* chairman of the KGB. At our first meeting he gave me a marvelous present: a two-volume set of Andrei Sakharov's memoirs, published in 1986—that is, three years before the book appeared—in handsome blue covers, in manuscript format, on good quality paper, in large type. The volumes are convincing evidence that Sakharov's manuscripts had been stolen, not by random petty thieves, but by the Committee on State Security, the KGB.

The KGB's edition had the title *Pages of Reminiscences*, the title An-

confirmed a loss. I received two documents. Here is the complete text of the first:

Note

File of Operative Investigation No. 4490 on Bonner, Elena Georgievna, was received by First Department Fifth Directorate of the KGB USSR from the USGB [the main directorate of the KGB] of Moscow and Moscow Oblast on December 16, 1971, and refiled as POI No. 3223. On December 29, 1972, POI No. 3223 was transferred to File of Operative Development No. 10740, and on July 4, 1988, so it was added POO No. 1532 in 200 volumes on Sakharov AD ("Askold"), received from the KGB for Gorky Oblast (our No. 14616).

That is all the document says. It doesn't make clear when they started investigating me. And it seems that I wasn't appended to Sakharov's file but that he was attached to mine. Of course, he had always said I underestimated myself and that for the KGB I was Enemy No. 1. Strangely, our cases were put together in the same file only in 1988.

The second document also consists of a single page, but there is writing on both sides. I find in it that I had been

P 46-49

U. 39
June 25, 1992

The New York Review

It was lovely! I had walked these windows so many times, gazing inwardly, feeling the oppressive building suffocating me. And now I was inside. And the case files of my family were before me.

Father's case file is No. 11888. The order for his arrest and a search warrant issued in June 1937 appear on the first page. He was arrested "at the section for receiving prisoners of the 10th section GUOB"—where apparently he had been brought from the offices of the Comintern, where he worked. Page 2 gives information identifying the prisoner, including photographs taken on the day of his arrest—full face and profile. He had been beaten—there is a large bruise under his right eye and his wide-eyed stare is unrecognizable. I had seen eyes like that. Many of them. In an exhibit of photographs of the prisoners of Auschwitz. The fourth page lists what was taken during the search of his house: "1. personal correspondence and various documents. 2. counter-revolutionary Trotskyite materials. 3. 2 revolvers, Mausers, No. 6117 and No. 268563, and 48 bullets." On the other side of that page there is a note: "In view [sic] of the absence of keys and the impossibility of searching the suitcase and trunk were sealed with seal No. 30."

A resolution follows (page 5) on the selected method of restraint—detention under guard—dated November 15, 1937, five and a half months after his arrest. It says: "For several years perpetrated anti-Soviet work, as a member of a Trotskyite-rightist organization in the Comintern system and collaborated with foreign intelligence."

In the transcript of the first interrogation, Father gave our ages, incorrectly. He wrote, "My children are a daughter, Lurya Alikhanova, 13, and a son, Igor Alikhanov, 10." But I was already fourteen and Igor was nine. Did he make a mistake? Forget? Or was there a hidden meaning for him in that? And in giving our names (in other case files I have seen, they wrote only "daughter," "son," or "two children") was he attempting to extend an unusual spiritual thread to us, simply by repeating our names, by reproducing them on paper? Oh, my inflexible Communist father! The transcript ends with his words: "I have never participated in any oppositions, fractional groups, or deviations. G. Alikhanov" (page 7).

Then comes another resolution (page 8) dated August 1937 (no day given).

I, commander of the 9th division

duty to bring to your attention the following. Before my work in the Comintern, I worked for many years in the Party [illegible] honestly and loyally to the party of Lenin and Stalin. When I moved to the apparatus of the Comintern, I was gradually drawn into anti-Party work. I found myself among the Trotskyite-right group of Pyatnitsky [Isid Pyatnitsky was secretary of the Comintern's Executive Committee.] At first I thought that Pyatnitsky and his allies held the correct Stalinist positions. However, I later saw that this group in its makeup and direction was Trotskyite-right-wing. Having realized that—instead of exposing the group and struggling ruthlessly against it—I helped that group and became a member of that group. Therefore I bear the responsibility for the counter-revolutionary work of the entire group. In view of the specific conditions of work in the Comintern apparatus (the need to be conspiratorial) I could not know the entire activity of the group but only parts. But those parts were counter-revolutionary enough. They kept Trotskyite and rightist elements in responsible posts in the most important sectors. They recruited dubious and spying elements in secret places. My personal counter-revolutionary work consisted in that on the one hand I knew individual facts of anti-Party work of this group and did not expose them or protest against them and on the other hand that in my own work in the Balkans I recruited and trusted leftist and Trotskyite elements, for instance the famous Trotskyite [illegible] and his brothers, or the leftist elements of the Bulgarian party, who led the struggle against Dimitrov. I will give more detailed information on my counterrevolutionary work and the work of the Pyatnitsky group in my statements [sic]. 13.XI.1937.

Then from page 10 to page 126 come the interrogations of six Comintern workers from September to December 1937. And the page numbering is changed there, too. On page 10 you can see 149 crossed out, all the way to page 164, when a third numbering begins. Father's second interrogation—also his last—was on December 29, 1937. According to the third numbering, it begins on file page 126. When asked if he pled guilty, Father said: "Yes. I am guilty of being a member of



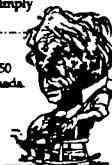
What better way to keep in touch with your friends?

Our latest edition of 4" x 6" Levine postcards features six familiar faces—Margaret Thatcher, Count Basie, Colette, Wanda Kandinaky, Billie Holiday, and Robert Frost.

Handsomely printed on cameo postcard stock, they make striking yet inexpensive gifts. You may order a set of 30 cards—with five postcards of each caricature—for only \$8.25. When you order three sets (90 cards) you save \$2.75 off the regular \$24.75 price and pay only \$22. Or take \$6.25 off the regular \$41.25 price and order 5 sets (150 cards) for only \$35.

You'll find that the distinctive wit and elegance of David Levine's drawings make these postcards irresistible. To order, simply send us this coupon with your payment.

I enclose \$_____ which includes \$1.25 per set for postage and handling within the US and Canada, or \$3.50 per set for postage and handling outside the US and Canada.
Send me: ☐ One set (30 postcards) for \$8.25
☐ Three sets (90 postcards) for \$22.00
☐ Five sets (150 postcards) for \$35.00



Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Please make check or money order payable to The New York Review of Books, and return to: Postcard Dept., The New York Review of Books, 250 West 57th St., Box 1221, New York, NY 10019. Please allow 3 weeks for delivery within the US and 6 to 8 weeks delivery to places outside of the US.

A Book of One's Own The Reader's Catalog

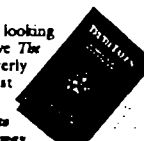


Whether it's feminism or Expressionism you want to explore, a bookstore only has so many shelves.

Try finding these two titles from The Feminist Press in your local bookstores. We tried. Without success. But with one call—or fax, or letter—to The Reader's Catalog Service, you can order these or any other U.S. book in print.

Call now to order the titles you've been looking for. And mail the coupon below to receive The Reader's Catalog Bulletin, a free quarterly periodical featuring the season's most exciting titles.

From page-turners to poetry, bestsellers to the best from small presses. Let us lead the way.



"A fascinating and unique work"

LOCAL JUSTICE

How Institutions Abuse Us, our Goals, and our Society

JANUARY

"Local Justice is an excellent in Eastern idea, one that uses the author's panoramic knowledge of social theory, and his talent for synthesizing theory from the various social sciences and philosophy. As usual, the author's erudition shows on every page."

—John E. Roemer

\$24.95 288 pp. 0-87154-231-5

Also Available

CHOICE OVER TIME

GEORGE LOEWENSTEIN
AND JON ELSTER, EDITORS

A rich sampling of original research on interpersonal choice from a broad range of theoretical and methodological perspectives.

\$39.95 352 pp. 0-87154-156-6

Russell Sage Foundation
112 East 40th Street, New York, NY 10017
Order toll-free 800-446-2211

REFLECTIONS OF A DIGGER

"It is not the description of archaeology with its theories and schemes of history that now dominates our thinking. It is, rather, the personal experience of a curiosity about the world with many people in many countries, and of the new world we have discovered during these fifty years. For my own amusement I have tried to trace the adventures of a mind continually influenced by people of different cultures and different



—Frederick Rainscy

This personal narrative includes a lifelong adventure that began on a tramp steamer trip to Shanghai in 1929. As Director of The University Museum in Philadelphia for 30 years, Fred Rainscy and his wife explored the world and created the award-winning T.V. series, "What is in the World." He shares with the reader the thrill of his research and the excitement, both personal and professional, and his persistent quest for all the people of the earth.

Hardcover \$24.95 (H)
Massachusetts University of Pennsylvania
330 and Service Drive, Philadelphia, PA 19104
(215) 895-4124 (215) 895-8887 (ext.)

espionage work for many years?"

"No, I do not confirm that."

The press for a cigarette would have ended. And the tea. And his life!

On December 30 the investigator announced the end of the investigation, and on December 31 charges were written for case No. 11888 "charging member of the counterrevolutionary terrorist organization in the Comintern system and agent of Japanese intelligence Alikhanov Gevork Sarkisovich under articles 1a-17-8 and 11 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR." Above that was stamped: Approved. And signed: Vyshinsky.

On February 12 (file page 138) the preliminary meeting was held to prepare for a trial. February 13, the minutes of the closed court of the circuit session of the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR. The session began at 18:00. "The defendant stated that he had nothing to add and asked the court to spare his life." The sentence: "The military Collegium of the Supreme Court USSR sentenced Alikhanov Gevork Sarkisovich to the highest measure—execution with confiscation of all his personal property. The sentence is final (one word illegible—E.B.) resolution of the Central Executive Committee USSR of 1/XII/34 is immediately executed. The meeting ended at 18:15."

The last page of volume 1 (file page 142):

Secret. Note. The death sentence on Alikhanov Gevork Sarkisovich was executed in Moscow on February 13, 1938. The decree on realizing the death sentence is kept in the Special Archive of the NKVD USSR, Vol. 3, page 72. Chief of the 12th section of the First Special Department NKVD USSR State Security Lieutenant [signature].

Volume 2 contains materials on my father's rehabilitation following the death of Stalin. According to information supplied by the KGB agents, he was not a spy. There are no reports from Alikhanov G.S. at all. That means that he did not work for the KGB-NKVD-OGPU.

But there follows a list of twenty Comintern workers (including Father), whose files had been falsified by the investigator, along with his statement that he "had used physical means of influencing statements on orders of his superior and with him had beaten Pyatitsky and many other prisoners."

That investigator, before his own arrest in 1957, had worked his way up to lieutenant general. He survived the camps and returned to Moscow, something that was not allowed until 1987 for prisoners of conscience, or dissidents, when they completed their camp sentences. So it seems that the administration treated former investigators better than their victims.

The investigator's superior had been arrested in 1938 as a Polish spy and sentenced to death. His wife applied for posthumous rehabilitation for him. When the case was reexamined, the charges of espionage were dropped. But "The idea he [name] for espionage work for many years?"

Even the rehabilitation files have falsifications in them. The Lieutenant General of Justice who was in charge of rehabilitating my father wrote on November 17, 1954, "Please instruct the appropriate registry office to give Bonner Ruth Grigoryevna certificate of death for her husband, Alikhanov Gevork Sarkisovich, born 1897 in Tbilisi, was condemned on February 13, 1938, by the Supreme Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR, and while serving his sentence died of pneumonia on March 11, 1939." So this comrade general buried my father one more time, making up a new date and month and year for his death.

My mother's investigation file No. 15871 is very brief, and it seems completely insignificant compared to the file on her incarceration, which had



been started long before the rehabilitation process as a result of the complaints I was able to make as an army veteran. When I read K. Andrei Stanislovich said that I was fortunate—in many cases wives had given evidence against their husbands. In the prison photograph Mother is smiling triumphantly, confirming the thought I had at the time that she was waiting impatiently to be arrested at last.

Her file was begun before her arrest. It opens with a note (file page 1) dated November 4, 1937. "Former Comintern worker Alikhanov Gevork Sarkisovich was arrested by the Third Department OGPU as a member of a counterrevolutionary Trotskyite organization and as a Japanese spy. Living in Moscow, at Gorky Street, 36, apt. 317, Hotel Laxe, is Alikhanov's wife, Bonner Ruth Grigoryevna, b. 1901, Siberia, Verkhne-Olenyok, not a Party member [Mother had already been expelled from the Party], USSR citizen, studying at the Stalin Industrial Academy. She has children.... The children are in Leningrad at Bonner's mother's. Bonner is subject to arrest."

But when she filled out her prison dossier, Mother did not write that she had children. And in her only interrogation, when asked "What ties of Alikhanov's do you know?" she replied, "I don't know any of Alikhanov's friends, since none of his friends have

one anyone. As I reread that part of Mother's file, I can't keep from smiling, through tears, of course. It reminds me of my own interrogations, when I played dumb, answering like an idiot, repeating over and over, "I'm not important."

Mother's file ends on page 6, with an excerpt from the transcript of the Special Meeting of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs USSR on March 22, 1938. Bonner Ruth Grigoryevna—as a member of the family of a traitor of the homeland—is to be incarcerated in a corrective labor camp for eight years, starting from 9/XI/37. File to be sent to the archives." Beneath is a stamp marking that Mother was sent from the Besyky Prison in Almaty. And there is a No. 461218 on Karlag.

The file on my uncle, Mother's brother, Bonner Marvel Grigoryevich,

begins with the resolution to select a method of restraint and a charge dated September 29, 1937, which states there is "enough evidence to indicate he is a member of a counterrevolutionary espionage organization and doing undermining work against the USSR for Japan."

The full text of his first interrogation on the day of his arrest on October 26:

Question: You have been arrested for counterrevolutionary activity. Give a statement on this.

Reply: I have done no counterrevolutionary activity.

Question: That is not true. Your subordinates will not hide your criminal activity from the investigation. We suggest you give truthful answers.

Reply: I am not hiding anything and I repeat that I have never done any criminal activity against Soviet rule.

Question: We are warning you that we will have to use the existing materials of the investigation against you. We suggest once more that you give exhaustive evidence about your criminal activity.

Reply: I can only repeat what I said, that I have not committed any crimes against Soviet rule.

The second (and last) interrogation was on November 21. In it Marvel confessed fully that he had been a Japanese spy. The materials in the in-

under articles 58.6 and 11 of the Criminal Code RSFSR, and then it says: "I consider this present investigation file No. 35719-37 charging Bonser MO to be complete and in accordance with decree No. 99463 of the NKVD General Commissioner of State Security Comrade Yezhov am sending it to be reviewed in the first category. The charges were written on December 31, 1937. Leningrad."

The last page in the file, page 27: "Note. Decision of the Commission NKVD and the Procurator of the USSR on [the date is not filled in] 1937 in relation to Bonser Marvel Grigoryevich was executed on 20/XI/1937." What decision was that? Why was it carried out ten days before the charges were filed? Did they first shoot him and then do the paperwork?

Besides these three cases, I read the file on Father's friend Aleksei Konstantinovich Stoyarov. He was arrested because at the Party meeting in the summer of 1937 he said that he couldn't believe that Alikhanov was an enemy of the people. After that his comrades in the Party organization of the Red Professors Institute devoted several meetings to his past sins. He had visited a sick coworker, whose husband was later arrested. He had been at the Institute but did not attend a rally calling for the death of either Marshal Tukhachevsky or someone else. He had not criticized Abram Deborin—the Marxist philosopher attacked by Stalin as a Menshevik idealist—when this was demanded. And he dared to defend an arrested

man! He was exposed from the Party "for ties with enemies of the people and for deceiving the Party." At the moment of his arrest he was working as an accountant at a sewing factory. At his first interrogation he did not admit his guilt—he was accused of being in that same Trotskyite-rightist and espionage group as Father, even though he had nothing to do with the Comintern. At the second interrogation he admitted his guilt fully. But he was not shot. There is a copy of his autopsy in the file, which makes it clear that he died of beatings before trial. That's why he was not rehabilitated and "the case against Stoyarov was closed W13/54 for unsubstantiated charges." Alyosha Stoyarov, who lent me good books and then discussed them with me. Father's friend!

I read the files on many others who worked for the Comintern. They are all similar, astonishing in their identical style. At the first interrogation no one admits guilt. And in the second they all confess "fully." The period between the first and second interrogation lasts from two or three days to one to two months. It was almost six months for Father, and ten for Pyatafsky. The transcripts of the confessions are all the same in content, varying only the countries for which they are said to be spying. And the language is strangely similar for people from different ethnic groups. And they all got the same sentences—execution by shooting. The trials lasted ten to fifteen minutes. The longest was Pyatafsky's—twenty minutes. And in all the

cases of death "while serving the sentence."

I am not naming names. The investigators also have children and grandchildren. And their victims—all of them, each and every one in the files I read—gave evidence against someone else. Mother's is the only file without such evidence—the date I have a second interrogation. And she told me that they didn't beat her.

One more thing. I don't think the archives should be moved from where they were kept. They are in order there. But measures should be taken to keep them from being destroyed. I don't know how. But I do know that given our civic sloppiness, the simple transfer of the files from one place to another could lead to their destruction.

The recent history of our country is a total lie. Just look at the family—there are not only lies in the investigation files and the charges during the period of "violation of Soviet legality." There are also lies in the death certificates issued by registry offices during the period when "the cult of personality" was exposed and people were rehabilitated. The highest state officials also lied. During the months and years when Andrei Dmitriyevich Sakharov asked the fate of his papers—in 1968 and 1969—they were in fact being burned. Such were the lies of the perestroika era.

—translated by Antonina W. Bous

The Democratic Vista

Murray Kempton

Who Will Tell the People:

The Betrayal of American Democracy by William Greider. Simon and Schuster, 464 pp., \$25.00

Karl Marx's economic interpretation of history has failed so far out of fashion that William Greider fairly starts us with how well its application can work in *Who Will Tell the People*. The rest of us sit numb with asking ourselves over and over, "What's wrong with the Democratic Party?" and Greider bobs up with an answer as plausible as it is simple: Nothing at all is wrong with the Democratic Party from the point of view of the ends of Washington lawyers who are its government in exile.

The senior among them is Robert Strauss, universally recognized as "Mr. Democrat." Strauss's firm, Akin, Gump, Greider observes, represents "everything from Drexel Burnham Lambert to the Motion Picture Association of America, from McDonnell Douglas to AT & T." Strauss is currently on leave as ambassador to Russia, doing his country honor and service as explorer of new economic frontiers.

An ascending junior is Tommy Boggs, son of Hale Boggs, the deceased former majority leader of the House. One ornament of Patton, Boggs and Blow is Ron Brown, chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Brown's elevation was popularly recognized as a mark of the new authority of

Copyright © 1992 Newday Inc.

June 23, 1992

Democrats of color. It seems to have been rather more significant as evidence of Tommy Boggs's increasing authority as a Democrat of power and profit. His new office has inhibited Brown's exertions as lobbyist; but all the same, while Old Nippon was out-trading us and the congressional Democrats were threatening reprisals, Brown was on the Hill crying mercy for twenty-one Japanese electronics companies.

When Frank Lorenzo was breaking the machine's union and refusing Eastern Airlines, David Sawyer, seasoned Democratic consultant, managed his advertising campaign; and Strauss and Boggs bore his brunt and helped him block a congressional bill to force his quarrel into mediation. Having been unseated to help Lorenzo trammel working people, Strauss and Boggs were unseated to repair to bankruptcy court and collect their share of \$12 million in legal fees for helping wreck Eastern.

Strauss and Boggs are old stagers in the Washington bar's Democratic coterie. Stuart Eizenstat, Jimmy Carter's domestic policy adviser, is newer to their mercenary troop but has found in its foragings a sovereign cure for his defeated liberal wounds.

Eizenstat, Greider informs us, represented the National Association of Manufacturers in its efforts to weaken "a workers' right-to-know law on toxic chemicals" and upheld Public Service Indiana's struggle against over-insulative acid rain legislation

with so much agility of address that Public Service Indiana rewarded him with a seat as a director.

When he is not employed at the public woe, Eizenstat does his voluntary bit for the public weal by writing speeches for the Democratic Speaker of the House and the Democratic majority leader of the Senate.

The collective expression of Strauss, Boggs, and Eizenstatism is the Democratic Leadership Council, which is financed by ARCO, Dow Chemical, Prudential Bache etc. The DLC's aim is to persuade the party to return to the mainstream of American politics, i.e., to where its corporate patrons feed and feed distinguished counsel.

The DLC's preferred presidential candidate is Governor Bill Clinton of Arkansas, a longstanding associate. It would be ridiculous to belabor Clinton for this choice of guiding light: Where else does hope reside in our politics when Republicans and Democrats alike get 70 percent of their campaign funds from corporate PACs in doling serenely bipartisan? Political commentators a while ago discarded the economic interpretation of history; otherwise they might be less puzzled to notice how few voters have even bothered with the Democratic primaries. The simplest answer is a question: Why should ordinary voters care when they can't see any more difference between Republicans and Democrats than the corporate PACs do? □

The Importance of Being Bookish

The Reader's Catalog

The Ultimate Book Service for the Consummate Book Lover.



The Reader's Catalog Service will send any U.S. book in print to any location in the World.

The Reader's Catalog is our annotated listing of 40,000 books, in 208 categories. Only \$27.95

Try us Out! Call now for our FREE quarterly bulletin: a magazine introducing this season's most enticing books.

Return this coupon in an envelope to:

The Reader's Catalog, 250 West 57th Street, Room 1330, New York, NY 10107

- ☐ Please send me a free bulletin.
- ☐ Please send me The Reader's Catalog at \$27.95 plus \$4.95 shipping charge. (Make check or money order payable to The Reader's Catalog.)
- ☐ Check enclosed/Charge my ☐ AMEX ☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard. New York State residents please add applicable sales tax.

Name _____
Address _____
City/State/Zip _____
Telephone No. _____

800-733-BOOK

Sam to 8pm EST
24 hr. FAX:
212-507-1973
250 West 57th Street,
Suite 1330
New York, NY 10107

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a tabbed divider. Given our digitization capabilities, we are sometimes unable to adequately scan such dividers. The title from the original document is indicated below.

Misc.

Divider Title: _____



United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 102^d CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 138

WASHINGTON, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1992

No. 136—Part II

Senate

WOMEN AND POVERTY IN RUSSIA

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I would like to call my colleagues' attention to a piece by Katrina vanden Heuvel recently published in the New York Times. Ms. vanden Heuvel writes about the disproportional impact that declining economic conditions are having on women in Russia. As an editor of the Nation where she writes on Russian politics and society, Ms. vanden Heuvel's expert observations emphasize the difficulties confronting working women in Russia. Ms. vanden Heuvel clarifies the risks that these women are facing. They are subject to discrimination and harassment in the job market and workplace while anti-discrimination legislation is routinely unenforced. In addition, Russian women now face the dismantling of the Soviet system of child care and potential legislation limiting the number of hours that mothers would be allowed to work.

With the impending influx of American organizations and business representatives into the former Soviet Union, we have an unprecedented opportunity to influence attitudes toward women in the Russian workplace. These Americans can help demonstrate the economic wisdom of making work force participation a viable option for women. As the Senate moves toward consideration of the Freedom Support Act conference report, I believe it is

appropriate for us to consider Ms. vanden Heuvel's perspective on the issue of women in the former Soviet Union. I commend Ms. vanden Heuvel's article to my colleagues and ask unanimous consent that it be inserted in the RECORD at this point.

[From the New York Times, Sept. 12, 1992]

WOMEN OF RUSSIA, UNITE!

(By Katrina vanden Heuvel)

As the Soviet welfare system collapses, the feminization of poverty may become the new Russia's largest and cruellest problem.

In Moscow, 70 percent of the newly unemployed are women between the ages of 45 and 55. When I visited one of Moscow's recently established unemployment offices this summer, women in line described the kind of discrimination they now face in the job market. Some were turned away because they were too old—in their 40's. Others had been told that their maternal responsibilities made them unreliable workers.

Women's economic desperation is visible on Moscow's streets, too, where the overwhelming number of peddlers are older women and young mothers.

Although anti-discrimination legislation still exists in Russia, it is not being enforced. Sexist (and ageist) job advertisements are commonplace. Alisa, a new brokerage house, published announcements seeking woman aged 18 to 21 for secretarial positions. Applicants were told to come to the interview wearing a miniskirt.

An advertising firm requested that applicants for a receptionist position submit a full-size photo, preferably one showing them in a bikini to display their "full super-attractiveness."

Still worse, legislation being discussed by the Parliament, and likely to be adopted this fall, would prevent women from participat-

ing equally in the emerging market economy. Mothers of children under the age of 14 would be allowed to work only a limited number of hours a week, thereby disqualifying them from the best jobs. The legislation is supported by a coalition of Russia's new democrats and old-style conservatives.

In addition, the Parliament and some city governments are dismantling the once elaborate Soviet system of child care. With fewer outside services, women will be compelled to leave the workplace. The Moscow City Council, for example, proposes to close about a third of the city's day-care centers in the next two years. While Russian politicians argue that women resented having to combine full-time work and full-time homemaking under the old Soviet system, a recent poll shows that only 20 percent of Russian women want to stay at home.

Regardless of personal preference, millions of Russian families will not be able to survive without two incomes, as inflation grows. In 1992, women's earnings account for 40 percent of family incomes, while every fifth Russian woman is the family's only breadwinner.

Not surprisingly, Russian women are forming activist and self-help groups. In some ways, their struggle is reminiscent of the American women's movement in the late 1960's. On the other hand, unlike the American economy of the time, Russia's economy is disintegrating and offers few new opportunities. And Russian women are unlikely to find allies among the overwhelmingly male political class.

Should the U.S. care about the plight of women in Russia? The Bush Administration has rightly argued that we must give financial support to Russia's reforms. But most of the aid is conditional on the Yeltsin Government's making drastic budgetary cuts. The cuts, of course, will lead to higher unemployment and fewer welfare provisions, which will victimize women first and foremost.

It would be wiser, more humane and more consistent with our values and laws to make all such aid intended to promote a market economy in Russia conditional on practices that will provide equal opportunity for all citizens. Women should be present at the creation of the new Russia. As my friend Anastasia insists, "Democracy without women is not democracy."

ARTICLES.

■ EASTWARD, CHRISTIAN SOLDIERS!

Right-to-Lifers Hit Russia

KATRINA VANDEN HEUVEL

"Mass terror is being conducted against our children," Galina Seryakova says. We are sitting in her kitchen. Plastic model fetuses are lined up on the table, between a plate of cookies and a teakettle. "Hitler and Stalin never dreamed of killing on such a scale."

Seryakova is the founder of Right to Life, one of Russia's new antiabortion groups. "My fetuses," she tells me proudly, "are gifts from the Right to Life Federation."

Beyond the bloody events in Moscow last month that transfixed the world and jolted the country's political life, there is another, more subterranean battle going on for the Russian soul. From Moscow's streets to Siberia's remote villages, across the ideological ruins of the Communist landscape, fundamentalist Christians, Catholic proselytizers and even Jewish zealots are disseminating literature, holding prayer meetings and bidding for converts with dollars where simple persuasion is insufficient. Christian right groups such as the International Right to Life Federation are by far the best organized and most successful. Their ideas about morality and family values—especially as these coincide with a resurgent nationalism that relies on traditional notions of women and the glorification of motherhood—are highly appealing to Russians in flux between discarding an old identity and creating a new one. In this context, abortion rights have become a natural target. As Dr. John Willke, president of the federation, told his followers last year after returning from a trip to Russia, "We have seen historic achievements in regions of the world previously impenetrable to pro-life activity. . . . Clearly Russia is an immensely fertile field to be plowed in terms of value systems and our issue."

Last year, Willke's outfit organized a three-day "Right to Life" conference in Moscow to facilitate contacts between an array of U.S. Christian right groups and the leaders of Russia's nascent antiabortion movement. One of those American groups, Focus on the Family, a media conglomerate out of Colorado Springs with an annual budget of \$77 million and a mission to fight "militant homosexuals," abortion rights advocates and pornographers, broadcasts its agenda every day over some 2,500 Russian radio stations. Human Life International, a Catholic group that describes itself as the world's largest "pro-life/pro-family" organization, with fifty-eight branches in forty countries, has opened offices across the former Soviet Union. Its latest project, the "Conversion Corps for Mary," aims to attract "100 people who can—perhaps with great sacrifice—donate at least \$1000, helping to fulfill the Blessed Virgin Mary's prophecy regarding the con-

version of Russia." Father Paul Marx, the president of H.L.I., is asking American volunteers to enlist for one year's service in Russia to "help us save thousands, perhaps millions in time, of the babies in the womb throughout Eastern Europe and Russia." He has hired twelve Russians to work in clinics where abortions are conducted. "They are trained to talk the girls out of having abortions," he told me. It is still a fledgling operation, but the group is also pumping money into Russia, Ukraine and Belarus to translate and publish "pro-life/pro-family" literature and videos, as well as materials about the purported dangers of I.U.D.s and birth control pills.

Russia is in many ways ideal territory for the Christian right. In its social attitudes and values, the country remains deeply conservative. A recent opinion poll revealed that the Russian Orthodox Church and the army are the country's two most popular institutions. Indeed, the church's prominent role as first mediator and then partisan in the clash between

'If abortions were allowed under the Communists, it means abortions must be bad . . .'

President Boris Yeltsin and the Parliament highlighted the church's new-found authority. Meanwhile, of course, homophobia remains strong despite the decriminalization of homosexuality last May. The feminist movement is small and disorganized, and because the right to abortion was so deeply ingrained in the Communist system, threats to that right have not aroused women to organize or join forces. (Very few women living today remember the horror of illegal abortions, a fact of life for two decades during Stalin's pro-natalist regime.) The threats to abortion rights are thus part of what Andrei Popov, a young social demographer, calls the post-Communist syndrome. "If abortions were allowed under the Communists, it means abortions must be bad because the Communists are bad," he explains.

Antiabortion forces are also exploiting fears over the dramatically falling birthrate. Last year, for the first time since World War II, deaths in Russia exceeded births. Many women say that grinding poverty, social instability and hopelessness lead them to postpone, or forgo, childbearing. More than half the families with three or more children live in poverty. For the majority of Russian women, abortion is the only accessible means of birth control. It is not uncommon for a woman to have six to eight abortions during her lifetime. As a result, the Russian abortion rate is the highest in the world.

The vaunted market reforms have changed the situation little. In practice, lack of sex education and lack of money to buy contraceptives have made genuine family planning a privilege of the new rich. Currently, only 22 percent of all Russian women of childbearing age use birth control. Although Planned Parenthood Federation of America and a handful

if nongovernmental Russian groups are beginning to distribute family planning information and contraceptives to schools and offices, the needs are overwhelming. One Russian newspaper reported that there are only three condoms available per year for each Russian male; the supply of oral contraceptives satisfies a mere 2 percent of demand. Only intensive government investment in family planning will improve the situation. But this year the Yeltsin government has allocated less hard currency for buying modern contraceptives than the Communist regimes did.

As if by way of a substitute, the Moscow city government, several of Yeltsin's ministries and his chief adviser on women and family affairs have welcomed American Christian right groups and their agenda. "They struck me as children," Father Marx said about his meeting with Russian Health Ministry officials. "They grabbed anything we had, our antiabortion buttons, our literature. They're fascinated with anything American." Marx boasted of seeing his group's materials in hospitals and schools: "Even in Siberia, they had our posters."

The Ministry of Social Protection (similar to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services), Yeltsin's Office on Family Affairs and the Moscow city government have distributed Christian right books, pamphlets and other paraphernalia to secondary schools. The material is presented as expert, unbiased information on reproductive health, sexuality and child-raising. Focus on the Family's videos on sexual morality are used in high school ethics courses, the equivalent of American sex education programs. *Dr. Dobson Answers Your Questions*, written by the founder of Focus on the Family, is used in teaching colleges and institutes. The book argues that "no rationalization can justify detaching a healthy little human being from his place of safety and leaving him to suffocate on a porcelain table"; warns that "the sexual rev-

olution has the power to destroy us as a people"; and defines homosexuality as "perversion."

John and Barbara Willke's book *The Wonder of Sex* is also used in Moscow's teaching colleges. "What is an abortion?" a young girl asks her mother in this slim manual. "It's just another instance when people act in ways against God's wishes."

The Minister of Social Protection, Ella Pamfilova, has consulted with Focus on the Family in developing a curriculum for social workers and has sought its advice on family and social policy. "The desire for Western contacts, and dollars, is so overwhelming," a Russian analyst notes, "that nobody says, 'Who are you?' They say, 'Come on in. Here's the door.'"

Free Bibles and other published materials, videos, stadium-sized revivals and television advertising are particularly seductive to potential converts. In fact, the Russian antiabortion movement seems driven as much by pragmatic opportunism as by religious fervor or ideological fanaticism. Although many of the Russian activists I met seemed sincere, even obsessive, others are undoubtedly attracted to the possibility of receiving fax and video machines, as well as hard currency contributions and travel to the West.

Take, for example, Mikhail Matskovskii, director of the International Center for Human Values, a quasi-governmental organization that publishes Christian right material. He was appointed last March to the Presidential Commission on Women, Families and Children, and claims to be responsible for introducing such material to the Russian government. Slick, articulate, English-speaking, Matskovskii calls himself a family values entrepreneur. After many years of toiling as a sociologist in the state-run Academy of Science, he says he was inspired by *perestroika* to "go beyond the limits of studying the family to do something on a grander scale."

In 1991, with some government funding, he opened his center. Its mandate, like that of so many Russian organizations, is grandiosely vague: "to promote mutual understanding and trust among nations, to bring together cultures and ideologies on the basis of universal moral principles accepted by civilized humanity." Matskovskii furthermore asserts that the center's foreign partners are "interested in a free and open exchange of opinion on crucial political, economic and social issues." Such descriptions would seem to rule out the Christian right, but Matskovskii is doing a good business in selling its version of morality. *Dr. Dobson Answers Your Questions*, which the center published, sold 300,000 copies in a few months; the Willkes' *The Wonder of Sex* sold 100,000 in a month. This year, Matskovskii will publish their *Abortion: Questions and Answers*, considered by many to be the bible of the American antiabortion movement. "We have sent some money over to prime his printing presses," John Willke told me.

Andy Melilla, Focus on the Family's director for international relations, has known Matskovskii for several years. "He has a Jewish heritage, and calls himself an agnostic," Melilla says, "but when he came out to see us at our headquarters in California, he told us that his country lacked a value system and that our Ten Commandments intrigued him. 'We need something like that for the moral foundations of our country,' he said."

Many Russians in the antiabortion movement are less naïve



ILLUSTRATION BY CES JETTER

about Matskovskii's motives. "He'll publish anything as long as it makes money," one activist says. Indeed, Matskovskii's center is also publishing books like Barbara de Angelis's sex-help manual, *Secrets About Men Every Woman Should Know*. When I asked Melilla if he and James Dobson knew that Matskovskii published such books as well, he chuckled nervously. "Maybe I need to look into that," he said. "Could you give me the title again?"

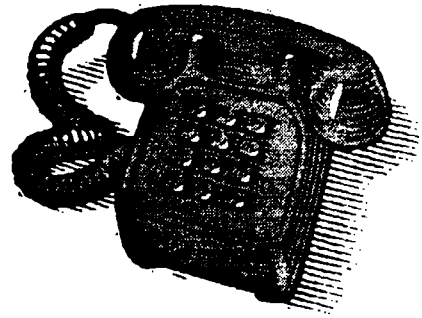
Willke has only kind words for Matskovskii, who helped him organize the "Right to Life" conference in Moscow last year. It was Matskovskii who had ties to the small but fanatical cast of characters in Russia's grass-roots antiabortion movement. Two main groups—Right to Life, led by Galina Seryakova, and Support of Motherhood, led by Dr. Igor Guzov—claim a total membership of about 5,000 in Russia. The next tier of the movement includes a former religious dissident; a Dostoyevskian priest who does public relations for the Russian Orthodox Church and moonlights as an ideologist for the authoritarian Christian-Democratic Party; a housewife who runs a hotline to dissuade women from having abortions; and an economist who's marketing lacquered Russian eggs decorated with fetuses to Western companies.

Dr. Guzov likes to compare himself to Bernard Nathanson, the doctor who made *The Silent Scream*, the notorious 1984 film claiming to show a fetus in pain. Influenced by Nathanson's work, Guzov made *Right to Life*, which intersperses gruesome images of dead fetuses, some dripping blood on ice-white ceramic tiles, with scenes of Guzov's medical students, shot by hidden camera, dissuading anguished pregnant women from having abortions. Guzov arranged for *The Silent Scream* to be shown three times on Russian state-owned television. His own film has aired twice.

"The Bolsheviks were responsible for killing millions by legalizing abortion," Guzov said as we sat on a frayed divan in his one-room apartment in a working-class district of Moscow. The room had a monastic quality—a few icons, a portrait of Nicholas II—but then there was the fax, the video player and a Toshiba television set, all donated by Human Life International and Chicago's Pro-Life Action League. Such sponsorship has also brought Guzov to America, where he met with Representative Henry Hyde and a variety of anti-abortion lobbyists and advocates. One lobbying outfit, the Family Research Council, subsequently published information about Support of Motherhood in its newsletter. Guzov says he has received many letters "from the common people of America" promising to send contributions. He recently opened hard currency accounts with Lloyds Bank in London and the Republic National Bank of New York.

Yet in Guzov's case the material rewards of his campaign appear to be secondary to ideological purposes. The name of his organization says it all; so does his rabidly anti-Communist rhetoric, a characteristic of Russia's nationalist right. The nationalists believe that Communism, sexual permissiveness, divorce and women's emancipation have destroyed the country's moral foundations. Race and ethnic purity are also central preoccupations.

"The demographic crisis in our country has grown into demographic catastrophe," Guzov told me. "We realized that



POLITICAL MACHINE.

IT LOOKS like an ordinary telephone. But for our 50,000 customers, it's also a political machine.

We're Working Assets Long Distance. Every time you call, we proudly send money to progressive advocacy groups...at no cost to you.

For added punch, we give you *free calls* to targeted government leaders. Or, if you prefer, we'll send well-argued letters for you.

Of course, we also complete your everyday calls to almost anywhere in the world, at base rates lower than AT&T®, MCI® and Sprint®.

So call our toll-free number. You'll save yourself some green...and turn your phone into a political machine.

WORKING ASSETS®
Long Distance

1-800-CITIZEN

we had to do something to prevent the total depopulation of our country. Entire Russian villages are dying out, while the Muslim population explodes. We need to salvage Russian purity." Not surprisingly, some of the most fervent converts to Russian antiabortion activism live in villages in the country's heartland. Whereas "pro-life" groups in the United States usually condemn abortion on the basis of the right to life of the fetus, many Russian nationalists base their opposition on the ethnic group's need to proliferate. Abortion thus becomes a crime against the nation.

The family values crusade had powerful adherents in the Russian Parliament, where an assortment of newfangled democrats and old-style conservatives, in a panic over the dramatically falling birthrate, attempted to undermine the country's liberal abortion law last year. "Abortion is anti-humane and antihuman," Nikolai Pavlov, vice chairman of the Supreme Soviet Committee on Women, Defense of the Family, Motherhood and Children, and a leading nationalist politician, told me recently. And "a woman without three children is a triple threat to our nation." Before it was dissolved by Yeltsin, the Parliament was considering a Law on the Protection of the Family. Only lobbying by women's groups forced legislators to delete a provision stating that every child has the right to life from the moment of conception. If Yeltsin holds parliamentary elections in December as promised, fundamentalist attitudes—which are shared by so-called "democrats" and "hard-liners" alike—are sure to be represented among the contenders. "A real feminist movement," Pavlov said, "would be against abortion because it is an assault not only on new life but on a woman's life." A Russian girlfriend, meanwhile, tells me that women are certainly willing to consider alternatives to abortion. Unfortunately, few exist.

Given how embedded abortion is as the means of birth control in Russia, it is unlikely that the Christian right will make any startling reversals soon. But zealots take the long view. "I know that it's not possible to ban abortion in Russia today. We're not Poland," Galina Seryakova told me. "But I want to begin by changing people's consciousness about abortion, so that it becomes something criminal." Unlike their American counterparts, Seryakova and her followers face no legal barriers as they confront women in clinics to dissuade them from having abortions, or lecture high school students about the evils of the procedure. "Young people are open to the pro-life message," she says. "To them abortion is something they associate with their parents and with the discredited Communist system."

In one clinic, medical personnel welcomed Seryakova into their waiting room so she could lecture a 19-year-old woman about the horrible physical and emotional effects of abortion. Using materials from Human Life International to make her points, Seryakova pushed her to sign up for Right to Life's new home for women.

"What's good about Russia for our movement," says Joseph Scheidler, the militant executive director of the Pro-Life Action League, "is that you can get in the schools, the hospitals, and get on the radio and TV to talk about the evils of abortion. That is, until Planned Parenthood gets its hooks in and starts spewing its propaganda." Other factors may be

at work. I heard from a pediatrician who works in a Moscow hospital that some Western religious organizations contribute money and equipment only on the condition that the hospital stop performing abortions.

In times of economic crisis even the most well-meaning may compromise public rights for the sake of material aid. In times of a crisis of faith—and in the broadest sense that is what Russia is going through—those with a powerful conviction often gain at the expense of the confused or the uncertain. Russia's nationalist and religious right wing existed long before the influx of America's Christian right. But a new and unholy alliance between activists of the East and West is ominous. In the past year, Planned Parenthood and a host of other groups have worked to mitigate incursions by family values proselytizers and to defend a woman's right to a safe and legal abortion. Many Russians, however, stripped of their ideological roots, buffeted by economic turmoil and social unrest, have become increasingly vulnerable to the sermons of these Western missionaries. Exporting family values may soon replace the hyping of economic shock therapy as the United States' most destructive contribution to post-cold war interventionism. □

■ IN THE PENILE COLONY

Touring Thailand's Sex Industry

LILLIAN S. ROBINSON

The stories you've heard about the sex shows are all true. . . . It is not a place for the squeamish or for those with feminist leanings. —Steve van Beck, Insight Guide to Thailand

"**Y**ou have to do it," Ryan tells me. "You have to go there the way you have to visit Dachau." It's my first evening in Thailand and I met my dinner partner, an American resident in Bangkok, just half an hour ago. After some general conversation involving our whole party, he addresses me privately for the first time, saying, "I want to take you to the sex shows."

"You what?" That's when he adds the remark about Dachau—a line calculated to provoke—and declares that, as a feminist, I must not leave without exploring international sex tourism as practiced in the nightspots of Bangkok. When I accept the invitation, I become, in essence, a sex tourist's tourist.

Bangkok, the sexual Disneyland of the world, a place where everything is offered to anyone at all times—at little or no cost.

—Linda Ellerbee

"And So It Goes": Adventures in Television

Sex isn't sold everywhere in Bangkok, but it's available in enough places and enough kinds of places at a low enough

Lillian S. Robinson, Garvin Professor of English at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, is the author of Sex, Class, and Culture (Routledge).

BOOKS & THE ARTS.

Sex in the Time of Revolution

KATRINA VANDEN HEUVEL

THE KEYS TO HAPPINESS: Sex and the Search for Modernity in Fin-de-Siècle Russia. By Laura Engelstein. Cornell University. 461 pp. \$35.

SEX AND RUSSIAN SOCIETY. Edited by Igor Kon and James Riordan. Indiana University. 168 pp. \$29.95. Paper \$10.95.

When I first visited the Soviet Union in 1978, sex was a taboo topic. Even during the first year of *perestroika*, Russia seemed to be a society in sexual denial. I remember vividly a young Russian woman taking part in one of the early television spacebridges between the U.S.S.R. and the United States who insisted, "We have no sex here!" Not a single person in the television studio laughed.

Times have changed. Today, sex is con-
ned, debated and commodified in Russia. Striptease clubs and massage parlors advertise in Moscow tabloids; the city's first sex shop opened last year; sex is debated in newspapers and on television, during election campaigns and parliamentary sessions; and the sex industry is a booming business. It is assumed, a Russian friend says cynically, that in sexual relations "everything is sold, everything can be bought and the only thing is to get as much money as possible. Much like our political life." For many Russians, sex functions, at least in part, as a metaphor for the distorted values and moral collapse of Soviet society.

The Keys to Happiness, by Laura Engelstein, and *Sex and Russian Society*, edited by Igor Kon and James Riordan, look at sex at times of political upheaval. Engelstein has written a scholarly study of Russia's diverse and (relatively) tolerant pre-revolutionary sexual culture. Kon and Riordan describe Stalinism's obliteration of the Revolution's pluralistic sexual culture and the repressive legacy confronting contemporary Russian society. "The 'sexual revolution' is today taking place in an environment of social, political, economic and moral crisis," they write. Russian society seems unprepared for the enormous problems—AIDS, among others—looming on the horizon.

While it would seem that *perestroika* has brought a liberating sexual revolution

to a repressive and repressed Russian society, the majority of Russians, according to *Sex and Russian Society*, remain "sexually ignorant, conservative and fundamentally sexist." Greater social and political openness offers a glimmer of hope. However, as Michel Foucault has noted, the mere fact of "sexuality" being "put into discourse" does not necessarily indicate a loosening of repression. Indeed, even the most apparently open and explicit detailing of sex may construct sexuality in relation to gender and power relations in society. The status of Russian women, gays and lesbians, for example,

*Russian students said
that the revolution of
1905 was exciting
enough to substitute
for sex.*

has changed marginally and not always positively. Women's sexuality in general and non-heterosexuality have as yet found little expression, and the opportunities for women's sexual liberation coexist with a conservative backlash against decades of Communist emancipation. Homosexuality remained a crime until last month, and AIDS has stigmatized gays to some extent, for there, as in the West, it is known as a "gay disease." The creation of a cultural community based on sexual identity—central to changing the climate in America—remains a far-off dream.

The Keys to Happiness begins on the eve of the 1905 revolution. Though modest compared with the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, 1905 was a major upheaval in its own right, yielding political parties, a freer press and the country's first parliament. It also intensified Russians' interest in sexual themes and led the intelligentsia to challenge conventional rules about love, families and sex. "Some Russians interpreted the revolution as a form of sexual energy, wild and out of control," Engelstein says. "Student participants said the revolution was exciting enough

to substitute for sexual involvement."

Professor of history and director of the program in women's studies at Princeton University, Engelstein treats a long-neglected area: the role sexual ideology played in the struggle for public power and cultural influence waged between the old czarist regime and the new social forces unleashed by modernization. The liberalization of censorship laws, the flourishing of commercial culture and the expansion of urban life created a new kind of public discourse. Newly enfranchised and emboldened groups—professional and civic associations, socially and politically active women—debated and redefined the permissible limits of sexual morality and behavior.

When the meetings, strikes and demonstrations waned, energies generated by the political battles of 1905 sought new outlets in sexual pleasure. As Engelstein writes in a chapter titled "Eros and Revolution," observers at the time believed that:

Once the revolution was over and the civic dream had failed . . . the recently activated libido returned in full force in its original sexual form, more imperious for having been liberated from the discipline and constraint of the old regime. The political crisis past, passion returned from the abstract to the bodily, and the thirst for sensual gratification increased as substitute excitement died down: political and sexual virtue deteriorated apace.

The Russian professional, liberal and radical intelligentsia became enthralled by prostitution, homosexuality, masturbation and venereal disease. Sexual motifs were intertwined with political and social commentary. Those who weren't talking about the wonders and perils of sex were sounding alarms about the population's apparent obsession with it, and the alleged linkage between sexual and social disorder.

Unlike so much scholarship on Russian pre-revolutionary political and social life, Engelstein's study describes how women struggled to act and speak on their own behalf, all the while confronting the multiple patriarchies of family, community, church, factory, professions and the state. Each of these patriarchies had vested interests—often conflicting ones—in protecting and controlling women. The book is particularly good at tracing the heated debates on women's sexuality and autonomy, and the emerging feminist

challenge to established patterns of cultural and civic control.

The growth of prostitution was the most visible and troubling symbol of women's freedom from patriarchal control, and it precipitated anxiety among the (predominantly male) legal and medical professions. Suspecting all lower-class women without families of "trading in vice," the state attempted to substitute its own patriarchal power for absent husbands and fathers. It created and elaborated a network of laws to regulate prostitution and control venereal disease. (The laws affected all women of the lower classes.) Physicians also used women as the basis for claims to greater authority; those who disliked government regulation of prostitution, for example, argued that medical authority should replace it. Even those doctors and lawyers who advocated more liberal abortion policies did not defend women's choice. As Engelstein shows, they were primarily concerned with their own autonomy from state intervention, their own ability to "substitute their trained judgments for the blanket repression of the law."

The Keys to Happiness is based on a prodigious amount of research, and at nearly 500 pages the text is often dense and scholarly. The book is liveliest and most accessible when Engelstein turns to the popular culture of the time. Magazines, newspapers and popular literature provided a "clearinghouse for the exchange of fantasy and the market in desire." Melodramatic novels about art and sex were best sellers. Newspapers advertised corsets and skin creams and contraceptive devices; remedies for twisted spines, baldness and cures for sexual troubles. They listed the services of divorce lawyers and shelters where pregnant women might deliver their babies with discretion. Publications ran notices proffering sexual pleasures: "Beautiful young gentlewomen" announced their willingness to serve as companions to "solid gentlemen." (Reproductions of period advertisements enliven the text.)

Now newspapers and tabloids in Moscow and St. Petersburg are once again filled with ads offering various sexual services. And as it was after 1905, the country is in a postrevolutionary moment, its political and sexual ideologies in disarray. "Sex, eroticism and sex education," notes Russia's best-known sexologist, Igor Kon, "are currently acute social and political issues in Russia." Over the years, Soviet society hypocritically portrayed it-

self as "utterly asexual, even sexless." As a result, Kon says, "we have the doubtful honor of being the most backward country in the world in terms of sex."

The seven essays in *Sex and Russian Society*, by Russians and Western scholars, graphically describe the consequences of decades of sexual neglect, illiteracy and repression. In 1917, Russia's revolutionary experiment appeared to be a beacon of free love and freewheeling sexuality. However, the "sexual revolution" of that time was limited to a relatively small group of "liberated" intellectuals and young workers. Nor did it engage serious-

ly questions of gender, sexuality and power relations.

The Stalinist backlash repressed whatever pluralistic sexual culture remained. Beginning in the early 1930s, sex surveys were forbidden, as were the academic disciplines of sociology and social psychology. In 1934, homosexuality was recriminalized; abortions were banned two years later (the ban lasted until 1955); all forms of erotic art (including depictions of the Venus de Milo) were censored; and schools ceased to teach sex education.

We still do not know the full extent to which actual sexual behavior defied the

"AN INTIMATE HISTORY OF SOME OF THE MOST
TUMULTUOUS EVENTS OF OUR CENTURY,"* FROM
THE LEADER OF THE 1968 PRAGUE SPRING.

HOPE DIES LAST

The Autobiography of
Alexander Dubcek



"Had we all followed the road Alexander Dubcek pointed out, today we would be different....I pay homage to this man and bow down before him." —Mikhail Gorbachev

"Alexander Dubcek represents a critically important character in our modern history." —Vaclav Havel

"The only quintessentially honest top political leader to rise in Czechoslovakia during the long night of communist dictatorship." —Tad Szulc, *Washington Post Book World*

An autobiography edited and translated by Jiri Hochman
66 photographs • maps • index

Available wherever books are sold

KODANSHA INTERNATIONAL

*Los Angeles Times

Distributed by Farrar, Straus & Giroux

igid model of Communist propriety. *Sex and Russian Society*, however, reveals that beneath the repressive model of official morality an evolution in sexual mores was taking place, particularly among the young. In the post-Stalin years of the "thaw," an alternative discourse on sexuality began to confront the official line. We also learn that while publicly haranguing others about morality, some party bosses and apparatchiks lived lives of debauchery. Stalin's police chief, Lavrenti Beria, is known to have roamed Moscow's streets picking up young girls for S/M activities. Private "blue film" showings and secret party brothels and massage parlors existed for the elite, with young girls recruited or forced into service from Komsomol colleges. Sexologist Sergei Golod reports in his essay that secret surveys conducted in 1965 show that a majority of Leningrad students approved of premarital sex. Promiscuity also flourished. Playing "daisy" was a popular novelty among urban adolescents: The girls would lie naked on the floor with their heads together and their legs radiating outward like the petals of a daisy, while the boys went from one to the other like bumblebees.

Meanwhile, sex education in Russian schools was—and remains—practically nonexistent. Nonetheless, it has become a contested political and moral battleground familiar to many Americans. "Attitudes among American and Russian right-wing people are very similar," Kon says. "The Russian right-wing press calls my plans for sex education 'a dirty Jewish capitalist conspiracy.' When the Americans introduced sex education in schools, the right wing there talked about a 'dirty communist conspiracy.'" Much of the discourse on sexuality today, particularly female sexuality, reflects conservative attitudes. State sex education programs, for example, focus less on sex education than on the inculcation of traditional gender roles—stressing the need to combat the perceived "masculinization" of women and "feminization" of men.

The book's most alarming, though not unexpected, message is that homosexuals and women are bearing the brunt of a repressive sexual attitudes and stereotypes. Integrating health care system and repressive sexual attitudes and stereotypes. Larissa Remennick describes the plight of Russian women, denied access to modern contraceptive methods and good reproductive health services, who are forced to rely on abortion for birth control. It is not uncommon for a woman to have as

many as eight abortions during her lifetime. Real "choice" for Russian women, Remennick argues, means improving birth control options and disseminating contraceptive information. But the growing backlash against sexual permissiveness and official panic over the country's dramatically falling birthrate may lead instead to a revision of Russia's liberal abortion law. (Indeed, one ominous provision of the draft family law winding its way through the Russian Parliament declares that every child has the right to life from the moment of conception.)

Russian conservatives link the rise in sexual violence with democracy.

The proliferation of images of sexual violence against women in Russian films is a disturbing new development, and not one that is likely to further the cause of women's equality. The notion that "women like it rough," Lynne Attwood points out in her essay on "Sex and the Cinema," has become popular in Russian adventure films. Kon and Riordan lament the rapid growth in sexual violence against women in recent years, and criticize the virtual absence of professional psychological assistance for rape or domestic violence victims. Furthermore, in another sign of a growing backlash against the West, Russian conservatives link the rise in sexual violence with Western intrusiveness, "democracy" and the liberalization of sexual mores. It is worth remembering that the men who attempted a coup in August 1991 declared, "Never before . . . has the propaganda of sex and violence assumed such a scale, threatening the health and lives of future generations."

For Russian girls and young women in desperate financial need—80 percent of the unemployed are women—the media's promotion of a lucrative and glamorous life through prostitution or other thinly disguised sexual services is seductive. Somewhat encouraging is the development of a prostitutes' rights movement. Last year, for example, a group of Moscow prostitutes started to organize, holding demonstrations and demanding safe sex and the availability of condoms. In St. Petersburg, prostitutes organized a sit-in, blocking the entrance to one of the

hotels in protest against the policy of refusing them entry.

The explosion of pornography, directed largely toward a male audience, has also sparked the beginnings of a debate within the small and disorganized feminist community. In many ways, it mirrors the Western debate. Some see pornography as the root of male oppression and violence against women, and call for increased censorship. Others, such as the director of Moscow's Gender Studies Center, Anastasia Posadskaya, have argued that censorship is a greater evil than the exploitation of women's bodies and therefore oppose a campaign against pornography.

Kon's chapter on "Sexual Minorities," a Russian euphemism for homosexuals, is useful though slightly outdated. Russian homosexuals are emerging from decades of persecution and intimidation, "out of a closet," Andrew Kopkind wrote, "so deep and dark that Western homosexuals would hardly recognize it" ["From Russia With Love and Squalor," January 18]. Yet homophobia remains strong, especially in Russia's provinces, and Article 121, which bans homosexuality, has only just been repealed. Nor have social attitudes changed much. In a 1991 public opinion poll in the industrial city of Chelyabinsk, 30 percent of the respondents aged 16 to 30 felt that homosexuals should be "isolated from society," 5 percent felt they should be "liquidated," 60 percent had a "negative" attitude toward gay people and 5 percent labeled their sexual orientation "unfortunate."

Nevertheless, Kon argues, it is significant that homosexuality is no longer a taboo topic. As a result of *glasnost* and more sympathetic press coverage, "ordinary Soviet people have for the first time come to recognize the scarred destinies, the police cruelty, the legal repression, the sexual violence in prison, labour camp and armed forces and, finally, the tragic, inescapable loneliness experienced by people living in constant fear and unable to meet any of their own sort." The halting process of democratization has made it possible for once marginalized and stigmatized groups to emerge and organize. In Moscow today, there are a half-dozen officially registered gay publications, such as *Impulse* and *Risk*, which cover topics from homosexual life abroad to AIDS. In St. Petersburg, the gay organizations Krylia (Wings) and the Tchaikovsky Foundation are registered with the city government. There is even an organization called

Rights of Sexual Minorities in Russia's industrial heartland.

In recounting the history of Russia's nascent gay rights movement, Kon warns local activists to avoid extremism and to develop tactics that will work at home, not simply win acclaim in the West. Although they are avid proponents of international contacts, Kon and Riordan caution often well-meaning Western gay activists—whom they call “missionaries”—that “conditions which have evolved over many years in the West cannot be reproduced in the onetime USSR overnight.”

Although there is little mention of the looming AIDS epidemic in *Sex and Russian Society*, the country faces a potential health crisis that could affect millions of men, women and children in the next decade. Moscow AIDS activists estimate that there may be as many as 20,000 HIV carriers and 6,000 cases of AIDS by 1995. But statistics are hard to come by, due in part to the denial, secrecy and ignorance of medical and public health institutions. Prevention or support services are virtually nonexistent. Moreover, medical of-

ficials and lay people continue to perceive AIDS as limited to homosexuals, prostitutes and drug addicts—a paradigm imported from the West. (In fact, the first documented cases of the disease were in Russian children, who contracted it from unsterilized hospital syringes.)

Discrimination against HIV-positive people is a serious problem. If their status becomes known, such people face the loss of jobs, rejection by their friends and families and even physical abuse. In the past year, several community-based, non-governmental organizations have started to fill the desperate need for support and education. Crocus AntiSPID Plus operates the first AIDS hotline in Moscow; Association Stop SPID is developing educational and preventive programs and promoting anonymous testing and counseling; and the Society of People with HIV/AIDS is working to end discrimination against people infected with HIV. But without massive government funding of AIDS education and support programs, Russia is likely to face the illness, deaths and catastrophic social costs al-

ready confronting many other parts of the world. The trends are not good. In 1993, according to Russian physicians, the government cut all funding for existing regional AIDS centers, which provided minimal outpatient clinical care and public education to HIV patients. “We don't have money for the most elementary things,” said one parliamentary deputy. “So how can we spend money on AIDS?”

Has there been a sexual revolution in Russia? The situation is more complex—and less progressive—than the Western media suggest. A real revolution would not just incorporate traditional, even feudal, ideas about men and women but open everything to question and change. In many ways, sexuality in Russia today is less a project of liberation than a mixture of rampant commercialism and exploitation. Russian women, for example, might ask whether the “new morality” constitutes a positive relaxation of repressive taboos or exploitation and commodification of their sexuality.

But there are glimmers of hope. Sex research centers have been created and attached to medical training colleges; a number of sex education centers for young people have opened and some popular books for adolescents and the general public have appeared, including Alex Comfort's *The Joy of Sex* and the French manual for children *L'Encyclopédie de la vie sexuelle*. A Russian version of *Our Bodies, Ourselves* will be published later this year. Some research on gender and sexuality is under way and, as mentioned above, small community-based groups are filling a desperate need for sex education and other social support services. Women's self-help groups are springing up all over—from rape crisis centers in cramped apartments to domestic violence hotlines in urban basements.

The prospects for greater sexual tolerance may well be linked to the country's political fate. If Russia takes the “democratic road,” Kon argues, homosexuality will be decriminalized in more than name. If, on the other hand, reaction, whether fascist or communist, gets the upper hand, homosexuals will once again be driven deep underground. The process is bound to be protracted, problematical and vastly different in various regions and former republics. After all, much like the country's political culture, Russia's sexual culture has been defined by cycles of toleration and repression. □

PERFECT

There's too much light this morning, proof of perception's miseries, the I with nothing but what the eye can see: things the mind already knows too well, unable to decide where to begin. The sun beats hot against my skin, evidence of a depleted ozone layer; it feels good, like desire, just as dangerous. And here's an introduction to an emptiness: a boy smoking a cigarette outside my window, who wanders in from the surprise, the gait into immaculate light my watching can only stain. I've seen that face before, it's not enough: a tall glass of anomaly the foolish days pour themselves into, something to make of spring air and a tilt of head. Another slim white boy, brown eyes almost like mine, my clumsiness rebuked by the lithe arm that reaches casually into a pocket to fill his unimportant needs, lighting a match to layer the lungs with carbon. Each day's a promise, but promising what: the light itself and not its source, a scrap of smog to patch the cracks, the sound of women's voices over water (I've left the radio on all night, whispering in languages I've never understood). Desires wide as burning rain forests in Brazil, the hole torn in the sky through which he descends, married to summer calm though it's barely May, barely time to improvise a song (the radio's still hissing softly in the corner); a glimpse is worse.

Reginald Shepherd

Copyright 1993 The Economist Newspaper, Ltd.
The Economist

October 23, 1993

SECTION: Arts, Books and Sport; Pg. 109 (U.K. Edition Pg. 133)

HEADLINE: The resurrection of Holy Russia

BODY:

ALEKSEI II, Patriarch of Moscow and All the Russias, made a last effort to avert bloodshed in Moscow. On October 3rd he led prayers before an early 12th-century icon called Our Lady of Vladimir. Despite the icon, his prayers did not work. The fighting between President Yeltsin's forces and the rebellious parliament, which began later that day, killed 139 people.

Our Lady of Vladimir is no routine icon. This picture of Christ with his face pressed against the cheek of the Virgin Mary and one arm around her neck was painted in Constantinople. From there it found its way to Kiev, whence Prince Andrei Bogoliubsky carried it off to his capital at Vladimir, 200km (124 miles) east of Moscow. It is credited with many miracles. In 1395, when Moscow was threatened by Tamurlane, the icon, sent from Vladimir, arrived at the gates of Moscow just as a messenger rode up with the news that Tamurlane had lost interest in Moscow, and was moving south.

The patriarch had to go to remarkable lengths to get hold of the icon. He could borrow it from Moscow's Tretyakov museum only on condition that he returned it the same night. Nadezhda Rozanova, the director of the museum's department for old Russian art, remains unsatisfied:

The icon was badly damaged by being taken out of a controlled environment. We do not know how long it will take to restore it so that we can put it back on display.

In fact, the icon survived eight centuries in draughty churches without crumbling. But underlying the argument between the patriarch and the museum director over Our Lady of Vladimir is a rift which is, in its own way, as deep as that between Boris Yeltsin and his political opponents.

On one side is the Russian Orthodox church, which wants to get its buildings and their contents back. On the other side are the bureaucrats, determined not to lose their jobs by handing them back. Mrs Rozanova, "a merited worker of culture" who loves icons but not organised religion, is responsible for a collection of 5,000 of Russia's most venerable icons. "We shall do everything possible not to let our icons go away," she says firmly.

Under the Communists the Orthodox church suffered three chief periods of repression. The first began in 1918, when Lenin signed an order stripping it of all its property. The order was not fully implemented, so Stalin decided, in 1929, that all the church's remaining property should be transferred to local councils. Then Russia's defeats by the Germans in 1941 and 1942 made him reckon that he needed the church's support; anyway, Stalin later grew less anti-clerical (in 1947 he ordered the curators of the Tretyakov to return 144 icons to

the monastery at Zagorsk). The third wave of repression came under Khrushchev, who promised that religion would be extinct in the Soviet Union by 1980.

Before the 1917 revolution, Moscow had "40 times 40" churches. Many were then destroyed; the city's largest cathedral was blown up, and there is now a swimming pool on its site. By 1989 only 47 semi-active churches were left. Today Moscow has almost 300 active churches, three monasteries and one convent.

The legal status of the churches and their contents, all over Russia, is vague. An order signed by Mr Yeltsin in April (he has taken to "own or use" property. In practice the government is unwilling to hand the church's property back. Instead it usually arranges rent-free leases for the churches. Their icons and other valuables officially remain the responsibility of the local council and the property of the Ministry of Culture.

But for the church much more is at stake than legal arguments about ownership. Icons are more than decoration. Father Viktor, an aide to the patriarch, explains their role in worship. "The aim of religion is to worship God, and icons are a way to do that. Protestants use architecture, organs, singing and social activities. We want to achieve the same end through icons." Arsenny, the bishop of Istra, goes further: "It is impossible for us to pray without icons, and the age of these icons is part of their spiritual value. It is very important that my mother, grandmother and her mother prayed before them."

The rationalist view of icons, as represented by Mrs Rozanova, treats them not as devotional aids but as fragile works of art. She insists that this attitude is not just a relic of communism. Even before 1917 people had begun to collect icons for their artistic rather than religious value. Pavel Tretyakov, an industrialist who gave the museum that bears his name to the city of Moscow in 1892, had a collection of 62 icons.

There are weaknesses in Mrs Rozanova's argument. When the renovation of the Tretyakov is complete, it will have ten rooms of icons; yet even then less than a fifth of the museum's collection will be on display. And it still is not clear when the renovation, which began in 1985, will be complete. So the gallery has devised a defence against the claims of the church. It has reopened a church next door, which was closed in 1929, and will hang 140 icons in it to make a "church museum".

Guards will be needed. Thefts of icons from churches are growing. A case in point is a classical building, attached to Hospital Number One on Moscow's Leninsky Prospekt, which was turned back into a church in 1990. The patriarch presented it with an 18th century icon that became popular with patients, who said it eased their suffering. In January two men came in during a mass and stole it. A few weeks later a young man who helps at the church went into an antique shop and saw the icon for sale at 500,000 roubles (then worth \$ 1,000). The owner of the shop was persuaded to hand it back without payment. A fortnight later the same two men came back and stole it again. The church has since lost another icon, of St George and the dragon.

Father Arkadi, the priest at the church, took a severely orthodox view of the thefts. He told the order of the lay sisters who pray in the church and work in the hospital that it was their fault the icon had gone. They had not prayed hard enough.

VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT**TO****MINSK, BELARUS****JANUARY 15, 1994**

EVENT: Embassy Staff Greeting and Airport Departure

DATE: January 15, 1994

TIME: 10:30 am - 10:50 am

LOCATION: Minsk II Airport Taxiway One.

ATTENDEES: The PRESIDENT, (The First Lady and Chelsea Clinton may attend if time allows).

PRESS: Open Press.

SCENARIO: Mild weather: THE PRESIDENT will meet with the U.S. Embassy staff on the tarmac at the foot of the Air Force One stairs. after the greeting the PRESIDENT will board AF-1 and depart.

VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT**TO****MINSK, BELARUS****January 15, 1994**

EVENT: Visit to Kuropaty Grave Site

DATE: January 15, 1994

TIME: 11:10 am to 11:30 am

LOCATION: Kuropaty (a forest in the suburbs of Minsk)

ATTENDEES: THE PRESIDENT, the First Lady, Chelsea Clinton, Chairman and Mrs. Shushkevich, Zenon Paznyak, 4-5 Belarus religious leaders, 10 members of the Belarus Society which has promoted recognition of the grave site and approximately 50 children (ages 8-12).

PRESS: There will be two press positions at the event. One will consist of the traveling press pool, the other will be a prepositioned pool which does not travel in the motorcade. Both pools will consist of U.S. and Belarus press.

SCENARIO: Upon arrival, THE PRESIDENT, family, Chairman and Mrs. Shushkevich and interpreter Inna Markova will walk approximately 50 yards into the forest at Kuropaty to the base of a large memorial cross. At this cross, THE PRESIDENT will be greeted by opposition leader and Member of Parliament, Zenon Paznyak, who will have been prepositioned at the site. Mr. Paznyak is the person credited with having discovered the graves at Kuropaty. Mr. Paznyak will briefly tell THE PRESIDENT about the cross, which was carried by people from a village 8 km away. THE PRESIDENT will approach the cross for a moment of reflection, and touch the cross as a sign of respect.

The traveling press pool will be prepositioned to cover the introductions here and the brief moment at the large cross.

THE PRESIDENT, First Lady, Chelsea, Paznyak, Chairman and Mrs. Shushkevich and Interpreter Markova will then proceed up a hill

along a clearing in the forest. As they are walking, Mr. Paznyak will brief THE PRESIDENT about the history and significance of the site. The walk is approximately 150 yards, and will take slightly over 3 minutes. A prepositioned, stationary press pool further up the hill will cover the walk.

As THE PRESIDENT approaches the site of the memorial which he is presenting to the Belarus people, a group of 50 school children, 4-5 religious leaders, and 10 people from the community [several of whom witnessed murders at Kuropaty as children over 50 years ago] will form a semi-circle around the bench memorial. These people will have candle lanterns as a vigil to the people murdered and buried there. Chelsea Clinton will be given a candle lantern from one of the children, and then hand it to THE PRESIDENT, who will walk to the memorial and place it on the seat of the bench. Afterwards, the First Lady will be given a bouquet of flowers from a child, which the First Lady will then place on the seat of the bench. As THE PRESIDENT begins walking toward the bench, the children [a choir] will begin singing a Belarus anthem. At the conclusion of the song, THE PRESIDENT will shake hands with the adults gathered, thanking them for coming and for helping unveil the history of Kuropaty. He will then say a general thank you to the children, and say goodbye.

At this point, as he says goodbye to THE PRESIDENT, Mr. Paznyak will present THE PRESIDENT with a book about Kuropaty which Paznyak wrote. THE PRESIDENT, First Lady, Chairman and Mrs. Shushkevich, and Interpreter Markova will then proceed back down the hill, turning right onto a narrow path which leads to the departure position of the motorcade. THE PRESIDENT and Chairman Shushkevich will board the limousine for the trip to Voyskovoy 4.

VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT**TO****MINSK, BELARUS****JANUARY 15, 1994**

EVENT: Airport Arrival Ceremony

DATE: January 15, 1994

TIME: 10:30 am - 10:50 am

LOCATION: Minsk II Airport Taxiway One

ATTENDEES: THE PRESIDENT, Mrs. Clinton, Chelsea Clinton, Chairman Shushkevich, Belrus leadership, Military Commandant of the Minsk Garrison, Guard of Honor Unit.

PRESS: Open Press, Belarus live TV, Pool press

SCENARIO: THE PRESIDENT accompanied by the First Lady and Chelsea are greeted at the base of the Air Force One stairs by the Belarus Chief of Protocol Khvostov and U.S. Ambassador David Swarz. Two women will approach THE PRESIDENT with the traditional welcome of bread and salt, THE PRESIDENT will tear a piece of bread, dip it in the salt and eat it.

Chief of Protocol Khvostov will escort the First Family to Chairman Shushkevich. Ambassador Swarz will introduce the First Family to Chairman Shushkevich and Mrs. Shushkevich. Mrs. Shushkevich will present flowers to The First Lady. Natalia Drozd from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will present flowers to Chelsea. Mrs. Shushkevich will escort The First Lady and Chelsea Clinton to the VIP viewing area behind the main riser.

Chief of Protocol Khvostov will escort THE PRESIDENT and Chairman Shushkevich to the Commander of the Guard. (NOTE: in all movements THE PRESIDENT will walk to the left of Chairman Shushkevich). The Commander of the Guard will report and National Anthems will be played, the U.S. Anthem followed by the Belarus Anthem (NOTE: they will play the old Belarus Anthem as no new one has been declared). THE PRESIDENT and Chairman Shushkevich will review the troops and proceed to a midpoint in front of the troops. The troops will yell welcome to THE PRESIDENT who may respond in anyway that he wants.

Press > Gate 11
Backup > Gate 9

Chief of Protocol Khvostov will escort THE PRESIDENT and Chairman Shushkevich to the main stage to watch the troops pass in review. after the review proceed to the motorcade.

KREMLIN LUNCHEON SCENARIO (See schedule for time, place, participants)

Mrs. Clinton and Mrs. Yeltsin meet in St. Vladimir's Hall and proceed together to the Tsarista's Room.

Upon entering, they proceed around the table, being introduced to guests individually. (White House and Kremlin official photogs only)

They then take their seats, and a press pool is led into the room for a pool spray. (3 mins.)

The press is then led out of the room and the luncheon proceeds (see previous briefing material for menu), seating arrangement to follow. No toasts will be offered.

At 2:00 Mrs. Yeltsin's aide (Kremlin Protocol) will enter the room as a signal to Mrs. Yeltsin to conclude the lunch.

VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT

TO

MINSK, BELARUS

JANUARY 15, 1994

EVENT: Performance at The State Academic Great Opera and Ballet Theater of the Republic of Belarus

DATE: January 15, 1994

TIME: 1:30 p.m. to 3:30 p.m.

LOCATION:

ATTENDEES: The First Lady
Chelsea Clinton
Mrs. Irina Shushkevich (phonetic: shooshkayvich)
Others to be determined

PRESS: Pooled: Photo opportunity following performance when The First Lady greets performers onstage

Scenario: The First Lady joins Chelsea Clinton in a holding room prior to the performance of Carmina Burana. They will proceed to a box on the first balcony in the main theater and will be joined by Mrs. Irina Shushkevich. Following the performance, the First Lady will proceed to main floor and walk through the theater to the stage and present the prima ballerina with flowers and greet the performers. At this time, the press will be escorted into the theater for a photo opportunity. The curtains will close and Chelsea Clinton will meet the performers.

After meeting the performers, the First Lady and Chelsea Clinton will depart the theater enroute the airport.

*Children who will be @ ST. BAS. C's**2/2***MAGNET ENGLISH LANGUAGE SCHOOL 45**

School#45 (8, Grima St.) is situated in South-West district. This is a large (800 students) English language school, a pioneer in high-school students exchange. It is actively engaged in ACTR exchange programs having a regular exchange with Bethesda High School in Washington. 15 upper-graders returned from Washington on December 1st 1993, two students came back to Moscow from the semester program in August 1993.

The school has excellent facilities: a modern computer class, a large swimming pool, 2 gyms (1 with exercise machines), a mirror room for ballet classes, a good lecture hall, a beautiful reading room and a well-equipped typewriting class.

The director - Milgram, Leonid is an honoured teacher of the USSR who has worked in this school for 35 years. He is a real enthusiast and has done a lot for the school. The staff are a team of efficient, creative, highly qualified teachers who are really interested in developing the school curriculum and using modern methods of teaching. The school has links with Moscow State University, 20 of the latter's faculty members teach here.

Not long ago School 45 became the training center of RELOD Association (Russian and English Languages Open Doors). The Association aims at developing the system of secondary education in Russia and NIS by creating a network of lycees on the basis of model high-schools in Russia and NIS.

Velvet Revolution. This culture not only postulated the goals that the revolution fulfilled but, above all, together with the

immaculate student youths imbued it with its peaceful character and its truly humanistic content. □

Glasnost for Women?

KATRINA VANDEN HEUVEL

SOVIET WOMEN: Walking the Tightrope. By Francine du Plessix Gray. Doubleday. 208 pp. \$19.95.

A WEEK LIKE ANY OTHER. By Natalya Baranskaya. Translated by Pieta Monks. Seal Press. 231 pp. Paper \$9.95.

Seventy-three years after the Russian Revolution, Soviet women are confronting a powerful backlash against its emancipation of women. *Glasnost* is allowing Soviet citizens to voice patriarchal prejudices once banned as bourgeois or counterrevolutionary. The state-controlled news media, for example, frequently blame "overemancipated, masculinized women" for social ills from juvenile delinquency to divorce. And Mikhail Gorbachev's ambivalent positions on the role of women in political and economic life, along with the social policies proposed by the Communist Party and the Congress of People's Deputies earlier this year, further strengthen the view that only women are responsible for children and housework.

So far, *perestroika* has failed to change Soviet women's secondary position in the work force or shorten their second shift at home. Measures proposed by the Communist Party to "improve the working and living conditions of women," for example, will allow women to work fewer hours a week; release them from heavy work and labor injurious to their health (usually the highest-paying jobs); and increase prenatal, maternal and workplace-funded leave for mothers of large families and single mothers. These policies, however generous and necessary, fail to address the fundamental inequalities women suffer. Official discussions of women's double burden rarely extend to men's family responsibilities—or consider society's responsibility for family welfare. The idea of parental, as opposed to maternal, leave was unthinkable until this year. (In April the Supreme Soviet passed a resolution which for the first time al-

lows "fathers, grandfathers or other family members" the right to take unpaid child care leave.)

Why is this happening in a country that produced the first woman ambassador and the first woman in space? The Soviet Union contains the largest number of women professionals and specialists on the globe, and close to 90 percent of its female population is in the work force. Early Soviet legislation sought to secure full economic and social equality for women. They were to be employed in the public sector as a condition of complete equality, and the responsibility for housework and child care was to shift from the individual household to the collective. But the disruptions of war, large-scale unemployment, rampant inflation and Stalin's conservative social policies meant that few resources were devoted to social programs. Although opportunities for women in the labor force expanded, the socialization of housework never took shape.

As a result, many Soviet women express yearning for a traditional female role centered around the family and the home. They are exhausted by decades of paper equality and a double burden made more difficult by consumer shortages (a recent Soviet survey shows that 275 billion hours, equal to 90 percent of the time devoted to paid work in the national economy as a whole, are spent on shopping, child care and housework each year, most of it spent by women). Yet recent national polls show that only 20 percent of Soviet women would quit their jobs even if they could afford to. And most Soviet women, like their American counterparts, still need to work full time in order to make ends meet. Other women, fewer in number but increasingly vocal, are taking advantage of increased opportunities for political and social activism. Some are even espousing Western-style feminism, as they understand it.

Francine du Plessix Gray set out in 1987 to capture a society in flux through the voices of its women. She admits to a dual purpose: to examine "the first community of women in history to be officially emancipated" and to decode "the forceful spell that Russian women



Michael Manley

The Making of a Leader

Darrell E. Levi

Deeply influenced by his remarkable parents and by a colonial education against which he rebelled, Michael Manley gained world fame in the 1970s as Democratic Socialist Prime Minister of Jamaica—an office to which he returned in February 1989. In the first full biography of this resilient leader, Darrell E. Levi charts Michael Manley's intellectual and political life from his youth and early years as a journalist and labor activist through his rise to leadership of the People's National Party. 8 pages of illustrations \$29.95

Keeping Time

Memory, Nostalgia, and the Art of History

Peter N. Carroll

At once memoir and meditation, *Keeping Time* records one professional historian's struggle to live in history even as he studies it, writes about it, and teaches it.

"Not only an entertaining book, engagingly written, but a valuable document for understanding the nature of history as seen through the eyes of those young practitioners who become our professional historians"—Carl N. Degler, Stanford University. \$24.95

At better bookstores or from

The University of GEORGIA Press
Athens, Georgia 30602

Katrina vanden Heuvel is co-author, with Stephen F. Cohen, of *Voices of Glasnost* (Norton) and is an editor at large of *The Nation*.

have had on me for much of my life" (Gray was raised in Paris by a Russian mother, grandmother and governess). Her nostalgia for the cozy and aristocratic milieu of her Russian maternal relatives may have led her to talk mainly to educated, urban, "successful" women. There are no rural women, or engineers or scientists in *Soviet Women* (although there are many doctors, a more traditional female occupation), and only a few token workers. Her portraits of women in their homes, at work or in hospitals and clinics are always meticulously observed and often lyrical. A distinguished writer of fiction and nonfiction, Gray tells these women's stories like a novelist.

The strength of Gray's book is its reporting on how women are being affected by a deteriorating health care system. Gray hears stories about the brutal treatment of women during childbirth. On visits to several hospitals, she documents the primitive conditions: the unchanged, blood-smeared sheets on nursing mothers' beds, the lack of bathing facilities and the patients' shabby, prisonlike hospital gowns. Men are not allowed to visit their wives or children for fear that they will infect them. The great irony of the Soviet Union's backwardness in the field

of gynecology is that the technique of prepared childbirth had originated there several decades ago (the Frenchman who introduced it to the West, Dr. Lamaze, had actually learned it in the Soviet Union in the early 1950s from two Soviet doctors, Platonov and Velkovskii). Today the Lamaze method is virtually unheard of in the Soviet Union, and women have little or nothing to say about the conduct of their labor. According to Gray, only one clinic in the Soviet Union, in the more westernized Baltic Republic of Latvia, practices family birthing techniques.

Abortion is the primary method of birth control—not by choice but because of the absence of reliable contraceptives (diaphragms come in only two sizes, and condoms are called *galoshi*, which means just what it sounds like). There are four to eight abortions, depending on whose statistics you trust, for every live birth. The conditions in abortion clinics that Gray describes are now being graphically detailed in the Soviet press. Last year, for example, *Moscow News* published an account of one woman's ordeal under the headline, "I Don't Want to Be Sorry I'm a Woman." The author, Yekaterina Nikolayeva, recalled her experience in an

abortion clinic. A doctor yelled at her for staring at his bloodstained gloves and scolded another woman by saying, "You should have had second thoughts before. You're all fond of sweets, but you're not willing to pay the price."

The article led the highest-ranking woman in the Soviet government, Aleksandra Biryukova, to order a Health Ministry investigation. She promised that the contraceptive industry would radically increase its output over the next two years. But Biryukova's call for change will not be easily answered. The Soviet reproductive health system needs radical restructuring before it can serve women humanely and effectively, and the lack of contraceptives is not the only problem. Family-planning programs are almost nonexistent and have no way to counter widespread beliefs that contraceptives are unreliable, dangerous or unobtainable. (No sex education materials designed for women are readily available now, but next year Progress Publishers may publish *Our Bodies, Ourselves*.)

Unlike the abortion debate in the West, which pits the putative rights of the fetus against women's right to choose, the Soviet discussion is about women's health care—the right to adequate supplies of

Pacifica Radio, The Express, The Nation Associates, and Bay Area independent bookstores, in cooperation with University of California Graduate School of Journalism

present

A Berkeley Bash for THE NATION's 125th Birthday

With: Gore Vidal

Barbara Ehrenreich, Molly Ivins, Eva Jefferson Paterson, Larry Bensky, and recording artists Altazor.

SATURDAY, JUNE 30 - 8 PM

Zellerbach Auditorium, UC Berkeley
Bancroft & Telegraph, Berkeley

Tickets: \$8-\$25, sliding scale, at the following bookstores: Black Oak, City Lights, Cody's, Kepler's, Modern Times, Printers Inc., and Walden Pond and from KPFA radio. Information: KPFA radio (415) 848-6767.

A benefit for *The Nation* and KPFA.

The National Lawyers Guild invites you
and your friends to a party in
Austin, Texas, in honor of
The Nation.

the oldest continuously published
U.S. magazine, on the occasion of its
125th Anniversary.

Nation editors George Black and Molly Ivins will
speak about the history and contemporary role
of *The Nation*.

**WEDNESDAY, MAY 30
8 PM TO MIDNIGHT**

Place: The Hyatt Regency, on Town Lake,
208 Barton Springs, Austin, Texas

ADMISSION IS FREE AND OPEN TO THE PUBLIC

reliable contraceptives, sanitary conditions, anesthetics and the respect of medical workers. As of now, there is no national debate in the Soviet Union about the morality of abortion. But rising ethnic tensions in the Russian Republic and in the Caucasus, for example, could open that issue because they strengthen patriarchal religions which have a dim view of women. (A similar phenomenon is occurring in Poland, where the Catholic Church is trying to use its influence with Solidarity to curtail abortion and the availability of contraceptives.)

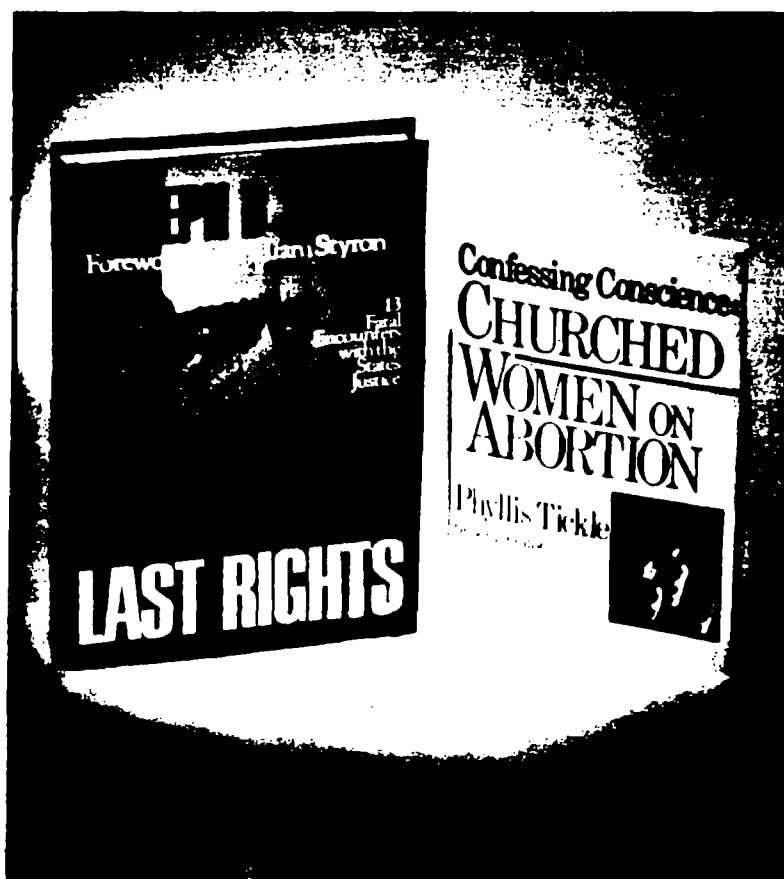
Few Soviet sexologists (a surprisingly busy and esteemed specialty) will discuss homosexuality, and decades of cultural isolation from the West and of repressive laws have insured that sexual attitudes remain reactionary. (Although lesbianism was never officially outlawed, homosexuals have been jailed for up to eight years under a statute that, according to press reports, is likely to be repealed this year.) But there have been glimmers of opposition. In December 1979 a group of Leningrad women issued a *samizdat* publication, *Almanac: Women and Russia*. It was the first self-consciously feminist text produced in the Soviet Union since the early 1920s, and its half-dozen contribu-

tors wrote about the flaws of Soviet gynecology, the scarcity of consumer goods and the general overburdening of women, problems that are aired today by numerous women in the *glasnost* press. What was unusual about *Almanac* was its accounts of lesbian relationships, a reality of Soviet life that is only now being acknowledged (albeit euphemistically and grudgingly).

Ten years earlier, in November 1969, Natalya Baranskaya's novella *A Week Like Any Other* was published in the prestigious literary journal *Novy Mir*. (It has just been published in English, along with several of Baranskaya's short stories, by Seal Press.) Written in the form of a week's diary entries, it details the nightmare of one woman's daily life: food shortages, endless lines, poor health care and day care, the lack of basic household services and a husband who buries himself in the TV or newspapers and never lifts a finger. When he suggests to Olga, a young scientist, that she stop working and stay home to take care of the family (a familiar proposal these days), she is appalled: "You want to shut me in here for the whole year! How could we live on your salary! . . . All this boring stuff is for me alone, and the only interesting

things are for you!" Olga's story touched a raw nerve; Baranskaya received hundreds of letters from grateful women thanking her for telling the truth about their lives.

That was twenty years ago; it's taken women that long to get started. Since 1989 there has been an upsurge of independent (that is, outside party control) activism by women. And although there are still no signs of a mass movement, independent women's associations have emerged around the country. But *Soviet Women* doesn't take these developments into account. (To be fair, things are changing so rapidly in the Soviet Union these days that many books are outdated by the time they are published.) Gray writes that women are "hindered from cohesive action, to this day, by their government's censure of any 'feminist' movement that would function outside of party control . . . and by their curious lack of solidarity." Her comment that during her travels she "barely found two" other feminists is difficult to understand. One evening last December I sat in a newspaper office in Moscow and listened to twenty women from eight different independent associations define what fem-



Shedding dramatic new light on the death penalty and abortion

Last Rights

13 Fatal Encounters with the State's Justice by Joseph B. Ingle • Foreword by William Styron
This eloquent, well-reasoned call for an end to the death penalty includes true stories of Joe Ingle's personal encounters with many Death Row inmates, including 13 who were executed by the state. Ingle is a two-time nominee for the Nobel Peace Prize. \$21.95, hardcover, ISBN 0-687-21124-7

Confessing Conscience Churched Women on Abortion

Phyllis Tickle, General Editor
Twelve noted women of different backgrounds and perspectives show how their faith helps shape their response to the abortion debate. Contributors include: Marilou Awiakta, Sarai Schnucker Beck, Colleen C. Conant, Judith Craig, Roberta Kella Dorr, Judy Mathe Foley, Jo Kicklighter, Lurlene McDaniel, Sandra O. Smithson, Martha Ellen Stortz, Phyllis Tickle, Juli Loesch Wiley.
\$9.95, paper, ISBN 0-687-06388-0

Order from your local bookstore,
which may call toll free 1-800-251-3320

Individual customers call toll free 1-800-672-1789



Abingdon Press

210 Eighth Avenue South, P.O. Box 801, Nashville, TN 37202

inism meant to them. Many were in their 20s, contradicting Gray's view that the younger generation has lost contact with feminist traditions. In fact, the emerging women's associations are composed of women of different ages and different political and professional orientations.

In Moscow, Olga Voronina and a group of women scholars have established the League for Society's Liberation from Stereotypes (LOTOS), which is beginning to articulate a gender analysis of Soviet society. Olga Bessolova has revived a once dormant Women's Council in the Aerohydrodynamics Institute in Zhukov-

sky, sixty kilometers from Moscow. She has organized a Women's Initiative Club, which lobbies the town government for better services and holds bimonthly consciousness-raising meetings, and an Inter-Regional Women's Political Club, which organizes political training workshops for women and nominates women to run in local and national races. Last January I attended one of the Initiative Club's meetings. Forty women—professionals, scholars, journalists, engineers and factory workers—gathered for four hours. These women believe that the solution to the "women's question" lies not in the

improvement of consumer goods and services but in the redefinition of male and female social roles.

One month earlier, a federation of women writers was formed inside the Russian Writer's Union, and women filmmakers and journalists have started lobbying groups to fight for higher pay and better working conditions. (The Soviet Union still has only one female foreign correspondent.) In March several women formed a women's center in Moscow which will offer legal consultation as well as political leadership training. In Leningrad, Elena Zelinskaya, who heads a women's cooperative association and the Northwest Information Agency, a network of independent journalists in Leningrad, was recently appointed to chair the City Council Commission on Communication. In Uzbekistan (where Gray interviews a "narcissistic Communist official" and a "Dragon Lady"), Rozika Mergenbaeva makes documentaries about the appalling conditions under which women and girls work in the cotton fields.

More disturbing than these omissions is Gray's conclusion, presented early in the book, that "the Soviet Union might be as much in need of a men's movement as of a women's movement." She tries the idea out on some of her Soviet friends and finds it "very well received." But the women Gray asks, and who inform this book, are almost exclusively strong and successful women who live with either their mothers or children or with passive, emasculated men, whom they deride in Gray's presence. As someone who has traveled regularly to the Soviet Union in the past ten years, I'd say the country has had a men's movement all along; only now are women's concerns emerging on the fringes of the male-dominated political and cultural outpourings that characterize *glasnost*. What kind of matriarchy pays its female workers two-thirds of the average male income, gives women the dirty manual jobs while insuring that they cannot reach the top of the professions and then blames "masculinized" women for every social problem?

Gray emerges as a kind of romantic feminist, accepting the view, so popular among the Soviet intelligentsia and political elite, that Soviet women have an essence that is indisputably different from that of men. "In this laboratory of emancipation offered us by the Soviet Union," Gray concludes, "in this epochal experiment which has engaged women in the work force longer and more fully than

GALVESTON

We keep the shutters drawn all afternoon
against the sun. It's the custom here.
Light filters through, wavery as water.
The sun's the enemy to beat. We trust
the seawall to hold the gulf, but drowning
is our fate. Be careful on these stairs.

I must catch my breath. It's the steep stairs
and the heat. I lie down in the afternoon,
the quiet so close it feels like drowning.
This climate robs all strength if you stay here
too long. When I arrived I was a trusting
girl whose only fear was the water.

That's your room, rose-papered and a water
view. How young you are to take the stairs
two at a time! You'll visit me, I trust,
in my room across the hall. Each afternoon
I rest from three to five. It's not uncommon here
to find solace in a dim room, drowning

until dinnertime. Of course the drownings
no one forgets were long ago. Water
swept the city down. Six thousand died here.
Their bodies were stacked high as stairs
and burned. The foul smoke turned afternoon
dark. To rebuild after that was a trust.

I've picked gardenias for your bedside. Don't trust
their scent. Breathed close, you will be drowning
in languor. A trap set to steal your afternoon.
Would you like refreshments? Rosewater,
perhaps, or wine? There's no one on the stairs.
Brandy, chocolates? We're quite sequestered here,

our rooms a refuge from the crowds here
in high summer. Port cities can't be trusted.
In this fancy street more than one stair
led to a brothel, nomad sailors drowning
in unimagined pleasures and watered-
down liquor. But this is *our* afternoon.

Here is your treat. Brandy in the afternoon.
You trusted our complicity on the stairs.
In this watery light we lie down as if drowned.

Isabel Nathaniel

any society in history, the paradoxical 'equality' between the sexes may well symbolize a central dilemma of the human condition: the female's secret and ambivalent desire to lead and be led, the male's confusion and resentment before her mysterious force and her often awesome versatility." Throughout all levels of Soviet society, she writes, "one is constantly awed by women's keen sense of their greater patience, diligence, optimism, endurance, shrewdness and self-esteem—a self-esteem apparently heightened by the very arduousness of their everyday duties, their incessant foraging for basic necessities of food and clothing." Gray continues, "Many women I talked to prefer to remain exhausted, to continue complaining and to keep their husbands out of the kitchen, where 'it is not their place to be.'" Perhaps, she notes, this stance makes more sense if viewed in the great Russian literary tradition that depicts women's suffering as a redemptive force. In the end, she creates the same image of women created by Russian male authors in the nineteenth century: heroines considerably more powerful than their male counterparts. Those authors placed women on pedestals, the better to admire their suffering while keeping them in their place.

The structure of much of the book—small-scale, impressionistic pictures of women in their homes, with their children and, occasionally, "henpecked" husbands—places women in a traditional surrounding. This setting draws out Gray's novelistic skills, but women in any society have many sets of relationships. However, Gray doesn't seem interested in describing the public activities of women in Soviet society. As a result, there is often a static and passive quality to these women's lives. I wish Gray had asked more of them what they think they, or the Gorbachev government, could do to improve their living or working conditions.

In fact, women as active political figures do not figure in the book. When Gray does refer to the glaring absence of women in positions of high political authority, she doesn't discuss the structural shortcomings of a system that has produced only two women Politburo members in seventy-three years. Instead, she argues that Western feminists have "tended to put too much blame on men's sexist biases" to explain Soviet women's absence from the higher echelons of labor and politics. Soviet women, Gray implies, consider politics a dirty business, best left to men. "In the glasnost era," she writes,

"A fair and accurate account of a beautiful land and its people."—Archbishop Desmond Tutu

A History of South Africa

Leonard Thompson

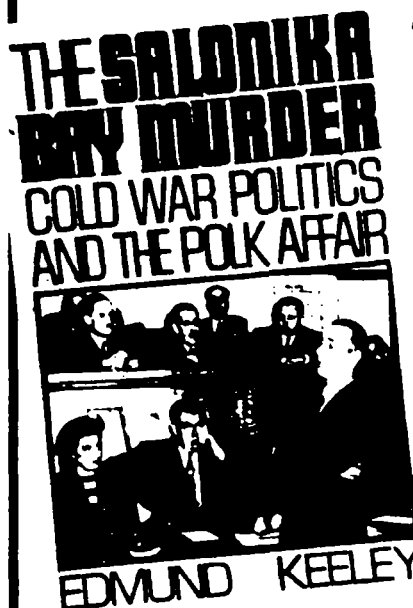
A leading scholar of South Africa provides a fresh and penetrating exploration of that country's history, from the earliest known human inhabitation of the region to the present.

"Leonard Thompson has given us a profound and comprehensive look into the broad sweep of South African history and the painful but promising present it holds....Precise, concise, fecund, and fascinating."—Senator Dick Clark, Director of the Southern Policy Forum, The Aspen Institute, Washington, D.C. 35 illus. \$29.95

At fine bookstores.



Yale University Press
Dept. 3774, 92A Yale Station
New Haven, CT 06520



New in paperback, with a new preface by the author

The Salonika Bay Murder

Cold War Politics
and the Polk Affair
Edmund Keeley

Edmund Keeley makes a penetrating inquiry into the injustices of the "Polk affair"—the sensational murder of the zealous American journalist George Polk during the Greek Civil War, and the subsequent trial of a scapegoat in whitewashed proceedings that involved Greek, American, and British government officials and journalists.

"... a compelling work of detection and analysis... a readable and provocative work."

—Herbert Mitgang, *New York Times*

"... painstaking research, coupled with an admirable intellectual rigor, has produced a work that is a model of clarity and honesty."—Philip Knightley, *Washington Post Book World*

Now in paper: \$12.95 ISBN 0-691-00858-2

AT YOUR BOOKSTORE OR

Princeton University Press

41 WILLIAM ST. • PRINCETON, NJ 08540 • (609) 258-4900 • ORDERS 800-PRS-ISBN (777-4726)



Deadly myths

TO DIE FOR GERMANY

Heroes in the Nazi Pantheon

By Jay W. Baird

"[T]his fascinating book... provides a necessary introduction to the dynamic of the Nazi Movement." —George L. Mosse

"To Die for Germany will become a standard work on National Socialism and should be on the required reading list of anyone who teaches the history of the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich." —Michael Kater



\$35.00

And metaphysics

HEIDEGGER'S CONFRONTATION WITH MODERNITY

Technology, Politics, and Art

By Michael E. Zimmerman

"Writing in a lively and refreshingly clear American English, Zimmerman provides an uncompromisingly honest and judicious account... of Heidegger's views on technology and his involvement with National Socialism... One of the most important books on Heidegger in recent years."

—John D. Caputo

The Indiana Series in the Philosophy of Technology

cloth \$39.95 paper \$18.95

INDIANA UNIVERSITY PRESS

Dept. A2JK, Bloomington, Indiana 47405 • 1-800-842-6796

"STRONG & BITTER STUFF"

... Succeeds
in sharing much of the life of a
contemporary black intellectual."

—The New York Times Book Review

"PROVOCATIVE"

—Time

NOTES OF A HANGING JUDGE

essays and
reviews
1979-1989

STANLEY CROUCH



"A benign and eloquent provocateur... He provokes us to a conscious reevaluation of any unthinking assumptions we might hold regarding American society, its racial and cultural diversity, its art, its music and social climate."

—Ralph Ellison

"Not only provocative but perceptive and, on more than one occasion, wise... The kind of book you want not merely to read, but to ponder."

—The Washington Post Book World

Just published by OXFORD

Soviet women "often note, with a touch of irony and pride, that in view of the totalitarianism and moral debacle of past Soviet regimes... their skeptical reticence toward political power may have been prophetic." But the situation seems more complex. Consider that multi-candidate elections last year, the freest since 1917, produced a Congress of People's Deputies in which fewer than 15 percent of the deputies are women, as compared with 33 percent under previous governments. And in the recent local elections to the Russian Republic's Parliament, the proportion of women elected dropped from 35.3 percent before the quotas were removed to 5.4 percent afterward. (A pre-election poll in *Argumenti i Fakti* last year showed that voters considered "being a man" one of the most important qualities in a candidate.) These alarming statistics have sparked a debate among women about developing affirmative action programs during this transitional period to help more women get into the grass-roots soviets, which are so important to the new political life of the country.

Class differences are as important in the Soviet Union as in the United States, but Gray's focus on women from the "intelligentsia" obscures rather than illuminates these differences. For example, several of the women she interviewed express the hope that private enterprise and co-operatives will offer better conditions for women, such as flexible hours and improved health care. But for millions of women, the implications of the market-style economic reforms are less appealing. Indeed, I have spoken to many women who worry that reforms like radical cuts in the 18-million-member bureaucracy will mean layoffs of support staffs—which consist almost entirely of women. They worry that co-operatives, which are more like profit-making limited partnerships than communal enterprises, are requiring workers to put in twelve hours a day, thereby excluding mothers unless they are able to work at home. Other reforms, such as work brigades, which were introduced as an incentive to make workers more productive, are leaving the disabled, older workers and women, who traditionally take more sick leaves because of responsibility for children, on the sidelines. In addition, when women try to take advantage of their legal rights to work fewer hours or on a part-time schedule, employers are reluctant to accommodate their requests, and women then often find

themselves under pressure to quit. Since almost all benefits in Soviet society (housing, health care and pensions) revolve around one's job, women are worried that they may well become more dependent on their husbands or families as a result of the reforms.

Perhaps the only perceptible—and significant—benefit Gorbachev's reforms have brought to women is the freedom to organize, to address the inequalities in the system or, as a Soviet friend of mine puts

it, "to let steam off." Olga Voronina, who helped form the independent group LOTOS, wrote last year, "In Western Europe and America women's movements have spent twenty years fighting for society to recognize their problems. Here we are only just beginning the process of democratization, and our issue cannot be resolved by decree. Until society changes its view of women and stops reducing their problems to goods shortages, nothing is going to change." □

The Day Bush Left

JOSEPH HELLER

'Politics, they're saying, stops at the water's edge." "What's it mean, George?"

"I'm not sure I know. Charlie?"

"Maybe it has something to do with our borders, that we try to pretend we are unified in outlook and won't tolerate disagreement when it comes to foreign affairs."

"That's a funny thought," said the President, who was persisting to the end in his determination to resign. "But why water? Our borders north and south aren't water, are they? You see, Charlie, I've been learning my history."

"That's geography, George."

The three men sat flopped comfortably about the White House office, each looking and feeling looser than at any time since Election Eve. There were the President himself, his Secretary of State and his trusted friend Charlie Stubbs.

"Well, it doesn't really matter now that I'm leaving. Right? How many are there waiting to see me?"

"About a dozen. The leaders from both political parties in the House and the Senate, the chairmen and a few others from both national committees."

"My goodness, I didn't realize they all liked me that much," said President Bush.

"They don't like you at all, George. It's the idea of Quayle that appalls them. We think you should see them."

"Aaaaw, shoot. Jim, you talk to them first and prepare them for disappointment. Well, Charlie, what do you think?" George Bush asked when alone with Stubbs. "I have to stick to my decision, don't I?"

"Only if you're sick of the job and

truly want to leave it. You've proved your point. You made it to the top and you are your own man. You're not much of a man, we know, but at least you're your own. So go ahead and resign if that's what you want."

"That's the only advice I've been given since I took office that seems to add up."

"And it's the only thing you've done that seems to make sense."

The President laughed like the good sport he was widely acknowledged to be. "I still have all this packing to finish. Give me a hand with some of these trophies and citations. Golly, there's a mess of them."

"You're taking them all?"

Bush: 'It was my idea to take Willie Horton into the State Department.'

"I wouldn't want to leave a dirty White House."

"You didn't mind conducting a dirty campaign, did you?"

"Wasn't that a beauty, Charlie?"

"Certainly the filthiest presidential campaign in my recollection, George."

"I doubt it will ever be surpassed. I think history will celebrate that as my highest achievement."

"What confounds me still, George, is that you could be the standard-bearer of the vilest, dirtiest, most ugly presidential campaign in modern history and still come out of it looking so squeaky clean. How can it be, George, that people still think you're basically decent, kind and gentle?"

"I have a thousand points of light."

Abortion Without Apology

N Radical History for the 1990s

Ninia Baehr

The radical perspectives and experiences of the pre-Roe v. Wade abortion rights organizers—the Society for Humane Abortion, the "Jane" collective, Cindy Cisler, and others—encourage us to reclaim our history and work for the policies we want, not just what we think we can get.

72 pages, \$5.00

A True Story of a Drunken Mother

Nancy Lee Hall

Harrowing, gripping testimony to the deadening realities of life before the 1960s feminist movement for a woman married to an abusive man, dedicated to babies and home, and drinking herself into a stupor.

160 pages, \$8.00

Freedom Under Fire

U.S. Civil Liberties in Times of War

Michael Linfield

Preface by Ramsey Clark

"A lively and valuable piece of history, carefully researched, and full of fascinating, troubling information about the state of civil liberties in our country."—Howard Zinn

302 pages, \$14.00

Punishing a Nation

Israeli Human Rights Violations During the Palestinian Uprising

al-Haq/Law in the Service of Man

This meticulously documented, comprehensive overview of Israel's illegal measures to suppress the Intifada reviews the systematic violence, deportation, illegal arrest and detention, house demolitions, curfews, denial of medical services, school closings, and censorship that have become Israeli policy.

314 pages, \$16.00

To order, send the price of the book plus \$2.50 for the first and \$.50 each additional to: South End Press, Box 7816, 300 Raritan Center Parkway, Edison NJ 08818; or call 800-533-8478 for Visa/Mastercard orders.

Joseph Heller is at work on a new novel, from which this excerpt has been adapted.

YOU AND WE

A quarterly newsletter
Published by The Women's Dialogue US/USSR
A project of The National Council for Research on Women

Table of Contents of Issue #1, Autumn, 1990

- I. Editors' Introduction: This newsletter is an experiment in sharing ideas, insights, and experience, and what American women have learned over the past few decades. Here you will find articles and interviews on the many subjects that you, women in the Soviet Union, have told us are of interest to you: the history of the American women's movement, health care and birthing, family life, the upbringing and education of children, religion and morality, women in business, organization and management skills. Reading about our successes and failures, our problems and dilemmas may help you in your own beginnings and, above all, to understand that in each country women have to define their own goals and ways of attaining them that are appropriate to their culture. Please send us your reactions, and in subsequent issues we will print some of your most thoughtful letters. And please pass this newsletter on to friends and colleagues, in the best Russian tradition of sharing.
- II. A message from Betty Friedan in which she recounts how as a housewife and mother who had been fired from her job for being pregnant, she came to write The Feminine Mystique. She describes the then prevailing image of woman in America as "wife and mother and sex object serving the needs of husband, children and home, and never as a person defining her own existence by her actions in society. ... Well, the women's movement broke through that. We began to take our own experience seriously and put our own name to our problems, and I called this obsolete image of women denying woman's personhood in twentieth century America "the feminine mystique. ... I think that, in a way, you face something similar. Even though women in the Soviet Union had to work -- so many men were killed in World War II -- and even though your common doctrine assumed that women were equal and should be in the workplace, nevertheless it is still all defined in terms of man, man's approach and man's experience, and still assumed that the wife will take care of the needs of husband and children. ... I think it is very good and important that you are beginning to examine your own experience as women and come to your own conclusions about that. This will be a very important element in your Perestroika. And I am glad you are planning to publish my books, The Feminine Mystique and The Second Stage." (pages 2-3)
- III. A segment on the controversy aroused by the invitation for Barbara Bush to address the graduating class at Wellesley College: A brief note on the development and role of women's colleges in American education; a New York Times background piece on why some of the Wellesley students circulated a petition objecting to the choice of Mrs. Bush; the text of her address at the graduation; a brief summary of what her guest, Raisa Gorbachev, said

a piece by one of the student petitioners responding to public criticism; press commentary and excerpts from letters on the controversy and on what Barbara Bush said. This entire segment gives a picture of where American women are at in this long and difficult process that we call the women's movement.

- IV. Defining Feminism: The daughters of the revolution believe in the ideas of the feminist movement, but hate the old images. An article saying that "feminist" has negative associations for many young women, yet they identify with the goals of the women's movement. Like many, they take its achievements for granted and believe the battles have been won. While they are the daughters of the feminist movement, many of them had a traditional upbringing that fostered stereotypes of men and women from an early age -- boys getting trucks and girls getting dolls. Though these young women carry some sexist baggage, they have ambitions and many are headed toward notable careers. Now they have choices. The abortion issue is enough to make some of these women disregard their own negative images of feminism. They may not call themselves feminists, but they are willing to march on Washington. (pages 10-12)
- V. The War of the Mamas: an article examining the tensions between mothers working fulltime outside the home and those choosing to stay at home and raise their children. The concerns of both.
- VI. Reviews of classics and of new books in the women's movement (a regular feature in the newsletter): Betty Friedan, The Feminine Mystique, and Deborah Tannen, You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation. (pages 15-16)
- VII. Statistics about women and work (how working women are distributed between different trades and professions, earnings, etc.)
- VIII. A background piece on women in political life in preparation for the November 1990 national elections: Who are the women candidates at the national and state levels and what are their chances of winning. Followed by a second piece saying that women's place is indeed in the house -- The House of Representatives in Washington. This segment on women in politics ends with a description of several grassroots organizations that help women in their campaigns for elective office (Emily's List, The National Women's Political Caucus, and The Women's Campaign Fund) and an article about the annual convention of the National Organization for Women and the issues on its agenda.
- IX. A few words about the Women's Dialogue US/USSR and that issues and approaches to health care will be a major segment in the next issue of the newsletter.

a piece by one of the student petitioners responding to public criticism; press commentary and excerpts from letters on the controversy and on what Barbara Bush said. This entire segment gives a picture of where American women are at in this long and difficult process that we call the women's movement.

- IV. Defining Feminism: The daughters of the revolution believe in the ideas of the feminist movement, but hate the old images. An article saying that "feminist" has negative associations for many young women, yet they identify with the goals of the women's movement. Like many, they take its achievements for granted and believe the battles have been won. While they are the daughters of the feminist movement, many of them had a traditional upbringing that fostered stereotypes of men and women from an early age -- boys getting trucks and girls getting dolls. Though these young women carry some sexist baggage, they have ambitions and many are headed toward notable careers. Now they have choices. The abortion issue is enough to make some of these women disregard their own negative images of feminism. They may not call themselves feminists, but they are willing to march on Washington. (pages 10-12)
- V. The War of the Mamas: an article examining the tensions between mothers working fulltime outside the home and those choosing to stay at home and raise their children. The concerns of both.
- VI. Reviews of classics and of new books in the women's movement (a regular feature in the newsletter): Betty Friedan, The Feminine Mystique, and Deborah Tannen, You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation. (pages 15-16)
- VII. Statistics about women and work (how working women are distributed between different trades and professions, earnings, etc.)
- VIII. A background piece on women in political life in preparation for the November 1990 national elections: Who are the women candidates at the national and state levels and what are their chances of winning. Followed by a second piece saying that women's place is indeed in the house -- The House of Representatives in Washington. This segment on women in politics ends with a description of several grassroots organizations that help women in their campaigns for elective office (Emily's List, The National Women's Political Caucus, and The Women's Campaign Fund) and an article about the annual convention of the National Organization for Women and the issues on its agenda.
- IX. A few words about the Women's Dialogue US/USSR and that issues and approaches to health care will be a major segment in the next issue of the newsletter.

В Ы И М Ы

Published by the Women's Dialogue USA/USSR
Диалог Женщин СССР-США

№ 1

Осень 1990

От редакторов.

Издание, которое лежит перед вами, является своего рода экспериментом, попыткой наладить наши общения и обмен опытом. В этих первых наших публикациях мы делимся с вами взглядом на будущее, знаниями и опытом в руководстве женским движением, которые американские женщины накопили за последние десятилетия.

Вы найдете здесь статьи и интервью по некоторым из многочисленных проблем, о которых, как вы нам говорили, вам хотелось бы узнать побольше: об истории женского движения в США, о проблемах здравоохранения и правах женщин в области деторождения, о семейной жизни и воспитании подрастающего поколения, образовании, религии и морали, предпринимательской деятельности, об организационном и управленческом опыте, общении.

Знания о наших достижениях и неудачах, наших проблемах и дилеммах могут помочь вам в ваших собственных начинаниях и, кроме того, дадут возможность понять, что в каждой стране женщины должны определить свои собственные способы и методы достижения целей, соответствующие их нуждам и интересам, их культурным запросам.

Мы — современницы, живущие в конце XX века на нашей общей планете Земля, и поэтому многие наши проблемы и интересы совпадают.

Этот выпуск открывается приветственным письмом Бетти Фридэн, которую журнал "Лайф" назвал среди 100 признанных наиболее знаменитыми американцами XX-го столетия. Ее первая книга "Загадка женской души", опубликованная в 1963 г., проложила путь современному женскому движению.

Следующая публикация посвящена событию получившему противоречивые оценки — выступлению Барбары Буш, жены нашего президента, в Уелсли-колледже, университете для женщин. Дискуссия, возникшая вокруг того выступления, наглядно характеризует личные и коллективные достижения женщин в нашей стране.

Одна из публикаций в этом выпуске посвящается женщинам-кандидатам, которые примут участие в предвыборной борьбе за посты в государственных учреждениях в ноябре 1990 г. Здесь же дается характеристика некоторых основных женских организаций, которые способствуют продвижению женщин на ключевые позиции в общественной и политической деятельности.

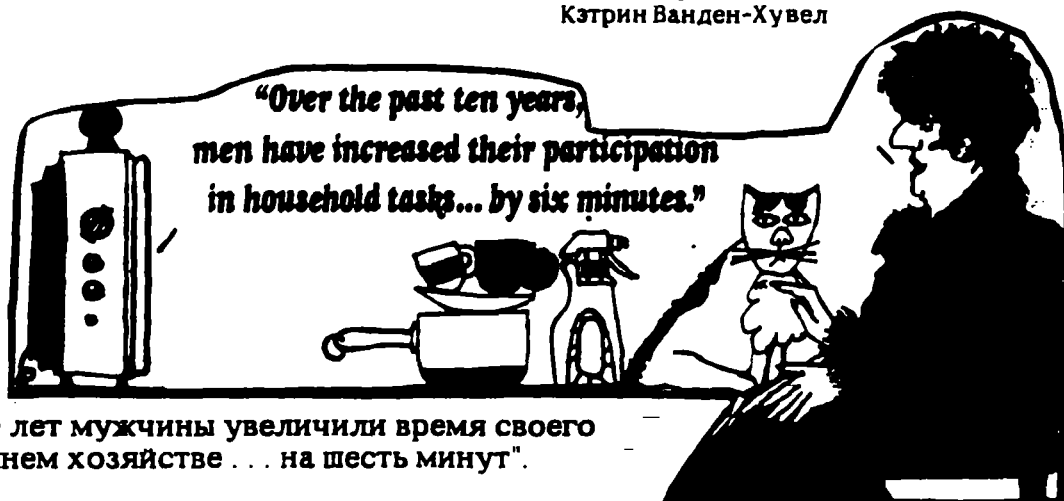
В каждом нашем очередном выпуске мы будем давать обзоры интересных для вас книг, и только что опубликованных, и изданных ранее, представляющих классические образцы литературы, посвященной женскому движению.

Пожалуйста пишите нам. Письма о ваших впечатлениях, оценки нашего издания посылайте по адресу, указанному на последней странице выпуска.

Мы планируем публиковать ваши письма, представляющие наибольший интерес для ваших соотечественниц, содержащие анализ наших публикаций и помогающие продвижению вперед широкой дискуссии по многим проблемам.

И, наконец, поскольку тираж нашего издания ограничен, пожалуйста, после прочтения передавайте каждый экзemplяр своим друзьям и знакомым, как это принято по хорошей русской традиции.

Элида Брилл
Колетт Шулман
Кэтрин Ванден-Хувел



"За последние 10 лет мужчины увеличили время своего участия в домашнем хозяйстве ... на шесть минут".

By Nicole Hollander

БЕСЕДА С БЕТТИ ФРИДЭН

(записано по телефону, август 1990 г.)

Дорогие советские женщины!

Я очень рада тому, что сегодня, в эпоху перестройки, вы начинаете поднимать вопрос о положении женщин, выходя за рамки обычной риторики и штампов, согласно которым коммунизм автоматически обеспечит улучшение их положения. Хочу поделиться с вами воспоминаниями о том, как зарождалось нынешнее женское движение в Америке.

Почти тридцать лет тому назад меня уволили из редакции газеты, где я работала, за то, что я ждала ребенка. Я превратилась в домохозяйку с тремя маленькими детьми. Когда я попыталась протестовать — поскольку я была хорошим журналистом и редактором — мне сказали: "Но ты ведь сама виновата — ты же ждешь ребенка". В ту пору существовало совершенно определенное представление о роли женщины в Соединенных Штатах, представление, навязывавшееся средствами массовой информации и даже представителями таких наук как психология и социология. Роль женщины определялась лишь ее полом, это была роль жены, объекта вожделения, удовлетворяющего физические потребности мужа, роль матери, занимающейся детьми и домашним хозяйством. Женщина не была личностью, существование которой определяется ее действиями в обществе. Это было все то же старое, традиционное представление о женщине, воплощенное еще в иудейско-христианской религии: женщина — это почти человек.

Первый этап борьбы за права женщин в нашей стране завершился в 1920 г., когда женщины завоевали право голоса. Но вопрос о положении женщин в целом тогда вообще не ставился. Речь шла только о том, чтобы доказать равенство женщин и мужчин, то есть доказать, что между женщинами и мужчинами нет никакой разницы, и следовательно, женщины имеют право голоса и право на работу — и тогда казалось, что этого будет достаточно. Но этого мало.

Во время второй мировой войны женщины нужны были на военных заводах, но после того, как война закончилась, их место у станков вновь заняли возвратившиеся домой мужчины. К тому же, тогда все стремились поскорее завести детей. Посте-

пенно старые, традиционные представления — облеченные теперь в завесу интеллектуальности — вновь заняли свое место. Ролью женщины опять стало обслуживание детей, мужа и домашнего хозяйства. Это представление было настолько укоренившимся, что женщины, работавшие вне дома (а таких было довольно мало) должны были оправдываться, ибо считалось, что они забывают о детях, теряют женственность и ущемляют мужское достоинство своих мужей тем, что работают. Они даже и замечать не должны были, что платили им в два раза меньше, чем мужчинам, и что они словно превращались в невидимок всякий раз, когда речь заходила о повышении по службе. Вдобавок ко всему, им каждый раз приходилось стремглав нестись с работы домой, потому что они по-прежнему делали всю работу по дому — чтобы не пострадали их мужья и дети. Каждая женщина считала, что должна в одиночку решать свои проблемы, и что вообще все эти проблемы — ее вина.

Но благодаря женскому движению все это переменялось. Мы начали серьезно относиться к собственному опыту и называть вещи своими именами — так, то отжившее представление о женщинах, которое мешало американской женщине двадцатого века стать личностью, я назвала "загадкой женской души". Мы должны были разрушить это ошибочное представление и заявить, что женщины — тоже люди, а значит на них распространяется и основное право американцев — право на равенство возможностей, а также право голоса при принятии решений о нашей судьбе, право на человеческое достоинство и все остальные права.

Разрушив это представление, увидев, что мы, женщины, в одинаковом положении в плане социальном, политическом, экономическом, психологическом, и что нам нужно серьезно относиться к собственному опыту и не позволять мужчинам указывать нам, что значит быть женщиной, быть женственной, мы начали постепенно придавать друг другу силы, стремясь взять в собственные руки свою судьбу и переменить свою жизнь. Вначале мы просто потребовали того, что должно было принадлежать нам — как людям и как американкам — от рождения, но чего мы никогда раньше не требовали: равенства возможностей при найме на работу, права на собственный политический голос и права распоряжаться своим телом, то есть решать, рожать детей или нет, и если

да, то когда и сколько (до признания права на аборт это считалось в нашей стране просто неуместным).

Был период, когда казалось, что главное — сделать карьеру, и очень многих женщин экономические и психологические факторы заставили пойти работать и освоить профессии, которые раньше считались чисто мужскими. Сейчас женщин довольно много на юридических и медицинских факультетах, не говоря уже об университетах в целом, а также о других профессиях.

Но тогда, в начале пути, мы могли лишь подражать мужчинам, и кроме того, мы столкнулись с проблемой, которая, думаю, стоит сейчас и перед вами: все у нас оставалось по-прежнему кроме одного: теперь у каждой из нас было по две работы. Другими словами, мы теперь могли — и даже должны были — работать полный рабочий день — и кроме того, по-прежнему считалось, что мы должны делать всю работу по дому. Даже если муж и помогал, даже хотя лучшие из нового поколения мужей и понимали, что необходимы революционные перемены, чтобы ответственность за дом и семью делилась поровну — организация работы на предприятиях и в учреждениях по-прежнему отвечала интересам мужчин, а женщины по-прежнему должны были быть "загадочными" идеальными женами и матерями, должны были нести основную нагрузку по дому, а на работе, соперничать с мужчинами по их, мужским правилам. Победить в этой ситуации невозможно, все это только вело к конфликту. Так в моей стране появилась — и сохраняется по сей день — опасность возмездия старых традиций в новом обличье, опасность того, что женщинам скажут: вы сами виноваты, что не смогли со всем этим справиться, так что лучше всего вам сидеть дома, как прежде.

Думаю, что вы сейчас оказались, в общем-то, в сходном положении. Даже хотя женщинам в Советском Союзе и раньше приходилось работать — ведь так много мужчин погибло во Вторую мировую войну — и даже хотя согласно вашей всеобщей доктрине женщины были наделены равными правами и должны были работать, все-таки все было предопределено мужчинами, и основывается на мужском подходе и опыте, на том понимании, что жена все же будет обслуживать мужа и детей. Это проявляется и в том, как организованы ваши учреждения и предприятия, и в том, как вы ходите в магазин, какие товары выпускаются, какие у вас при-

оритеты в политике и экономике. Хотя у вас может быть и больше женщин, чем у нас, в руководящих органах предприятий и даже в законодательных органах, вам очень далеко до численного равенства — да и как иначе, если женщины несут двойную ношу, да еще стоят каждый день в очередях. Чтобы и мужчины, и женщины были одинаково сильными, нужно, — и это, думаю, пока еще не всеми понято, — чтобы у мужчин было больше обязанностей в семье, а главное, чтобы примером для подражания были не только мужчины, чтобы серьезно воспринимался и женский опыт, а взгляд женщин на жизнь — ведь женщины по своей роли в обществе должны более чутко воспринимать жизнь — был отражен в политической сфере, в наших политических приоритетах.

Должна с большим стыдом признаться, что Соединенные Штаты в этом плане — отсталая страна, из всех развитых стран только у нас и в Южной Африке нет общенациональной политики в области ухода за детьми и отпусков для родителей. Так что я даже не могу сказать, что положение у нас лучше, чем у вас. Скажу только, что понимаю: вы несете сейчас двойную ношу. Я встречалась с советскими писателями и с некоторыми из ваших политических руководителей, и у меня создалось впечатление, что в вашей стране до сих пор снисходительно относятся к женщине как к своего рода помощнику мужчины, то есть опять-таки как к "загадке", считая, — даже хотя женщины и работают, — что главное для них — муж, дети, дом. Значит, опыт женщин не принимается в вашей стране всерьез, а главное, голос женщин, опыт женщин не определяет — и не помогает определять — политические приоритеты в жизни вашей страны.

Вот почему, мне кажется, очень важно, что вы начинаете задумываться над своей жизнью — жизнью женщин — и делать на этой основе политические выводы. Это станет очень важным элементом вашей перестройки. И я рада, что вы собираетесь напечатать мои книги "Загадка женской души" и "Второй этап". Надеюсь вскоре приехать в Советский Союз и встретиться с вами, сравнить наш общий опыт, посмотреть, куда приведет нас следующий шаг, потому что равенство мужчин и женщин — еще не все. Гораздо важнее — вступить в новую эру свободы и человеческого достоинства, раскрыть полностью возможности человека, понять, что все мы сейчас переживаем пер-

как подобает женщине ее времени; теперь же у женщин гораздо больше возможностей.

Упрощенное толкование

Джин Бейкер Миллер, психиатр по профессии и бывший директор Стоунского центра содействия и исследований в Уэлсли, утверждает, что студентки, выступившие против Барбары Буш, неправильно восприняли то, чему их учат в стенах колледжа. Да, преподаватели говорят в своих лекциях, что женщины не могут быть счастливы в традиционных мужских ролях, но и нельзя принижать труд женщины в семье.

"Мне думается, эти студентки упрощенно толкуют феминистские идеи, — говорит доктор Миллер, — но ведь не они одни в этом повинны".

Сто пятьдесят студенток направили в прошлом месяце петицию доктору Коезйн, в которой, в частности, говорится: "Нас учат, что женщины должны пожинать плоды собственных усилий, а не жить успехами своего мужа".

Петиция против миссис Буш не требовала аннулировать это приглашение. И ожидается, что она будет выступать на выпускном вечере. Кого пригласить — решало собрание старшекурсников. Во время голосования миссис Буш получила немного меньше голосов, чем писательница Алис Уокер, феминистка, написавшая роман "Лиловый цвет". Но Алис Уокер отказалась от этой чести. И таким образом выбор пал на миссис Буш.

Было выдвинуто еще несколько кандидатур. Среди тех, кто набрал сравнительно большое количество голосов — писательница Тони Моррисон, актрисы Вупи Голдбург и Гленн Клоуз, телевизионный комментатор Конни Чанг, астронавт Сэлли Райд, помощник Верховного судьи Сандра Дей О'Коннор и член Палаты представителей от штата Колорадо, демократ Патрика Шредер.

"Показательно, — отметила доктор Миллер, — что и миссис Буш и мисс Уокер — знаменитости, их имена у всех на устах, их лица примелькались на экранах телевидения. Это, по-моему, отражает силу воздействия телевизора и прессы на молодых, что, конечно, весьма прискорбно".

Филлис Чеслер, психолог и писательница, живущая в Бруклине, говорит, что знает небольшую отрыв мисс Уокер от миссис Буш весьма примечателен: "он

показывает сумятицу, которая царит сейчас в умах и сердцах женщин.

Тот факт, что столько студенток проголосовало за миссис Буш, говорит о том, — утверждает доктор Чеслер, — что много молодых женщин все еще мечтают о прекрасном замке, верят в миф сказочного принца и уход от реальности через счастливый брак. Этот выбор, — замечает доктор Чеслер, — не способствует решению ни одной важной женской проблемы: растущей бедности, бездомности, дискриминации национальных меньшинств. Все эти социальные язвы только усилились за время правления Рейгана и Буша, а Барбара Буш — плоть от плоти этих правлений. Избрание Барбары Буш, — продолжает Филлис Чеслер, — не может не вызвать вопроса, чему все-таки учат в колледже, и может ли образование спасти общество?"

Несмотря на критику, высказанную в петиции, миссис Буш на обеде, данном в среду корреспондентам, сказала, что протестующие против ее избрания студентки, "проявили большое здравомыслие."

Не могу с ними не согласиться

"Им всего двадцать лет, и они смотрят на жизнь с высоты именно этого возраста. И если глядеть на жизнь их глазами, не можешь с ними не согласиться, — сказала миссис Буш и прибавила: — Но вряд ли они понимают мою жизнь. На мой взгляд, это сказочно волнующая, интересная, захватывающая жизнь. В мое время они отличались бы от нас всех, так же, как я сегодня отличаюсь от них. И да здравствует Отличие!"

Неизвестно какие еще последствия будет иметь этот конфликт в Уэлсли. Но пока он только принес неприятности некоторым из тех, кто подписал петицию. Сусана Карденас, возглавляющая эту группу фрондеров, получила несколько угрожающих телефонных звонков и писем, как сообщили руководители колледжа. Авторы писем и звонков осыпали бранью мисс Карденас, уронили Перу, за критику жены президента и требовали, чтобы она убралась к себе домой.

Мисс Карденас сказала сегодня, что ей в голову не приходило критиковать миссис Буш. "Мы хотели только сказать, что есть много женщин, которые сидят дома, воспитывают детей, занимаются благотворительной деятельностью. И никто их не

знает, никто о них не слышал. А Барбару Буш знают только потому, что волей судьбы она стала женой президента. Мы никогда не выступали против материнства. Мы любим своих матерей!

Другую мысль высказала староста старшего курса Джули Портер. "Я подерживаю кандидатуру миссис Буш, — сказала она. — Барбара Буш — очень интересная женщина, преуспевшая в жизни. Она принадлежит другому времени, у нее не было тех возможностей, которыми сейчас располагаем мы. По-моему, женщин надо оценивать не по их богатству, а по тому, насколько они счастливы."

Сюзан Реверби, ассистент профессор и директор программы исследовательских работ в Уэлсли, говорит, что этот спор отражает две стороны феминизма. Одна сторона впитала в себя идеи Возрождения, пришедшего на смену Средних веков, идеи борьбы за права личности, которую вели женщины, чтобы завоевать равноправие. Другую сторону феминизма доктор Реверби называет "связующей чертой": феминизм этого толка признает достойным уважения неоплачиваемый труд женщин в семье.

Доктора Реверби беспокоит, что студентки колледжа недооценивают важность традиционных женских обязанностей. "По моему мнению, — говорит Сюзан Реверби, — это объясняется влиянием поп-культуры и некоторых телевизионных программ, которые создали образ работающей женщины, делающей головокружительную карьеру, оставляя за кадром ее семейную жизнь."

Все эти, преуспевающие на экране телевизоров женщины, имеют дома нянек, — продолжает она, — но 98% женщин не может себе позволить такой роскоши".

ТЕКСТ РЕЧИ МИССИС БУШ

Ассошиэйтед пресс

Уэлсли, Массачусетс. — Речь Барбары Буш в колледже Уэлсли:

Большое, большое вам спасибо, — президент Коеэйн, миссис Горбачева, попечители колледжа, преподаватели и родители. Большое спасибо старосте курса Джули Портер и моему новому другу — Кристине Бикнелл. И, конечно же, всему выпуску 1990 года.

Я счастлива быть сегодня здесь и очень взволнована, — как, думаю, и вы все, — что у нас в гостях миссис Горбачева.

Сейчас мы переживаем волнующие времена, и в Вашингтоне, и везде. И я действительно очень хочу поехать в Уэлсли. Я знала, что здесь будет прекрасное оказанный нам прием превзошел все мои ожидания. Большое вам за это спасибо.

Более десяти лет назад меня пригласили сюда поделиться впечатлениями о людях Китайской Народной Республики. Когда я приехала, я была просто заморожена красотой здешней природы, а также особым духом вашего колледжа. Уэлсли не просто какое-то место, Уэлсли — это идея. Ваш колледж — это попытка воспитать совершенного человека, и своеобычность здесь не только терпят, но и приветствуют. Эта мысль прозвучала в трогательной речи старосты курса, которую, мне довелось услышать в прошлом году в одном из здешних колледжей. Она говорила о терпимости и для иллюстрации привела рассказ Роберта Рулэна. Пере-скажу его вкратце. Молодому пастору как-то пришлось заниматься с непоседливыми детьми, и он решил поиграть с ними в игру "Великаны, карлики и колдуны". "Выбирайте, кто будет великаном, кто карликом, кто колдуном", — сказал он детям. Тогда маленькая девочка дергает его за штанину и говорит: "А где становиться русалкам?" Пастор отвечает: "Никаких русалок нет!" "Как нет? — удивилась девочка, — а я?"

Девочка в этом не сомневалась, и никакие правила игры не могли убедить ее в обратном. Она хотела в этой игре быть русалкой. Где становиться русалкам? Где те, кто не такой, как все, кого не остричь под одну гребенку? "Ответьте на этот вопрос, — пишет Рулэн, — и вы сможете построить школу, страну, мир".

И эта очень мудрая молодая женщина прибавила: "Индивидуальность, как ничто другое, требует усилий". Усилий, чтобы научиться уважать индивидуальность, исходя из нее сопереживать друг другу, бережно хранить и растить ее в себе и безусловно принимать — в других.

Да, вы вправе гордиться духом своего колледжа! Я знаю, — угадайте откуда? — что вы сперва выбрали Алис Уокер, знаменитую своим романом "Лиловый цвет". А вместо нее к вам обращается миссис Буш, известная цветом своих волос!

Роман Алис Уокер здесь, в Уэлсли, приобретает особый смысл. Каждый класс в вашем колледже носит свой цвет. А выпускницы 90-го вот уже четыре года носят лиловый.

Сегодня вы собрались здесь, в Северанс Грин, чтобы сказать прости колледжу и друг другу, перед тем, как отправиться в путь на поиск своего собственного цвета. В мире, который ждет вас по ту сторону озера Уабан, никто не даст вам готового решения. Но я знаю одно: вы получили перво-классное образование в первоклассном колледже, и вам не нужно будет — да вы и не сможете — жить жизнью, окрашенной банальным тоном большинства.

Решения не бесповоротны, все можно начать сначала. Но, когда вы покинете Уэлсли, я надеюсь, многие из вас сделают три очень важных выбора. Во-первых, надо верить во что-то большее, чем ты сам, — то есть посвятить себя одной из главных идей нашего времени.

Я выбрала просвещение, потому что всегда верила — чем больше людей смогут читать, писать и понимать друг друга, тем вернее мы сможем разрешить проблемы, лихорадящие нашу страну и общество.

Очень рано я сделала еще один выбор, — надеюсь, вы последуете моему примеру. Образование, карьера — но ведь все это жизнь. А жизнь невозможна без радости.

Наверное, это смешно. Одной из причин, толкнувших меня принять самое важное решение в жизни — стать женой Джорджа Буша — было то, что он умеет меня рассмешить. Правда, порой мы смеялись сквозь слезы, но этот смех, поделенный на двоих, связывал нас крепче всего. Ищите радость в жизни, — Как сказал Феррис Бюллер, — "жизнь проходит быстро. Если однажды не остановиться, чтобы поглядеть вокруг, — можете считать, она потеряна безвозвратно".

Я не скажу Джорджу, что Феррису вы аплодировали больше, чем ему.

Третье, что я завещаю вам: берегите свои отношения с людьми, — с друзьями, с семьей. Люди годами живут, поглощенные работой, карьерой, и это правильно. Работа врача, юриста, бизнесмена — важна и ответственна. Но вы прежде всего люди, и добрые отношения с мужем, друзьями, детьми — самый важный вклад, какой вы сможете внести в свою жизнь.

Оглядываясь на пройденный путь, вы никогда не пожалеете, что не сдали еще одного экзамена, не выиграли еще одного дела, не заключили еще одной сделки. Вы будете очень жалеть, что проводили мало времени с родными и друзьями.

Сейчас мы переживаем время перемен, — волнующее и полное надежд. И мы все, мужчины и женщины, должны меняться. Одна моя подруга рассказывает: ее муж пожаловался друзьям, что его превратили в няньку. Она тут же поставила его на место. "Сидеть со своими детьми, — сказала она, — не значит превратиться в няньку".

Может быть, мы привыкнем к переменам быстро, может быть — медленно. Но во все времена существовала одна неизменная истина: если у вас есть дети, вы прежде всего отцы и матери. Читайте своим детям, любите, ласкайте их. Ваше семейное счастье, как и благосостояние нашего общества, зависит не от событий в Белом доме, а от того, что происходит у вас дома.

В Уэлсли более пятидесяти лет назад говорили: победительница ежегодного соревнования по перекатыванию обруча первой выйдет замуж. Теперь же говорят: победительница первой станет руководящим работником. Эти два стереотипа показывают, как мало мы еще терпимы к тем, кто спрашивает — где становится русалкам.

Поэтому я хочу сказать иначе: у победительницы первой сбудется мечта — ее собственная, личная мечта, а не мечта общества.

Кто знает, может быть, кто-нибудь из слушающих меня войдет когда-нибудь в Белый дом, как вошла я — супруга президента. Желаю ему счастья.

Я заканчиваю выступление, но наш разговор, на мой взгляд, очень интересный, только начался. Расставаясь сегодня с Уэлсли, унесите в душе благодарность за это торжество, за честь, оказанную миссис Горбачевой, мне и всем вам.

Еще раз спасибо, и да поможет вам Бог. Пусть ваше будущее станет достойным ваших мечтаний.

РАИСА ГОРБАЧЕВА В УЭЛСЛИ КОЛЛЕДЖЕ

Раиса Горбачева была приглашена Барбарой Буш для участия вместе с ней в торжественном событии, посвященном выпуску студенток колледжа и выступления перед ими с коротким приветствием. Р. Горбачева говорила (через переводчика) об изменениях, происходящих в ее стране. "В процессе обновления нашей страны, — сказала она, — мы хотим быть открытыми для всего мира. Мы хотим иметь хорошие отношения с американцами и другими народами".

"Люди во всем мире, — сказала она далее, — осознают более отчетливо те ценности, которые нас объединяют. Среди них — любовь к своей стране, своим родным и близким, своим детям, вера в солидарность и готовность к борьбе против войн и насилия, катастроф и других бед, грозящих человечеству". "В обоих наших государствах, — как заявила Р. Горбачева, — женщины играют ключевую роль в достижении мира и прогресса." "У нас женщин — особая миссия... всегда, даже в самые трудные времена, женщины отстаивали мир, гуманизм, сострадание и доброту".

МЫ НЕ КРИТИКОВАЛИ МИССИС БУШ

Пресса искажила нашу очень простую точку зрения

Пегги Рейд

Уэлсли, Массачусетс.

Отлично, с меня довольно! Как студентка колледжа Уэлсли и соавтор письма, положившего начало пресловутой шумихе вокруг Барбары Буш, я бы хотела поставить все на свои места.

Последние полтора месяца я наблюдала, как чудовищно перевирают причину нашего недовольства выступлением Барбары Буш на нынешнем выпускном вечере, — причину, которую очень легко объяснить.

Средства массовой информации создали прямо-таки сенсацию, сказав и неправильно истолковав наше к этому отношение, — чем и ввели в заблуждение очень многих людей.

Нам бы и в голову не пришло осуждать Первую леди за ее благотворительную, общественную деятельность или за то, что она мать.

Мы совсем не те "карьеристки", которые смотрят свысока на женщин, не имеющих работы.

Но мы и не разделяем точку зрения мужчин, что секрет успеха заключен в независимости, агрессивности и боевитости.

Здесь, в Уэлсли, всегда считалось, что женщина может не только быть прекрасным специалистом наравне с мужчиной, но и обладает специфическими свойствами, благодаря которым мы становимся врачами, учителями, воспитателями.

Благодаря этим свойствам женщина часто посвящает себя служению другим — дому, прочной семье. Женское движение дало нам право на выбор. Мы не против тех, кто выбирает материнство и воспитание детей. И, конечно же, мы не призываем жен-

шин поступиться своими чисто женскими обязанностями ради мужественной борьбы за место в жизни, самостоятельность и уверенность в себе.

Женское движение хочет разрушить стену между привилегиями мужчин и женщин. Оно помогает тому и другому полу лучше узнать себя, стать сильнее, осознав, что такое мужские и женские свойства. Тот факт, что "женская" работа по большей части не оплачивается, ни в коей мере не умаляет ее значимости.

Комментатор "Бостон Глоуб" ошибся, приписав феминисткам мнение, что женщина добьется успеха, только занимаясь традиционной мужской работой. Это чистое заблуждение: студентки Уэлсли не забывают параграфов в декларации феминизма!

Против чего же мы протестовали, написав, что Барбара Буш — неподходящий кандидат для выступления на выпускном вечере в Уэлсли? Если мы не против материнства и общественной работы, — что мы имеем против Барбары Буш?

Все очень просто: Барбару Буш пригласили не потому, что она прекрасная мать, и не из-за ее достойной восхищения общественной деятельности. Почему тогда было не пригласить столь же достойную другую мать и общественницу? Дело в том, что другая женщина не была бы женой президента Буша!

Барбару Буш выбрали из-за ее мужа: его, а не ее известность привела миссис Буш к нам. Мы не ставили под вопрос правильность ее жизненного выбора. Мы не против Барбары Буш, мы против того, что ее пригласили как миссис Джордж Буш.

Пегги Рейд специализируется по изучению религий. В июне она получила степень бакалавра искусств.

МИССИС БУШ ЗАБЫЛА РАБОТАЮЩИХ ЖЕНЩИН

Ричард Козн

... Да, в миссис Буш столько очарования и элегантности. Но, ведь, это и все. Она принадлежит, как об этом писалось и говорилось, своему времени и, конечно, своему классу. Когда она уходила из Смитовского колледжа после второго курса, чтобы выйти замуж и посвятить себя семье, она ведь, в сущности, выбора не делала. Очень немногие женщины ее поколения и класса всерьез думали тогда о карьере. Сегодня совсем другое дело.

Если бы миссис Буш могла перешагнуть через поколение и пропасть, разделяющую классы, она могла бы сказать много интересного. Во-первых, она сказала бы, что может позволить себе не работать. Ведь семейство Бушей, согласно отчету, обладает состоянием в 2,3 миллионов долларов. Так что нет сомнения в ее принадлежности к высшему классу.

У большинства женщин нет таких доходов. И они работают, помимо прочего, потому что у них нет другого выбора. Я говорю не только об одиноких матерях, но и о тех, кто имеет мужа, обо всех тех, у кого на глазах семейный кошелек за последние двадцать лет сильно потощал. Весь фокус с американским семейным бюджетом заключается в том, что он действительно возрос, а если не возрос, то остался на том же уровне. Но как вы думаете — по-

чему? Потому что в семье теперь работают вместо одного, — двое.

Это, разумеется, ставит женщину в довольно-таки затруднительное положение. Но ни правительство Рейгана, ни правительство Буша палец о палец не ударило, чтобы облегчить ношу, взваленную на женщин. Сколько хотите перечисляйте женские проблемы — от планирования размеров семьи до семейных отпусков, эти консервативные правительства будут всегда против. У них один совет всем женщинам без разбора: сидите дома, свернитесь в клубочек с газетой "Сатердей ивнинг пост", и ждите, как любимый песик с тапочкой в зубах, когда явится домой падишах. Но ведь у очень многих женщин домой никто не является.

Незадолго до вступления президента в должность, Барбару Буш спросили, что она скажет, если ее сравнить с Элеонорой Рузвельт — еще одной Первой леди, сдержанной, прямодушной женщиной, из хорошей семьи. На что она ответила: "Мне бы не хотелось, чтобы вы упоминали это имя. Видите ли, я выросла в семье, где Элеонору Рузвельт не любили. Моя мать просто презирала ее. Так что сравните меня с кем-нибудь другим".

Но мы внемлем этой просьбе. Миссис Рузвельт была действительно великой, если не самой великой Первой леди. А великой она была потому, что умела проявлять участие к людям, понимать их беды и радости, даже если они и не принадлежали к ее классу. Ее посещения арендаторов и шахтеров расценивались классом, к которому принадлежит миссис Буш, как следствие социалистических бредней Франклина Рузвельта. А ведь Рузвельта волновала безопасность рабочих людей на производстве и низкая заработная плата.

Если бы в нынешней Первой леди было больше черт Элеоноры Рузвельт и меньше ее матери, она бы своим выступлением заставила задуматься выпускниц колледжа о нелегкой судьбе американских женщин. Это ее выступление составило бы веху в нашей истории, а теперь оно просто очень скоро забудется. Ее выступление было милое, элегантно, но многие женщины даже и не слышали его. Они спешили в ту минуту на работу.

МУЖЧИНЫ КАК БЫ НЕ СУЩЕСТВУЮТ

Эллен Гудмен

Как постоянный читатель прессы, я не могла не задуматься, почему эта история в Уэлсли получила такой широкий отклик, привлекла внимание самой широкой публики. Мне кажется, дело в том, что это был спор женщин, между женщинами, о женщинах. Чисто женский диспут, не имеющий никакого отношения к мужчинам.

История в Уэлсли удовлетворяет требованиям самого современного сценария, отражающего сегодняшние перемены в нашем обществе: молодые, наглые женщины дубасят милых добродетельных старушек. Говоря другими словами: это еще одна иллюстрация войны (я бы назвала ее кошачей) между дипломированными женщинами и "мамочками", между работающей женщиной и женщиной-домохозяйкой.

Мужчины не только остались за пределами этого великого диспута, они как бы вообще не существуют.

Женщины куда более серьезно и заинтересованно относятся к подобным проблемам. На нынешнем этапе социальных перемен половина женщин с детьми дошкольного возраста работает, вторая половина сидит дома и воспитывает детей. Те, кто сидит дома, боятся, что у них "зарастут извилины", боятся услышать насмешку, что их единственная забота в жизни как бы не заляпать навоженный линолеум. Те, кто ходят на службу, боятся, что их упрекнут в отсутствии любви к собственным детям: "Вам не кажется, что няньки не столько смотрят за детьми, сколько их портят?"

И вина за такие чувства взваливается не на мужа или несовершенную систему, а на "тех женщин". "Ньюсуик" опубликовал большую статью "Война мам", в которой не слышно ни одного мужского голоса.

Смею, однако, утверждать, что большая доля вины лежит и на мужчинах: хотя бы на вашем соседе за праздничным столом. Услышав, что вы домашняя хозяйка, он теряет к вам интерес и невежливо отворачивается. В этом повинны муж, отец, или ваш коллега-мужчина, которые в разговоре с вами не упустят вставить в разговор, что дети счастливы, здоровы, хорошо развиваются, когда мать дома. Немалая вина и на мужском журнале "Эсквайр", который в последнем номере поместил фотографию "последней американской домохозяйки", со счастливой улыбкой моющей туалетную комнату. И по всей вероятности, сильнее всего подливают масла в огонь те мужчины, которые ответственны за федеральную политику и за политику корпораций.

До тех пор, пока мужчины стоят в стороне от этого конфликта, пока они в одностороннем порядке решают, что женщины могут и должны, пока принимают решения за женщин, мы так и будем топтаться на месте.

Еще одна новость из Уэлсли. Эти молодые возмутители спокойствия, которых уже несколько недель бичует пресса, послали вдогонку петиции вежливое просительное письмо Первой леди. Они просят замолвить словечко — может даже поговорить с самим президентом — за пункты женской программы, начиная от семейного отпуска и кончая справедливой оплатой труда. Без сомнения это очень бы помогло женщинам в борьбе за равноправие.

Не такой уж плохой результат женских переговоров на высшем уровне. Пора нам всем подумать о перестройке.

СТУДЕНТЫ НЕ НАРУШИЛИ ТРАДИЦИЙ

Я возражаю против того, что в редакционной статье от 9 мая под названием "Цензура в башне из слоновой кости" вы описали колледж Уэлсли как пример общенациональной тенденции к введению цензуры в университетских городках. В отличие от Университета Северного Колорадо, который аннулировал приглашение Линде Чавез выступить с речью на актовой церемонии, колледж Уэлсли не отменил своего приглашения Барбаре Буш.

Существенное меньшинство выпускного курса считает, что соученикам не следовало выбирать миссис Буш, поскольку ее известность определяется успехами ее мужа, а не ее профессиональными достижениями. Это меньшинство считает также, что один из главных женских колледжей страны не должен воздавать кому-либо почести за ее успехи в ка-

честве жены и матери. Большинство с этим мнением не согласно — ведь они ее пригласили. Действия протестующих не являются примером цензуры — миссис Буш не подвергается и не будет подвергаться цензуре.

Выражая свои взгляды, студенты отнюдь не нарушили традиции. Если бы в 1960 г., когда я заканчивала Уэлсли, колледж пригласил бы выступить перед выпускным курсом Мэйми Эйзенхауэр, я сама возглавила бы подобный протест. Те институты, которые все еще сохраняют стандарты совершенства и мастерства — а их количество очень мало и все продолжает уменьшаться — должны чтить эти высокие качества на своих актовых церемониях.

Я уважаю позицию руководства колледжа Уэлсли в этом деле: колледж защитил как право меньшинства на выражение своих взглядов, так и право большинства на принятие решения. А главное, все это способствовало корректной атмосфере и умной, аргументированной беседе. Это и есть американская традиция.

Диана Ревити,
Адъюнкт профессор истории и
образования
Учительский колледж,
Колумбийский университет,
Нью-Йорк
Выпускник Уэлсли 1960 г.

ПИСЬМА РЕДАКТОРУ

Хочу сказать несколько слов в ответ на статью Элоны Эйд, опубликованную на первой странице газеты от 8 мая. Шум в Уэлсли разгорелся вокруг приглашения Барбары Буш прочитать перед выпускниками 1990 г. приветственную речь. Эти молодые женщины получили за прошедшие четыре года уникальное образование. Главная идея, проходящая через всю программу колледжа, заключается в том, что женщины на протяжении истории внесли огромный вклад во все области жизни, включая бизнес, закон, медицину, семью.

Этот вклад зачастую оставался незамеченным или неоцененным, но он свидетельствует о замечательных дарованиях женщин. Студенток этого колледжа учат использовать способности и знания для достижения своих целей и претворения в жизнь своих чаяний, какие бы препятствия не встретились им на пути. Многие из них стали известными писательницами, актрисами, адвокатами, банкирами, политическими деятелями и педагогами. Кроме того, они часто принимают самое активное участие в общественной работе. У многих есть семьи, дети.

Почему же студенты выбрали в качестве почетного гостя Барбару Буш, несмотря на то, что столько выпускниц колледжа сделали действительно замечательную карьеру? Миссис Буш родилась в богатой семье. Она ушла из колледжа, чтобы выйти замуж, сделала, как говорили в старину, блестящую партию. Возможно, она хорошая мать. Вряд ли кому придет в голову подвергать сомнению ее активную благотворительную деятельность. Но она может быть щедрой не благодаря своим собственным профессиональным успехам, а благодаря положению мужа и богатой семье. Всем достижениям, миссис Буш обязана своему социальному статусу, который дал ей все: время,

ность женского движения, феминизм, как признает Слимпсон, все еще не может восстановить свой авторитет в обществе. И причины этого все объясняют по-разному.

"Я, правда, люблю, когда ведут себя по-рыцарски. А когда я агитирую за феминизм, мужчины часто понимают это неправильно. По этой причине я иногда не признаюсь, что я феминистка, — говорит Стефани, двадцатитрехлетняя студентка одного из университетов Западного побережья. — Агитировать за феминизм, значит бороться за равные права, равную зарплату, за признание равенства интеллектов. Но все равно, очень приятно, когда к тебе относятся как к леди."

"Когда я говорю людям, что я феминистка, они таращат на меня глаза, — говорит Карен, восемнадцатилетняя феминистка из Вашингтона. — Они думают, что феминистки — это те женщины, которые бросают детей, семью, ненавидят мужчин".

А вот слова Салли — молодой двадцатидвухлетней женщины из штата Миссури, только что вышедшей замуж: "Самое главное сейчас то, что женщины не стремятся иметь семью. Такое впечатление, что они хотят быть большими боссами, какими всегда были мужчины, кормильцами. Конечно, они хотят иметь и детей, но только при этом подавая им детский сад или няню. Мне кажется, что стало модно жить без семьи. И я думаю, пока это не наладится, пока в стране не будет".

Много ли таких женщин? Трудно поверить, что они составляют большинство. Но адвокат из Чикаго Патрика Бергсон, побывавшая во многих колледжах страны в поисках сотрудников для своей фирмы, отметила у студентов эти настроения. "Мне показалось, — говорит она, — что общее мнение сводится к тому, что сражение выиграно... Я обычно остерегаюсь успешных выводов, но я неоднократно замечала, что молодые женщины как бы хотят остаться в стороне. Я придерживаюсь мнения, что если женщины явно выражают нежелание участвовать в движении, это означает, что они хотят держаться подальше от феминизма".

Это не значит, что феминизм прекратил существование. В тех же самых университетах бок-о-бок со студентками, которых отличает комплекс "я — не феминистка, но...", существуют феминистские центры и группы. И хотя многие девушки, с которыми мы беседовали, чувствовали себя неловко, если мы пытались как-то связать их образ мышления с феминизмом, они столь неловко чувствовали себя, пытаясь от него откеститься.

"Я не хочу сказать, что феминизм плохое слово. По-моему, у него есть и положительное и отрицательное значение. Люди склонны думать, что сжигание бюстгалтеров, ненависть к мужчинам — нормальное проявление феминизма. Но, я думаю, это не так. Феминизм, по-моему, прошел уже начальную, революционную стадию развития и теперь его цель — следить за тем, чтобы никто не посягал на женское равноправие", — сказала нам Андреа, двадцатитрехлетняя выпускница университета.

А вот еще одно высказывание девятнадцатилетней первокурсницы Хезы: "Мне кажется, я все-таки наполовину феминистка. Я не готова сию минуту вскочить и мчаться в Вашингтон, чтобы выразить свой протест. Но если бы я была дома в Лос-Анджелесе, и там в парке началась демонстрация, рядом с моим домом, то я — в этом нет сомнения, — пошла бы демонстрировать".

Хотя равенство, за которое боролись их матери, очень важно для всех этих девушек и все они собираются внести основательный вклад в общество, многие их высказывания говорят о глубоком непонимании сути женского равноправия, в общем, они все еще смотрят на себя глазами мужчин, и это может в будущем сильно им помешать. Могут ли они все-речь рассчитывать на равноправное к себе отношение, если они дискриминируют сами себя? Хотя на словах они выступают за равноправие, но в то же время изо всех сил цепляются за традиционные стереотипы. "Когда я думаю о крупном бизнесмене, перед моими глазами возникает мужчина в смокинге. Может это и несправедливо, но так всегда это и было, и я к этому привыкла. Когда я думаю о президенте, я опять вижу мужчину типа Джорджа Буша... А когда я думаю о медсестре, я вижу пожилую женщину в белом. Когда я думаю о школьном учителе, тоже вижу женщину. А когда думаю о рабочем-строителе, представляю себе мужчину", — говорит Салли.

А что почувствует Салли, если директор фирмы не возьмет ее на работу, потому что мысленно видит на этом месте мужчину?

"Я очень, очень расстроюсь, — ответила Салли. — Ведь когда я вам это говорю, я сама так не думаю, все дело в стереотипе. А люди, кажется, сейчас так думают и говорят. Стереотипом медсестры для меня может быть женщина, но если бы ко мне пришел мужчина и стал проситься на работу медбратом, и у него был бы большой опыт и знания, я бы, конечно, его взяла".

"Многие женщины сами подвергают дискриминации женщин-учителей. Они говорят, что женщины не так образованы, не так знают свой предмет, их не будут так слушать. Я сама это слышала, когда училась в школе", — говорит Хеза.

Все эти девушки — дочери феминистского движения, но многие из них выросли в среде, приверженной традициям, и впитали эти стереотипы с молоком матери.

"У меня был старший брат, — говорит Даун, восемнадцатилетняя первокурсница из маленького городка в Монтане. — Он играл с машинками, кубиками, а я играла в куклы. Я очень любила играть в куклы, потому что хотела быть как мама. Она была домохозяйка, и ей очень нравилось воспитывать нас и вести дом".

"Мы часто завидовали, что у мальчишек такие хорошие игрушки, — это говорит Дейнин. — Они были гораздо лучше наших. Но нам и в голову не приходило поменяться".

"Очень интересно вспомнить, как отец воспитывал брата, и как воспитывал меня. Для брата большее значение имели финансы. Что касается меня, то отец всегда очень заботился обо мне. Он предоставлял мне большую свободу, чтобы я могла сама решить, к чему у меня лежит душа. И никогда меня ни к чему не принуждал. Но я всегда знала, что обо мне кто-то будет заботиться. Сначала он, потом кто-то еще", — рассказывает Ким, студентка-выпускница одного из крупных университетов Среднего Запада. Ей 21 год.

Будет ли она воспитывать своих детей точно так же?

"Может быть немного иначе... без какого заренее намеченного плана... там видно будет... Пожалуй, мне все-таки странно представить себе, что я буду заставлять сына брать уроки танцев. Но дочку я буду заставлять. Мне кажется, я еще не избавилась от этого комплекса: "а что скажут его сверстники"?

Хотя в этих девушках заметны еще остатки традиционного взгляда на разницу полов, они все же в достаточной мере честолюбивы. А теперь к тому же у них есть выбор.

"Я думаю, что идеи феминизма прочно вошли в плоть и кровь нашей университетской жизни. Молодые женщины считают само собой разумеющимся, что они могут выбрать любую аспирантуру, любую работу. Это весьма положительный факт, — говорит адвокат Сара Веддингтон, которая вела в Верховном суде знаменитое дело Роу против Уайда, отстаивая право женщины самой определять размеры семьи. — Я слыхала, как люди винят во всем молодых женщин. Я это не люблю. Мы сказали им — мир для вас должен быть все равно что грецкий орех. И они нам поверили".

Многие женщины сознательно отказываются от всего, предпочитая роль жены и матери.

"Моя сводная сестра пришла к заключению, что она терпеть не может школу, и что домашнее хозяйство — это единственное, что привлекает ее. Она всегда хотела выйти замуж и нарожать детей", — опять говорит Дейнниел.

"Это прекрасно. Женщина сама имеет право решать, что ей действительно по душе. Давно пора забыть маменькины сентенции: "Хочешь быть домохозяйкой? Твое дело. Но на всем другом поставь крест", — высказала свое мнение Карен.

"По-моему, очень здорово, что женщина хочет иметь семью, детей, мужа. Господи, бедь это же половина того, что составляет женскую жизнь. А может и больше, чем половина!" — воскликнула Стефани.

Да, комплекс "я — не феминистка, но..." еще дает о себе знать в наших университетах, но есть одна проблема, которая до такой степени взволновала этих молодых женщин, что они готовы забыть свое отрицательное отношение к феминизму. Пусть они не хотят называться феминистками, но они готовы совершить марш в Вашингтон. Эта сегодняшняя проблема "но" — "право на аборт". "Думаю, что женщины, которые до сих пор никогда в жизни не назвали бы себя феминистками или активистками, после дела Вебстера массами включатся в женское движение", — говорит Полин Барт, профессор психологии в Иллинойском университете и автор недавно вышедшей книги: "Остановить изнасилования: успешные методы индивидуальной борьбы".

С ней согласны многие. "Это первая социальная проблема, которая лично затронула всех молодых женщин, — вторит ей Веддингтон. — Она резко радикализовала общество".

"Женское движение чуть не дышало на ладан. И тут этот взрыв страстей вокруг аборт. Это абсолютно ключевая проблема, она должна стоять во главе всего списка женских проблем", — говорит Арлин Каплан Дейнниел, профессор социологии в Норт-вестернском университете.

Они пока могут и не быть феминистками; но никто сейчас не может сказать, как в будущем сложатся их отношения с феминистским движением. У Дейнниел есть на этот счет свое мнение, пусть и полусутошное: "Что сейчас нужно многим женщинам? Или развод, или работа. А это непременно приведет их в лагерь феминисток". Пусть некоторые высказывания молодых женщин вгоняют сейчас феминисток в состояние шока; их мысли отражают скорее детскую наивность, чем дремучее, неандертальское отношение к женскому равноправию.

"Люди, наконец, пришли к пониманию того, что женские права, действительно, очень серьезная проблема. Значит, впереди у нас еще очень длинный путь. Ну что ж, как говорится, шаг вперед, шаг назад, — заканчивает Дейнниел. — Но я с надеждой смотрю в будущее".

ВОЙНА МАМ

Чем больше работающих женщин, тем сильнее трения между ними и теми, кто предпочел карьеру матери.

Нина Дарнтон

Вот как это происходит:

Элейн Козн, сотрудница одной нью-йоркской телекомпании, переехала в пригород, в округ Уэстчестер; сыну ее было три года. Когда она уезжала на службу, с мальчиком сидела няня. Но она все-таки решила подыскать для сына прогулочную группу. Казалось бы, дело простое, но не тут-то было. "Кому и куда я только не звонила, — говорит Элейн, — и все без толку". Она обращалась к матерям, живущим по соседству, и все они давали ей понять, что ребенок, с которым сидит няня, в группе нежелателен. "Как только я говорила, что я работаю, от меня шарахались, как от чумы", — добавляет Элейн.

А в семистах милях от Уэстчестера, под Чикаго, мама Джоан Брандидж столкнулась с иными проблемами. Джоан ушла с работы (она была почтальоном) и стала сама ухаживать за своими детьми. Месяц спустя ей позвонила подруга. Занятая с младенцем, Джоан сняла трубку только после четвертого звонка и услышала насмешливое: "Я не вовремя? Смотришь ти-ви? Попала в самый душещипательный момент?"

Как всегда в истории: возникающие распри помогает понять эпоха. В 60-х годах хиппи воевали с сельскими парнями, в 70-х — в десятилетие бурного роста женского движения — шла война полов. С середины 80-х и по сегодняшний день мамы воюют против мам, точнее мамы-домашние хозяйки — против мам, которые служат. Этот конфликт разрастается на фоне неуверенности в завтрашнем дне, отчаяния, ревности и чувства вины. А поскольку эти враги в каком-то смысле союзники, война эта приобретает особую остроту.

Чем больше женщин меняют домашний очаг на работу, тем сильнее трения и тем шире становится пропасть между теми, кто остался верен традиционным женским занятиям и теми, кто пошел на работу, поручив заботу о детях няне. Конфликт приобрел отчетливые очертания после недавней истории в колледже Уэлсли: студентки колледжа выступили против того, чтобы с приветственной речью к выпускницам обратилась Барбара Буш: они заявили, что миссис Буш не может служить для них образцом, поскольку она выбрала себе карьеру жены и матери, а своей известностью обязана успехам мужа. Между тем война мам продолжается, вот последняя сводка с поля сражения:

"Как это прекрасно, что вы водите малышку Бобб каждое утро в школу, — шелестит в школьном дворе мама-домохозяйка, спешащей на работу маме-служащей. — Если бы не это, вы бы просто никогда не виделись". (Артиллерийский залп). "Какое счастье,

что вы можете быть со своими детьми весь день. Для этого нужно иметь какие-то особые свойства характера! Я бы просто сошла с ума к концу дня". (Падают цветная бомба).

Как мы могли дойти до такого состояния? В недавно вышедшей книге "Женщины — вместе, женщины — врозь" Анита Шрив, пишущая о женских проблемах, так комментирует эту войну между женщинами: "Невозможно не придти к заключению, что сейчас в Америке существует глубокий и острый конфликт между женщинами. Среди причин этого раскола существует и такая: одна группа чувствует, что другая ее эксплуатирует и даже стремится вытеснить".

Представьте себе работающую мать. Подобно многим матерям этого поколения, она, по всей вероятности, выросла в семье, где мать была дома. Поэтому она особенно остро воспринимает упрек, что слишком мало времени уделяет детям. Она обеспокоена тем, что получится из ее детей. Она читает психологическую литературу о важности "пуповинной" связи между матерью и ребенком и боится, что не сможет ее установить за шесть недель послеродового отпуска. Счастье еще, если этот отпуск есть — очень часто он не оплачивается. Она узнает из средств информации о том, что случается с детьми, когда их отдают на попечение чужим людям. Она слушает страшные истории о недосмотре, равнодушии и половых преступлениях с содроганием, но все-таки слушает, подвергая себя чему-то вроде самобичевания.

Она расстроена тем, что дети ее вырастают без ее постоянного наблюдения, что она может пропустить какие-то важные вещи в их жизни, что кто-то другой лишит их первые слова, увидит первые шаги. Ее душу раздражают противоречия. Она говорит себе: может все-таки сменить работу по специальности на такую, где есть скользящий график, и покориться судьбе всех матерей? Ее раздражает, что приходится расплачиваться за материнство такой ценой, тогда как мужчины за отцовство не расплачиваются ничем. Она сердится, потому что не видит выхода: семье без ее зарплаты не прожить. Кроме того, у нее может быть убеждение, что и она имеет право на профессиональную карьеру. Но чувство вины все равно остается. Она все время ощущает, что окружена матерями, которые сами нянчат и растят своих детей. 56% матерей с детьми младше шести лет работают. Но все-таки остается 44% матерей, сидящих дома.

Взаимные нападки. Нет ничего удивительного, что работающие матери завидуют соседкам-домохозяйкам. Они завидуют даже няням своих детей. "Когда я прихожу вечером домой, — сетует женщина-коммивояжер из Миннеаполиса, — малыш мне улыбается, а ручки тянет к ней. Я не против, пусть он любит ее. Я только хочу, чтобы меня он любил больше".

Не лучше обстоит дело и с соседками. Одна секретарша из Нью-Йорка оставляет трехлетнего сына у соседки, тоже матери. Вот что она рассказывает: "Соседка жалуется, что мой мальчик не ест бутерброды, которые я приношу ему. Я ей говорю, он очень любит эти бутерброды. На что она отвечает: откуда я это знаю, ведь я совсем не вижу своего ребенка. Она все время дает мне понять, что я сыну мешаю, что его жизнь проходит мимо меня".

Все это отравляет жизнь работающей матери. Она разрывается между желанием быть хорошей матерью и стремлением работать не хуже других. Так что

даже утренние прогулки с ребенком в школу кажутся ей величайшим благом.

В этом состоянии душевного дискомфорта ей трудно сочувствовать матери-домохозяйке, особенно если та все время старается ее уколоть. У многих работающих женщин есть среди соседей особенно злобная Немизида. Постановщик видеофильмов из Миннеаполиса Джун Линси Хагмен жалуется: "Она даже считает, сколько раз я была на футбольных тренировках сына. Она не упустит возможности сказать, что не может себе вообразить, как это — ребенок пришел из школы, а матери нет дома. Подтекст этих слов — она любит своих детей больше, чем я".

Рассерженная, готовая отстаивать себя, работающая женщина наносит ответный удар. Она уверяет, что мать-домохозяйка столько времени тратит на аэробику и общественную работу, что тоже почти не видит своих детей. Что женщины, сидящие дома, скучны и неинтересны, и что часто они — испорченные эгоистки.

А теперь перейдем линию фронта и глянем на мать, сидящую дома с детьми.

Обычно она не идет на работу, потому что считает — так лучше для детей. Одним повезло и мужья у них получают достаточно, чтобы полностью обеспечить семью. Другие должны от многого отказываться, экономить, чтобы прожить на одну зарплату. Но укрывшись в своем гнездышке, мать-домохозяйка на всю улицу, и работающие приятельницы оставляют в школе ее телефонный номер на случай каких-нибудь неприятностей. Погрязнув в домашней работе, замучавшись с детьми, она начинает чувствовать, что теряет уважение мужа. Она читает у психологов о синдроме "опустевшего гнезда" и с беспокойством думает о времени, когда дети вырастут и покинут дом. Она боится, что уже никогда не сможет вернуться к своей работе. Ей бы хотелось почаще общаться с взрослыми людьми, и чтобы муж пораньше возвращался с работы, и иногда ей кажется, что вместо мозгов у нее в голове — каша. И, конечно, она с неодобрением относится к работающим матерям. Она считает, что они мало времени проводят с детьми, что откупаются они от детей дорогими подарками, что слишком поздно укладывают детей спать. Она уверена, что все они эгоистки, что им всегда мало денег, сколько не заработай. И при этом она по-прежнему считает себя феминисткой, хотя ее и мучит мысль, что, сидя дома, она как бы увековечивает заблуждение, что место женщины у очага. И еще ее не покидает беспокойство, что дети, когда вырастут, не будут питать к ней уважения.

Женское движение. И не удивительно, что она завидует работающим матерям, видя, как они утром спешат на электричку или садятся в автобус. Они одеты так, как она не может себе позволить, да и ходить в таких нарядах ей некуда. У них ухоженный вид, а она не помнит, когда последний раз употребляла днем косметику, да и на блузку она обязательно чем-то капнет. Она видит, что дети работающих матерей дома получают мало внимания и считает своим долгом как-то помочь этому. "Жизнь в школе кипит только благодаря нашей активности", — ворчат матери-домохозяйки. Они возят детей на футбольные тренировки, ездят с детьми на экскурсии, выполняют роль "классной мамы". Они заботятся в равной мере и о детях работающих матерей, а те, вместо благодарности, их презирают. "Дети с ключом на шее, бегающие по улицам, — куда они идут, когда им

плохо или кто-то их испугал? — спрашивает Гей Бомиер из Берка, штат Виргиния, и отвечает: — Они идут к нам".

Но нигде обида не наносится так сильно, как на университетских обедах, где должно происходить знакомство преподавателей и жен. Психолог Джей Белски говорит, что для его жены, воспитывающей ребенка, нет ничего страшнее факультетских обедов. "Работающие-женщины относятся к неработающим матерям, как к существам с другой планеты, — возмущается он. — С ними обращаются как с низшей расой".

Трудно поверить, что дело зашло так далеко. В 1960 г., за три года до того, как Бетти Фриден издала книгу "Загадочная женская душа", работало всего 19% женщин с детьми младше шести лет. В 70-х годах, когда тысячи женщин пошли работать, их объединяла борьба с общим угнетателем, они были опьянены обретенной свободой и независимостью. Они ставили перед собой новые цели, стремились к тому, чтобы принадлежность к полу не становилась судьбой. И они принижали и даже чернили традиционные женские роли матери и жены. "Семья стала проблемой, а не решением проблем, — говорит Сильвия Хьюлит, автор опубликованной в 1984 г. и вызвавшей противоречивые мнения книги "Жизнь меньшая ("меньшая — игра слов, построенная на аналогии с выражением: "светило меньшей величины"): американский миф освобождения женщины". — Решением проблем стало отсутствие семьи".

Но к концу 70-х годов многие женщины стали понимать односторонность такого подхода. Подобно женщинам предыдущих поколений, им тоже хотелось иметь детей. Появились серьезные статьи, реабилитирующие материнство. "Свет не сошелся на кабинете директора или конторе адвоката, где мужчины ищут награду своим честолюбивым устремлениям, — писала Дебора Феллоуз в книге "Труд матери". — Награду можно искать и в других местах. Воспитание детей — честный и законный путь к самым высоким наградам".

Экономическая необходимость. Но, конечно, все это не так просто. В 80-е годы пришли в движение мощные экономические силы. По мере того, как усугублялась экономическая напряженность, две зарплаты в семье становились не роскошью, а суровой необходимостью. Многие женщины, любящие свою работу, тоже хотели испытать радость материнства. Почему бы и нет? Они стали писать об этом. И к 1988 г. 73% матерей с детьми школьного возраста и половина матерей с детьми младенческого возраста уже ходили на службу. Но оказалось, что за это приходится платить слишком высокую цену, физическую и духовную. Многие матери были поставлены в очень трудные условия: не было гарантированного до-родового и послеродового отпуска (несмотря на многие годы борьбы за предоставление матерям отпусков в связи с рождением ребенка, в США — единственной в мире развитой стране, не считая Южной Африки, так и нет этого закона): не было хороших детских садов, почти невозможно было найти работу по специальности с неполным рабочим днем. Полная рабочая неделя, строго фиксированные часы прихода и ухода и минимальная помощь со стороны мужа — все это привело к тому, что опьянение победой скоро сменилось усталостью, истощением сил. И среди части женщин родился гнев — побочное следствие феминизма.

Кое-кто сдался и стал сидеть дома с детьми. Чувствуя себя в изоляции, они стали организовывать группы поддержки, чтобы легче было оправдать в своих глазах себя и свой выбор. Одна из этих групп начала выпускать ежемесячный бюллетень под названием "Матери дома", который имеет 13000 подписчиков. Этот бюллетень пестрит сентиментальными, вроде, например, таких: "Утренние минуты, когда я вижу улыбающееся личико моей дочурки, — самое счастливое для меня время дня". Или еще: "Если я когда-нибудь напишу книгу о матери-домохозяйке, я назову ее: "Как сделать, чтобы жизнь наполнилась смыслом".

Различные решения. Ностальгия о днях, когда мужчины были мужчинами, а женщины сидели у домашнего очага, все еще сильна у некоторых предшественников "сильного" пола, да это и понятно. "Эсквайр" в июньском выпуске, посвященном американской жене, опубликовал ряд статей, восхваляющих жизнь до освобождения женщины. Рассуждая о женщинах, как о товаре из каталога, журнал отдал целый раздел статьям, помогающим, по его мнению, мужчине понять женщину. Этот раздел называется: "Ваша жена — руководство для владельца". (Еще пять лет назад эта фраза посчиталась бы непечатной.) В статьях даются полезные советы, как разгадать десятки маленьких женских тайн, ставящих в тупик сильную личность — мужчину, начиная от содержания ее кошелька и кончая ее уборной. В главной статье превозносится до небес мать-домохозяйка, которую журнал ошибочно называет "исчезающий вид". Корреспондент-мужчина так описывает ее день: "Она идет стирать, у нее на лице улыбка, и скоро услышишь, как она весело что-то насвистывает".

Надо сказать, что в окопах войны мам слышится нечто более серьезное, чем просто веселый свист. Растет целеустремленность, усиливается борьба за свои права. У обеих сторон имеются ясные политические программы. Работающие матери борются за многочасовые детские сады, гарантированный до и послеродовой отпуск, улучшение дневного ухода за детьми, за более разумное налогообложение. Матери-домохозяйки не хотят, чтобы деньги из кармана налогоплательщика шли на детские сады. Они тоже за разумное налогообложение: чтобы матери могли сидеть дома и воспитывать детей. Они даже выступают против государственной помощи в организации дневного ухода, поскольку, как они говорят, это будет поощрять работающих женщин. Матери-домохозяйки опубликовали документ, отражающий их платформу: "Матери об охране детства". Этот документ предлагает женщинам, которым необходимо работать и которые могут рассчитывать на какую-то помощь членов семьи, различные альтернативы: неполный рабочий день, скользящий график и надомную работу.

Несмотря на все разногласия, намечаются, однако, и признаки примирения. Недавно в Чикаго собралось 30 матерей, чтобы обсудить положение — свое и своих детей. Около половины из них — члены группы содействия "Трудящиеся женщины". Остальные члены группы "Фимейл" (сокращение, составленное из первых букв фразы *Formerly Employed Mothers At Loose Ends*: работающие в прошлом женщины, оказавшиеся не у дел): эта группа выражает интересы домохозяек. Очень скоро выяснилось, что у всех этих женщин одни и те же заботы. Большинство мам-домохозяек заявили, что они пошли бы

работать, если бы можно было найти приличную работу с неполным рабочим днем, скользящим графиком и хорошим детским садом. Все работающие мамы сказали, что они бы с удовольствием проводили часть времени, если не все, дома с детьми, будь у них эта возможность. И та и другая группа согласились, что им нужна большая свобода выбора. "Давайте смотреть правде в глаза: быть матерью — дело нелегкое, работаешь ты, или сидишь дома, — сказала Джун Линси Хагмен. — Но мы все хотим одного, — чтобы нашим детям было лучше."

Вот только все мы не знаем, что значит это "лучше". После многих лет исследований большинство детских психологов пришло к выводу — каждая семья должна выработать собственные рецепты, как растить ребенка. "По моему мнению, — говорит психолог Сандра Скарр из Виргинского университета, — неверно искать одно общее решение для всех". Общепринятая научная точка зрения по этому вопросу совпадает с выводом здравого смысла: у работающих матерей и у неработающих, если они на грани отчаяния, растут нервные, несчастные дети. У женщин с радостным мироощущением, которые вполне довольны своей ролью в обществе, обычно здоровые, веселые и уверенные в себе дети.

Пора бы заключить мир. Такие женщины обычно более терпимы к своим противницам. Многим женщинам знакомо особое чувство локтя, которое испытываешь к беременным женщинам, когда носишь под сердцем свое дитя. И нынешняя вражда причиняет им глубокую боль. Многие сознают, что первая волна феминистского движения не принесла им того, что они ожидали. В силу этого часть их отошла от феминизма. Но другие уверены, что следующая волна укрепит их чаяния, и они смогут совмещать детей и работу. "На этот раз мы попытаемся заново все хорошо продумать, — говорит Мишель Миллер, неработающая мать из пригорода Чикаго. — Мы должны обеспечить будущее женщинам, которые придут после нас". Но, пожалуй, одним женщинам не так-то легко с этим справиться. Можно с уверенностью сказать, что мир воцарится только тогда, когда Конгресс примет законы, дающие большую свободу выбора. И им не придется мучительно ломать голову, что принести в жертву — собственный талант или благополучие своих детей. Примирение этих двух полюсов — не в том ли суть феминизма?

ОБЗОР КЛАССИЧЕСКИХ И СОВРЕМЕННЫХ КНИГ АМЕРИКАНСКОГО ЖЕНСКОГО ДВИЖЕНИЯ

Дебра Шульц, младший научный сотрудник
Национального совета по изучению женщин

"Загадка женской души" Бетти Фридэн

Книга Бетти Фридэн "Загадка женской души", опубликованная в 1963 г., буквально потрясла Америку. Главное ее достоинство — Фридэн удалось привлечь внимание общественности к проблеме, у которой, по ее словам, "не было названия". Ей удалось задеть за живое американских

женщин, поскольку результатом этой проблемы без названия была глухая неудовлетворенность принадлежащих к среднему сословию домохозяек своей жизнью в пригородах американских городов. Демобилизация по окончании Второй мировой войны привела к тому, что тех многочисленных женщин, кто стал к станку, чтобы помочь фронту, попросили тихо уйти с работы и посвятить себя дому и семье. Многие женщины охотно так и поступили, хотя им нравилась и возможность заводить контакты с людьми, и самообеспеченность, явившаяся результатом наемного труда.

Под "загадка женской души" понимается целый набор пропагандистских приемов, целью которых было убедить женщин с радостью принять — в качестве единственного естественного источника женского счастья — некую подробно сформулированную разновидность все той же домашней роли. Женщины должны были выступать в роли украшения своих мужей, шофера для детей, профессиональных экономок и организаторов вечеринок.

Фридэн очень хорошо показала, как это представление опутывало женщин, осмелившихся мечтать о чем-то большем, например о высшем образовании или карьере: "Живущая в одном из пригородов домохозяйка — то, о чем мечтает каждая молодая американка и чему, как говорят, завидуют женщины всего мира. Американская домохозяйка, которую наука и облегчающие труд машины освободили от тяжелой работы, опасностей, связанных с родами, и недугов, от которых страдала ее бабушка". Женщинам, которым хотелось чего-то большего, чем эта сказочная жизнь, давали понять, что у них просто расстроены нервы, или же они чудовищно эгоистичны и неблагодарны — то есть, короче говоря, неестественны.

Фридэн провела многочисленные беседы с американками, принадлежащими к среднему сословию. Приведя в своей книге рассказы этих женщин о неудовлетворенности жизнью, Фридэн показала американкам, что каждая из них не одинока в стремлении изменить свою жизнь. Книга Бетти Фридэн помогла американским женщинам осознать свою принадлежность к крупной социальной группе людей с общим опытом и интересами, и это стало началом нового — продолжающегося уже тридцать лет — этапа женского движения в Соединенных Штатах.



Большой интерес, вызванный публикацией новой книги лингвиста Деборы Тэннен **"Ты просто не понимаешь (общение женщин с мужчинами)"** (издательство "Уильям Морроу энд Ко", 1990 г.), показывает, что "проблема, у которой не было названия", так до сих пор названия и не получила. Та неудовлетворенность, о которой писала Фридэн в 1963 г., перестала быть столь явной — но не исчезла.

Основной идеей книги Тэннен является мысль о том, что мужчинам и женщинам трудно понять друг друга, так как стили разговора и цели, которые они преследуют в разговоре, у них совершенно различны. Эти различия неизбежно ведут к непониманию, служащему, в свою очередь, причиной "войны полов".

Опираясь на работы таких видных теоретиков женского движения, как лингвист Робин Лэкофф и психолог Кэрол Гиллигэн, Тэннен выдвигает гипотезу о существовании двух различных культур — мужской и женской. Иллюстрацией различий в шкале ценностей в рамках этих двух культур служит использование ими языка. С первых лет жизни мальчики учатся таким образом, чтобы обеспечить себе независимость и более высокий статус в рамках иерархической системы ценностей. Девочки используют язык с целью поддержания связей друг с другом и с другими людьми в рамках системы ценностей, основанной на взаимности. Эти тенденции укоренились настолько глубоко, что любое отклонение от нормального для своего пола поведения автоматически вызывает серьезную обеспокоенность как у мужчин, так и у женщин. Женщины борются за сохранение иллюзии всеобщего равенства, за иллюзию своей полной независимости. Так, женщины не любят выступать перед аудиторией или отстаивать свою точку зрения, потому что это значит несогласаться с другими, утверждать, что у них больше знаний в каких-то областях, чем у других, а мужчины, как представляется, готовы сделать все возможное, чтобы избежать разговора о своих чувствах и скрыть свою ранимость.

Тэннен приводит многочисленные примеры того, как различия в стиле и целях порождают порочный круг непонимания и неприязни. Один из классических образов американской культуры — жена, глядящая

на последнюю страницу газеты, которую ее муж читает за завтраком, и злящаяся на него за то, что он столь явно не обращает на нее никакого внимания. Тэннен прилагает большие усилия с тем, чтобы не ограничить свое объяснение подобной ситуации лишь тем фактом, что мужчины — эгоистичные, бесчувственные и грубые создания (должна сознаться, что сама я отношусь к этому объяснению с известной долей симпатии).

В главе под названием "Отложи газету и поговори со мной!" она проводит различие между двумя видами беседы, которые она называет "разговор-доклад" и "разговор-общение". Женщины предпочитают "разговор-общение", при этом они всегда стремятся свести к минимуму разногласия между собой, сделать упор на том, что их газетой можно противопоставить другую — собравшиеся за кухонным столом женщины, делящиеся друг с другом горестями и переживаниями. Мужчины же, напротив, предпочитают "разговор-доклад", в ходе которого они излагают важную информацию, а также подтверждают свой статус. Поскольку они удовлетворены своим статусом и отношениями у себя дома, они не ощущают особой потребности разговаривать за завтраком. Женщины, разумеется, принимают их молчание за признак духовной отчужденности. Они сами начинают болтать, задавать вопросы — и это раздражает мужей, поскольку отвлекает их от чтения. Тэннен пишет, что, как ни парадоксально, в отличие от женщин, которые видят в подобной ситуации "разрушение тесных связей", мужчины воспринимают молчание как свидетельство комфорта, доверия и близости.

Тэннен признает наличие неравномерного распределения власти в обществе между мужчинами и женщинами, но не рассматривает вопрос о том, как нужно изменить нынешнюю систему, чтобы добиться большего равенства. Она сосредоточила внимание главным образом на взаимоотношениях отдельных мужчин и женщин, но при этом создается опасность, что основная "проблема", сформулированная Фрейдом, будет вновь возвращена в сферу семейной жизни. Неясно, где следует вести поиск общего решения. Следует ли считать, что "осознав", как неправильно они до сих пор понимали женщин, мужчины добровольно откажутся от своего господствующего положения и в разворах, и в общественной жизни? И как вообще до-

биться гласности в отношениях между мужчинами и женщинами?

Дебра Шульц

ЖЕНЩИНЫ И РАБОТА

ОБЗОР

В 1988 г. 68% всех Работающих в США женщин в возрасте от 1 до 4 лет были заняты на оплачиваемой работе.

- 56 миллионов женщин работали или искали работу.
- Трудящиеся женщины составляли больше 45% всей рабочей силы.
- 74,5% женщин были заняты полный рабочий день.
- 25,5% женщин и только 10% мужчин работали неполный рабочий день.

В 1989 г. 60% женщин, имеющих специальности, были заняты в традиционно женских профессиях — учителя и медсестры.

Процент мужчин и женщин, занятых в различных профессиях

Вид работы	Женщины	Мужчины
Управленческий аппарат, служащие	25,9%	25,9%
Технический персонал	3,3%	2,9%
Торговля	13,1%	11,1%
Конторы, администрация	27,8%	5,7%
Сфера обслуживания	17,7%	9,6%
Ремесленники	2,2%	19,6%
Операторы	8,9%	20,7%
Сельское хозяйство	1,1%	4,4%

В 1989 г. только 9% всех работающих женщин были заняты на нетрадиционных женских работах (где занято более 75% и более мужчин).

традиционные профессии	% женщин
Секретари	99%
Няни	97%

Медсестры	94%
Телефонистки	90%

Нетрадиционные профессии % женщин

Инженеры	7,6%
Механики	3,1%
Зубные врачи	8,6%
Обслуживание машин, обработка информации	8,6%

В 1988 г. женщины, занятые полный рабочий день, получали в течение года на каждый доллар, заработанный мужчинами, только 65 центов

- В среднем, чем больше женщин занято в профессии, тем ниже заработная плата.
- Женщины, занятые на нетрадиционных работах, в среднем зарабатывают больше, чем женщины традиционных профессий.
- Женщины, работающие неполный рабочий день, в среднем получают всего 59% часового заработка работающих полный день.

В 1988 г. более половины (56%) трудящихся женщин были замужем.

- 64% замужних женщин, 68% никогда не бывших замужем, 71% разведенных, вдов и живущих раздельно в возрасте от 16 до 64 лет работали или искали работу
- Одна из каждых пяти работающих матерей (4 миллиона) сама содержит свою семью (без мужа).
- Семью имеют 67% работающих женщин.

Большинство работающих женщин воспитывает детей, продолжая работать.

- В 1988 г. работало две трети (65%) женщин, имеющих детей до 18 лет.
- 56% женщин, имеющих детей младше 6 лет.
- 74% женщин, имеющих детей от 6 до 17 лет.

В 1988 г. 86% женщин, составляющих рабочую силу, закончили среднюю школу

- Одна женщина из каждых пяти работающих имела высшее образование.

Образование	Женщины	Мужчины
Не закончили среднюю школу	15%	20%
Закончили среднюю школу	43%	38%

ВОЙНА ПОЛОВ

Женщины начинают играть заметную роль в политике, и кандидаты-мужчины не знают, как вести против них предвыборную борьбу.

Элеонор Клифт

Одной из самых драматических страниц политической жизни Джорджа Буша была предвыборная борьба с противником-женщиной. Его смущение было так велико, что он вел себя скорее как неуклюжий подросток, а не облеченный властью вице-президент. Он свысока похлопывал по плечу Джеральдину Ферраро, трижды избиравшуюся в Конгресс, а после одного длительного диалога, само-довольно улыбаясь, заметил, что сумел надавать пинков несмышленному ослику. Предвыборная компания 1984 года войдет в историю, но Джорджу Бушу она чести не делает. Поэтому неудивительно, что он с таким сочувствием отнесся к признанию республиканца Клейтона Вилльямса, баллотировавшегося на пост губернатора Техаса, который старался помешать выдвижению на этот пост Энн Ричардс на предвыборном собрании Демократической партии. "Мне будет как-то не очень удобно воевать с женщиной", — сказал он. Для мужчин, которые никогда прежде не вели предвыборной борьбы с женщинами, найти правильный тон не так-то просто. "Я очень хорошо понимаю Вилльямса", — заметил Буш.

Его понимают и другие кандидаты-мужчины, которым приходится вступать в предвыборную борьбу с женщинами. Да, правила борьбы изменились, первый раз в нашей истории женщины, пожалуй, смогут одержать верх. В этом году на пост губернатора баллотируется рекордное число женщин, а этот пост до последнего времени считался исключительной прерогативой мужчин. Как видно из приведенной таблицы, много женщин баллотируется и на другие посты.

Все большее число женщин выставляет свои кандидатуры на важные государственные посты, но прогресс на всех ступенях пока еще очень медленный.

Женщины, баллотирующиеся на государственные посты

Должност-	Число женщин-кандидатов	Всего мест на 1990 г.
Губернатор	11	36
Сенат	5	34
Палата представителей	64 ^х	433

^хВ шести штатах имеется по одному избирательному округу, где баллотируются две женщины. Данные Национального Женского Политического Совещания.

Женщины успешно выступают по тем вопросам (экология, защита детства, легализация аборт),

которые находят большой отклик среди публики. Опросы общественного мнения показали, что население с большим доверием относится к женщинам, больше верит их честности и прямоте. А в последнее время стало более серьезным отношение к женщине, как к будущему лидеру. Во время избирательной компании на высшие посты в нескольких штатах, включая Калифорнию и Род-Айленд, проблемы лидерства и пристойного поведения были большим препятствием для мужчин-кандидатов, чем для женщин.

Перед мужчинами-политиками в наши дни стоит та же проблема, что стояла перед Бушем в 1984 году: до какой степени можно относиться к женщине некорректно, чтобы не прослыть хулиганом? Этим озабочены не только мужчины, воспитанные в духе традиционного мужского шовинизма, но и современно мыслящие мужчины, сторонники женского равноправия. Бывший министр юстиции штата Массачусетс Френсис Беллотти вел себя так грубо на февральском диспуте со своим противником — заместителем губернатора Эвелин Мерфи, доктором философии, выставившей свою кандидатуру на пост губернатора от Демократической партии, что был обвинен в нанесении ей оскорблений. И теперь он остергается вести с ней диспут один на один.

Пассовка, а не грубый захват. Мужчина-кандидат часто встает в тупик, когда женщина продолжает против него жестокие нападки. "Если обливают грязью твоё политическое прошлое, ничего не остается, как прибегать к тому же в отношении противника, невзирая на пол", — говорит Майкл МакКарри, представитель Национального комитета Демократической партии. Сенатор от штата Иллинойс Пол Саймон, боровшийся за место в Сенате против злой на язык Линн Мартин (Демократическая партия) и ее доверенного лица Роджера Эйлса, хорошо его понимает. "В футболе нельзя быть вежливым, если твой противник играет грубо", — как-то заметил он. Но и женщинам приходится соблюдать осторожность. Советники республиканки Клодин Шнайдер (Род-Айленд), выступающей против сенатора Клейборна Пелла, отличающегося особой учтивостью, стараются вести предвыборную кампанию в самых вежливых тонах. "Мы не только избегаем грубых нападок, мы стараемся быть предельно вежливыми". Клодин Шнейдер, которой 43 года, надеется, что и возраст, и энергия обеспечат ей голоса избирателей. Грубое нападение на всеми уважаемого сенатора, которому исполнился уже 71 год, было бы серьезной тактической ошибкой.

Ослабление холодной войны пошла в пользу женщинам-кандидатам. Теперь, когда людей больше волнуют чисто жизненные проблемы, а не трения между сверхдержавами, женщинам не нужно лезть в дела обороны. Что же касается менее воинственных проблем, то, как показывает опрос общественного мнения, выступления по ним женщин-кандидатурок бнушает гораздо больше доверия. Бывший член совета округа Боилдер (штат Колорадо) Джоси Хит, выставившая свою кандидатуру на выборах в Сенат, успешно ведет кампанию, выступая за пятидесятипроцентное снижение расходов на оборону, финансирование детского здравоохранения и закрытие Роки-Флэтс, завода, производящего атомное оружие и вызывающего неоднозначное отношение.

Козырная карта для женщин-кандидатов — вопрос о легализации абортов. Опросы общест-

венного мнения показывают, что наиболее успешно выдерживают борьбу с опытными политиками женщины-матери, борющиеся за право на аборт. Само собой разумеется, что они-то уж хорошо понимают проблему и потому вызывают доверие. В Калифорнии шестьдесят процентов зарегистрированных избирателей, принадлежащих к Демократической партии, — женщины, большинство из них молодые, примкнувшие к движению после прошлогоднего решения Верховного суда по делу Вебстера, а кандидат на пост губернатора этого штата Дайен Файнстайн начала предвыборную кампанию с очевидным преимуществом. "Просто страшно становится, когда представляешь себе всех этих женщин, выступающих в ее поддержку", — говорит помощник министра юстиции штата Джон Ван де Камп, ее соперник по Демократической партии. Хотя Ван де Камп тоже сторонник легализации аборт, а по некоторым вопросам занимает даже более крайние феминистские позиции (например, он сторонник того, чтобы французские пилюли RU 47, вызывающие выкидыш, после дополнительных испытаний были допущены к продаже), ему приходится с большим трудом завоевывать доверие избирателей. Правда, на его стороне есть преимущество: он противник смертной казни. Файнстайн поддерживает применение смертной казни, что уменьшает ее шансы на победу. Доверенные лица Энн Ричардс (Техас) говорят, что они используют ее отношение к аборт (она сторонник аборт), чтобы создать образ борца за неприкосновенность личной жизни, против "большого" правительства, что должно обеспечить ей поддержку консервативно мыслящих избирателей.

Женщины давно жалуются, что мужчины-политики не пускают их в свою кампанию. Но в нынешнем году это пошло им в пользу. "Скажи нынешнему циничному избирателю, что ты не из их команды, и его голос тебе обеспечен", — заметил как-то политический консультант, демократ Пол Мазлин. Уважение к политикам-мужчинам настолько упало, что женщина-кандидатка, стоя в полпе мужчин, гарантирует публике отличие во всем. Опросы показывают, что, по мнению граждан, честность и прямоту встречаются гораздо чаще среди женщин, чем среди мужчин.

Нельзя, однако, сказать, что мужчины-политики, являющиеся частью эстаблишмента, — вымирающий род. Хотя в этом году гораздо больше женщин баллотируется на высшие государственные должности, в общем успехи женщин на политическом поприще все еще удручающе малы. Из 333 членов Конгресса женщин всего двадцать девять. "Конгресс — один из последних мужских бастионов, почти недоступных для женщин", — говорит республиканка Мардж Поикема из штата Нью-Джерси. Женщинам труднее, чем мужчинам, собирать пожертвования. Им очень важно найти верный тон. "Вы можете случайно сорваться на визг, чем сразу оттолкнете избирателей, чего с мужчинами обычно не бывает", — сказала политический советник, демократ Джилл Бикли. Для женщин большую роль также играет возраст; избиратели предпочитают женщин более почтенного возраста. "Чем женщина старше, — заметил один советник-демократ, — тем меньше в ней проявляются чисто женские черты и тем она надежнее как политический деятель".

Женщины, вступившие в политическую борьбу, возможно и обладают презумпцией невиновности. Но в наши дни никто не может рассчитывать на

"бесплатный проезд" (т.е. каждый должен платить за свои успехи). Политическая арена стала местом кровопролитных схваток, и пресса, вороша прошлое кандидатов на государственных посты, не делает исключения для женщин. Алкоголизм, которым когда-то страдала Энн Ричардс, а также приписываемое ей употребление наркотиков, очень скоро стали достоянием гласности, проложив дорогу на первые страницы газет. Дайен Файнстайн приходится отвечать на вопрос о возможном конфликте, связанном с тем, что ее муж, банкир, вложил миллион триста тысяч долларов в предвыборную кампанию жены. Этикет в отношениях между мужчинами и женщинами, занятыми политической деятельностью, возможно, претерпел изменения, но в общем женщины-кандидаты будут оцениваться теми же мерками. Борьба предстоит острая, но тем дороже будет победа.

МЕСТО ЖЕНЩИНЫ НЕ У СЕМЕЙНОГО ОЧАГА

Майкл М. Филлипс

Вашингтон. В те дни, когда молодой Джордж Дин расхаживал по залам и коридорам Принстонского университета, открывавшего двери только мужчинам, университетские выпускники наступали на посты старой гвардии, а старая гвардия формировала кабинет министров.

Теперь же Дин, специалист по рекламному бизнесу в отставке, посвящает свободное время продвижению в высшие эшелоны власти представительниц прекрасного пола.

Однокашники Дина по Принстонскому университету высоко поднялись по служебной лестнице: с государственным секретарем Джеймсом Бейкером 3-й Дин учился в одной группе в 1952 г. Вместе с ними учился и бывший министр обороны Френк Карлуччи. Сам Дин был вице-президентом процветающей рекламной фирмы "Дансер-Фитцджеральд-Сэмпл Инк." в Нью-Йорке.

"Принстон мне сейчас нравится больше, — говорит Дин, которому сейчас 60 лет, живущий в своем доме, в Саутпорте, штат Коннектикут. — Я люблю Принстон, не поймите меня неправильно... Но мне кажется, женщины украсили его. Я думаю, что они уже сделали очень много для университета".

Дин уверен, что и Конгресс выиграет, если более широко откроет дверь для женщин. Сейчас женщины составляют в нем всего 5%. В прошлом году он организовал группу "50/50 к 2000 г.", поставившую целью к концу столетия добиться паритета женщин на Капитолийском холме.

"Я организовал эту группу не потому, что нынешнее представительство женщин может считаться несправедливым, нечестным, — говорит Дин, — а потому что для страны, по моему мнению, будет гораздо лучше, если она будет использовать творческий потенциал всех своих граждан, а не только половину их".

Дин, вместе с двумя десятками рекламных деятелей, юристов и преподавателей публикует в прессе яркие пропагандистские статьи, которыми старается привлечь внимание к проблеме представительства женщин в органах власти. В одной из последних статей, опубликованной в "Вашингтон

пост", он пишет: "Некоторые утверждают: место женщины у кухонного стола. Мы говорим — за столом Конгресса".

Жена Дина Джейн работает в Нью-Йорке агентом по сбору пожертвований и не касается деятельности мужа, который сейчас одержим идеей опубликовать несколько недель подряд в "Нью-Йорк Таймс" рекламный сериал под названием "Давайте смотреть правде в глаза: Конгрессе по-прежнему сексуально озабочен".

Статья в "Вашингтон пост" отмечает: "В Палате представителей всего 6% женщин. Подобный дисбаланс — вопиющая несправедливость. Но дело не только в этом. Сколько умных, талантливых женщин не могут послужить отечеству в полную меру сил. Это большой урон отечеству".

Если говорить о штатах, то в Нью-Джерси всего 9% женщин в высшем законодательном органе штата — восьмом, среди тех, которые имеют самый низкий процент женского представительства. Это по данным Рут Мандел, директора Центра "Американская женщина в политике" при Иглтонском институте политических знаний в Рутгерском университете.

Даже те женщины, которым удалось занять место в законодательных органах, не чувствуют себя полноправными членами системы.

"Внимание законодателей-мужчин привлекает тот факт, что ты — женщина, "милая, душечка", а не та проблема, которой ты занимаешься, — пишет член законодательного собрания Стефани Р. Буш. — Многие из них принадлежат к старой школе политических деятелей, школе Старой гвардии. И они еще очень далеки от реальностей 1989 года".

Сенатор штата Лианна Браун утверждает, что в этом виновата не только политическая система, в которой доминируют мужчины. Корни проблемы уходят гораздо глубже.

"Политика отражает общую ситуацию в стране: везде наверху почти нет женщин, ни президентов университетов, ни директоров средних школ, ни директоров компаний", — продолжает Браун.

Цель Дина — к 2000 году Конгресс должен быть поровну поделен между мужчинами и женщинами — мягко говоря, мечта оптимиста. Сейчас в Конгрессе 435 членов Палаты представителей и 100 сенаторов, женщин из них всего двадцать восемь. Это означает, что на последующих пяти выборах должны попасть в Конгресс больше 240 женщин — нешуточное дело, учитывая, что в 1988 г. победу одержало 98% мужчин.

Дин, однако, уверен, что это вполне осуществимо.

Во-первых, законодательные собрания штатов пересмотрят границы федеральных избирательных округов в соответствии с переписью 1990 года, что может ослабить позиции некоторых кандидатов-мужчин. Во-вторых, в соответствии с недавними изменениями в избирательных законах, члены Палаты представителей потеряют право на оставшиеся от избирательной компании деньги, которые они сейчас берут себе при уходе в отставку. Новый закон вступит в силу в 1992 году, и, возможно, многие молодые законодатели до этого захотят уйти из большой политики, чтобы не потерять суммы, достигающие сотен тысяч долларов.

ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ, ПОДДЕРЖИВАЮЩИЕ ЖЕНЩИН — ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИХ ДЕЯТЕЛЕЙ

1990 год в соединенных Штатах некоторые называют годом "женщин-кандидатов". Пятьдесят четыре женщины баллотируются от демократической партии на посты в государственные органы в двадцати четырех штатах. Четыре года назад их было 34. Это достижение было бы невозможным без помощи сети общенациональных женских политических организаций, три из которых характеризуются ниже.

Эти организации возникли в последние два десятилетия со целью обеспечить женщин-кандидатов финансовой поддержкой, исследовательской и практической помощью в периоды предвыборных кампаний (ни одна из этих организаций не использует государственные фонды). В результате с 1974 года число женщин, занимающих выборные должности, возросло на 300% в законодательных органах штатов, на 50% — в государственных органах и на 60% — в Конгрессе. Вместе с тем, из 535 членов Конгресса, женщин всего лишь 29.

"Эмили лист" — это целая сеть политических организаций, которые осуществляют сбор денежных средств и выявляют политические возможности женщин-демократок, участвующих в предвыборной борьбе на общенациональном уровне и выступающих за свободу выбрать — сделать или не сделать аборт и за Поправку к конституции о равных правах. (Предложенная Поправка к конституции о равных правах определяет любую дискриминацию на основе пола как антиконституционную). Основанная в 1985 году в столице США в Вашингтоне, "Эмили лист" сегодня насчитывает более 2-х тысяч членов, мужчин и женщин (большинство — женщин), демократов и республиканцев (большинство — демократов), приверженных идее продвижения на выборные должности женщин-демократок.

Вначале "Эмили лист" проводила встречи по всей стране с тем, чтобы расширить сеть "доноров", оказывающих финансовую поддержку. Любая из женщин, членов организации, могла пригласить 30-40 других женщин и попросить их захватить с собой свои записные книжки с адресами друзей, чтобы еще увеличить количество звеньев в общей цепи.

"Эмили" (Е. М.) — это сокращение, примерно означающее: "вовремя вложенные деньги растут как на дрожжах". Исполнительный директор Венди Шерман добавляет, что "эта шутка помогает нам наращивать денежные средства".

В текущем году члены "Эмили лист" предполагают собрать до 1 млн. долларов в помощь кандидатам, что превращает организацию в самый мощный в США источник финансовой поддержки женщин-кандидатов. (Большинство взносов составляет 200 долл.; 1 тыс. долл. — максимум, разрешенный законом).

Некоторые члены организации — известные в стране люди, но обычно члены — это работающие женщины, которые могут давать от 250 до 300 долл. каждые два года.

Финансовая поддержка в этом году является особенно жизненно важной, поскольку две женщины баллотируются на пост губернатора штатов: Диана Фейнстайн в Калифорнии и Энн Ричардс в Техасе. Им потребуется не менее 7-млн. долл. каждой на теле — и радио-рекламу.

По словам основателя организации Эллен Малколм, предвыборная борьба и победа Ричардс и Фейнштейн в Техасе и Калифорнии будут означать для женщин на всех уровнях политической деятельности больше, чем что бы то ни было со времени выдвижения кандидатом в вице-президенты в 1984 г. Жералдин Ферраро.

Малколм также объяснила цель основания "Эмили лист", сказав, что независимо от политических способностей женщин-кандидатов, мужчины — традиционные вкладчики капиталов и политические эксперты — всегда затевали свой "ритуальный танец", как только на авансцене появлялись женщины, баллотирующиеся на выборные должности. Они утверждали прежде всего, что женщины не достаточно жизнестойчивы и отказывали им в финансовой помощи. Ресурсы ставили женщин в затруднительное положение. При организации своих избирательных кампаний, им снова отказывали в помощи, заявляя: "Как мы говорили, так и получилось..."

"Мы устали от подобных "танцев". Мы решили найти для женщин другой путь поиска источников финансовой поддержки, а именно "вовремя", т.е. заранее собранные деньги".

"Общенациональное женское политическое собрание" было основано в 1971 году. 300 женщин поставили своей целью организовать на общенациональном и местном уровнях поддержку тем женщинам-кандидатам на выборные должности в федеральные, штатные и местные органы, которые заявили о своей готовности бороться за права и интересы женщин и всех слабо представленных в органах власти групп.

Имея в своем составе женщин, представляющих обе партии — демократическую и республиканскую, женщин всех возрастов, с различным экономическим статусом, этническим происхождением и образом жизни, "Общенациональное женское политическое собрание" превратилось в мощную политическую организацию. Все 300 ее филиалов в штатах и на местах проводят подбор женщин-кандидатов, отвечающих необходимым требованиям, и помогают им побеждать на выборах и вновь переизбираться.

Организация также занимается подготовкой кандидатов, руководителей избирательных кампаний и тех активистов, которые занимаются организационной работой и поиском денежных средств; проводит политические исследования, разрабатывает стратегию активизации женского политического движения. Здесь создаются "банки талантов" с тем, чтобы закрепить за женщинами возможность назначения на посты в государственных органах, проводятся кампании лоббистов в поддержку законов, гарантирующих равную защиту и равные возможности для всех.

"Наша цель, — говорит заместитель руководителя организации Грейс Орлански, — политическое равноправие... по числу выборных и назначаемых руководителей на всех уровнях — от школьного совета до законодательных органов штата и белого дома.

"Женский фонд избирательных кампаний" был основан в 1974 году и помог более чем четырестам женщинам победить на выборах и занять в каждом штате выборные должности на общенациональном и местном уровнях. И все же директор фонда — Джейн Дановиц спешит заметить, что по этим меркам потребуется 400 лет, прежде чем женщины смогут на 50%

заполнить Конгресс США. Не на много лучше выглядит эта статистика в штатах и на местном уровне.

Фонд насчитывает более 10 тысяч активных членов, включая мужчин и женщин, выборных руководителей, партийных и профсоюзных лидеров, представителей бизнеса. Он функционирует также как консультативная фирма, подбирая и затем обучая женщин-кандидатов тому, как изыскивать денежные средства и проводить избирательные кампании. Это ободряет женщин-кандидатов, которые поддерживают Поправку к конституции о равных правах, свободу выбора в вопросе об абортах и государственное обеспечение для малоимущих.

В нескольких штатах, включая Миннесоту, Техас, Калифорнию и штат Нью-Йорк, созданы региональные организации "женского фонда избирательных кампаний".

Власть: Они хотят ее — немедленно

Политика: "Общенациональная организация женщин" открыла свой 24-й (ежегодный) съезд накануне возможного создания третьей политической партии.

Бет Энн Крайер
"Лос-Анджелес Таймс"

Сан-Франциско. — Делегаты были вне себя...

В тот день, когда "Общенациональная организация женщин" открыла здесь в пятницу свою ежегодную (24-ю) конференцию, президент Буш наложил вето на законопроект, который мог бы гарантировать рабочим и служащим крупных предприятий отпуск за свой счет в случае серьезной болезни членов семьи или для ухода за новорожденными.

За три дня до начала конференции Сенатом штата Луизиана был принят самый жесткий в стране закон против абортов, запрещающий все аборты, кроме случаев, когда жизнь женщины подвергается опасности. Закон этот был также одобрен Палатой представителей штата. Несмотря на то, что губернатор штата Луизиана Бадди Ромер пригрозил наложить вето, если в этом законопроекте не будут оговорены исключения для таких случаев, как кровосмешение или изнасилование, законодатели объединили свои усилия для преодоления вето.

Почти ровно год тому назад Верховный суд США своим решением (по делу: Вебстер против Службы здравоохранения новорожденных) позволил штатам вырабатывать свои собственные правила, касающиеся абортов, что явилось разительным ударом для активистов, выступающих за право женщин на аборт.

По оценкам президента "Общенациональной организации женщины" (NOW) Молли Ярд, с июня прошлого года было внесено 350 законопроектов против абортов на законодательных собраниях штатов. В ответ на это деятельность Организации, вероятно, активизируется. Делегаты объявили, что после решения по делу Вебстера, в Организацию было принято до 70 тыс. новых членов (в дополнение к 260 тыс.), и они намерены активизировать свою борьбу за легализацию и доступность абортов.

Ярд сказала в Сан-Франциско, что Организация будет поддерживать кандидатов от любой партии, которые признают право на аборт. И в случае, если не

О Диалоге

Созданный в 1982 Диалог объединяет женщин разных профессий и интересов для обсуждения злободневных и актуальных вопросов. Среди тем, обсужденных на прошлых встречах, были такие как: женщины на руководящих постах, будущее наших молодых женщин, старение в наших обществах, образ женщин в печати и по телевидению. Диалог стремится объединить женщин разных профессий и интересов, чтобы помочь им в решении жизненно-важных проблем.

* * *

Мы будем рады вашим замечаниям, идеям, и предложениям! Посылайте, пожалуйста, письма или статьи о любом аспекте жизни женщин, по следующему адресу:

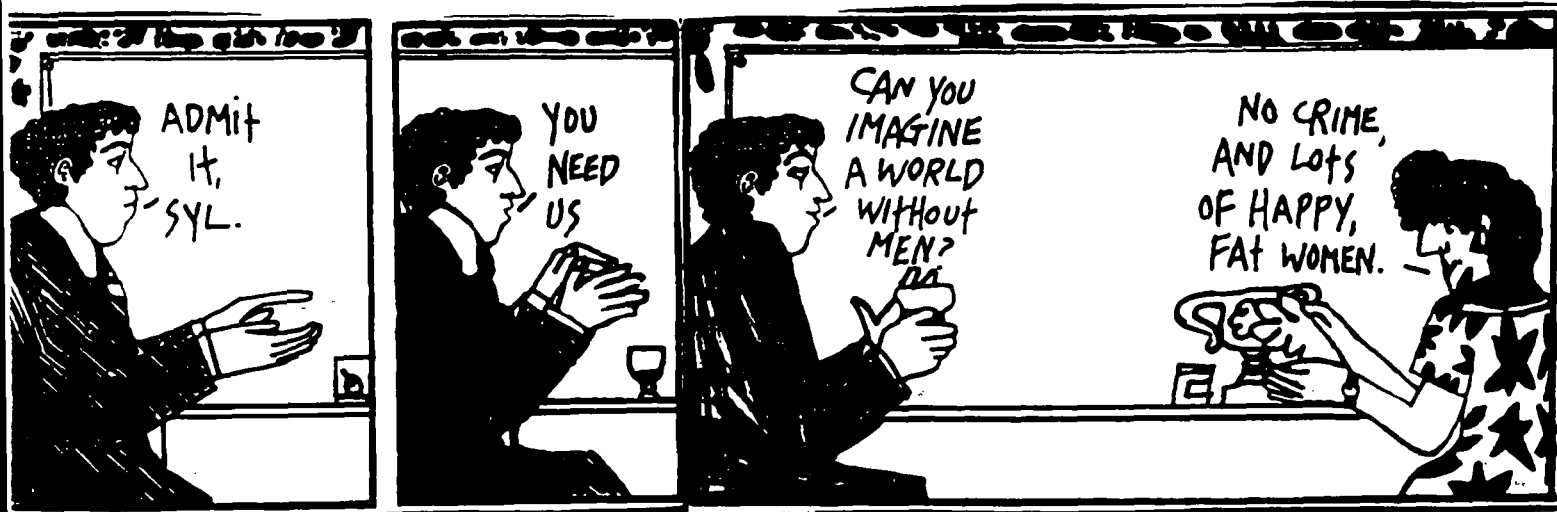
The Women's Dialogue US/USSR
Roosevelt House
47-49 East 65th Street
New York, New York 10021
U.S.A.

США
Нью-Йорк, Нью-Йорк 10021
"Ист" 65-ая Стрит
д. 47-49
Дом "Рузвельт"
Диалог женщин СССР-США

Статьи перепечатаны с разрешения:
"Нью-Йорк таймс", "Ньюсуик", "Тайм", "Лос-Анжелес таймс", "Уолл-стрит джорнал".

В следующем выпуске:

Материалы следующего выпуска будут посвящены проблемам здравоохранения и вопросам охраны здоровья матери и ребенка. Особенно подробно мы расскажем о "центрах здоровья" для женщин: как они создавались и совершенствовались, что они могут предоставить женщинам сегодня. Мы постараемся показать вам полезный опыт и дать интересную информацию.



Согласись, Сильвия,

Вы, женщины,
нуждаетесь в нас.

Ты можешь
представить
себе мир без
мужчин?

Отсутствие преступ-
ности и много—много
толстых счастливых
женщин.

YOU AND WE

A Quarterly Newsletter

Published by The Women's Dialogue US/USSR

A Project of The National Council For Research On Women

Table of Contents of Issue #4, Winter, 1991-92

- I. Editors' Introduction: We open this fourth issue with a theme whose time has come -- women's rights as part of the spectrum of human rights. Until recently, the prominent international human rights organizations did not see the degradation of women as falling within their concept of human rights abuses, but rather as a problem for women's organizations to pursue. Now, thanks to a clearer perception of the development picture worldwide, the concept of human rights is being broadened to include women's experience and those same human rights organizations have put women's rights on their agenda. We begin with a piece by Charlotte Bunch, an American scholar and activist who has pioneered in this area.

So many of the issues we discuss in this mini-journal have worldwide scope that we are initiating a new regular segment entitled "Sisterhood is Global" which will carry brief reports of significant women's activities and perspectives. We invite your participation in a campaign petitioning the United Nations to make women's rights a central concern in the 1993 UN World Conference on Human Rights. You will find a petition form for signatures, along with the address to which they should be sent. Also in this section is a report of the meeting in June 1991 of the Network of East-West women, highlighting common concerns, and an account of the First World Women's Congress for a Healthy Planet held in Miami.

Raising women's consciousness is at the core of what Vyi i myi is all about. In her review-essay Debra Schultz looks back at the "consciousness raising" movement of the late 1960's and the 1970's when American women, meeting in small groups, shared their experiences in a process stimulating honesty and trust and personal and political empowerment. To convey what this process was like, we asked Marjorie Lightman, a historian of women's lives, to recollect vividly her own participation in one such C-R group.

In October, 1991, the United States went through a kind of national consciousness-raising session when Anita Hill, a young black lawyer, charged Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas with having sexually harassed her ten years earlier when she worked for him at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. The marathon Congressional hearings, held to explore Hill's charges, were televised for three days from 9 a.m. until after midnight. The hearings were extraordinarily emotional, dramatic, and often painful to listen to. Most of America was watching and discussing issues once reserved for the privacy of the home. Who will soon forget the discomfort Americans experienced as Professor Hill painfully and slowly recalled the pornographic details of her story of verbal humiliation by Judge Thomas. By the end of the hearings, despite Judge Thomas's confirmation to the Court, thousands of women had come forward to tell of their own experiences with sexual harassment. As a result, it is fair to say that American

attitudes about sexual harassment will never be the same. What emerges from the hearings, and what the article by Dr. Daniel Goleman illustrates is that sexual harassment has less to do with sex than with power. We also include in the newsletter a sample set of policies and procedures for dealing with sexual harassment. These guidelines, issued by Princeton University to its staff and faculty, are typical of those used in thousands of academic, business and other institutions in the US. Finally, in this section, we carry some comments on the issue of sexual harassment by the noted Soviet sociologist and sexologist Igor Kon.

The Anita Hill hearings exposed how male-dominated America's political leadership remains. As lawmakers turned the personal into the political, they flashed their gender and galvanized already existing women's political organizations. The piece about a national conference of women legislators, held in California in November, shows how committed political activists are to getting more women elected to state and national legislative bodies in the 1992 elections. If the Americans at the California gathering had an ideal model for women in politics, it would probably be Norway. As the article in this issue shows, although Norway is a small and homogeneous nation, in no other country do women play such a large and highly visible role in both national politics and government.

While there are too few women in national politics in the US, they continue to play important roles as leaders of grassroots community-based organizations and institutions. The ingredients of effective grassroots leadership is the topic of an interview with Fran Barrett, Director of the Community Resource EXchange in New York City. Barrett's comments on the importance of clear lines of authority and communication, sound organizational structure, and effective outreach are important not only for women's groups but for all social organizations. But, as Barrett is the first to admit, no one group or society has readymade economic or political solutions. Ultimately, effective grassroots leadership means that every group must find its own way, and its own style or work and success.

Many of our readers in your country have asked us to write about how American women cope with the dual burdens of raising children and working. No one story can illustrate the many different styles of coping that exist in the United States today. However, the experiences of Helen Thurston, Denise Hamilton and Katrina vanden Heuvel will give you some feeling for the constraints and opportunities faced by many American women. Perhaps what all three have in common are husbands who are partners in the exhilaration and exhaustion of child raising, and a clear sense of the need for good routine and management in coping with the stresses of parenting and jobs.

In closing, a true story with a happy ending about a different kind of coping. Jane O'Reilly describes her joyful reunion with the daughter she gave up for adoption thirty-two years ago.

II. Our Mailbox -- Letters from Readers

A. A 23 year-old husband and father writes, "My wife and I are very grateful to you. We have found many interesting facts about American women's life. We never thought American women have so many problems.... And though I am a man, women's problems are my problems, because I want my wife and daughter to be happy."

- B. A young woman from Ust-Kamenegorsk utters a desperate cry for help. "I want my children to LIVE. I want my friends and relatives to LIVE. I want to LIVE." She does not yet have a husband or children, but her city is so polluted that she shudders at the thought of bringing a child into her poisoned environment. She gives details about the pollution and its terrible consequences for many babies and adults. "Why do we have to pay for other people's mistakes and sins? It's hard for me to write about this, hard to have to cry out and implore and beg for help. Hear our cry! Help us! Save us!" She gives no return address.
- C. Lidia Tereshchenko from Magnitogorsk writes, "You are discussing topical problems. They have aroused great interest among my friends. ... I think now we, women, should unite. We are to develop our personalities. It is very important. Women must take key positions in all countries. Humankind is going through a critical moment in its history. A set of global problems has cropped up, generated by unprecedented political and physical strains. ... The minimum efforts are being made to solve global problems, and contradictions that gave rise to them will continue to pile up, making a progressively negative impact on society. ... I have two children. I am going to organize a private kindergarten. And I'd like to tour the world to see education of small children there." Lidia wrote in English and we translated segments of her letter.
- D. Natalia Varlamova writes, "In my opinion, We and You offers women in the USSR a wonderful opportunity to understand feminism as the natural development of philosophy and self knowledge for today's women. Hardly anyone in the USSR knows what feminism is, since up until now our readers have not had access to translations of even the most basic works by English-speaking feminist authors. In its 20-30 pages We and You, with historical-biographical sketches and reviews of the presentday feminist movement, to some degree makes up for the absence of accurate information about the life of American women. If it cannot present the full depth and breadth of feminist theory, at least it stimulates one to serious thought and to seek out the literature." She goes on in this enthusiastic vein and then says, "it would be good to devote more attention to the problem of woman's place in today's family. Developing appropriate interactions and relations in the family is linked to changes in the psychology and inner awareness of not only women, but men too. ... All of this calls for serious discussion, and You and We is an excellent forum for this problem and many others."

III. "Women's Rights as Human Rights: Toward a Re-Vision of Human Rights," by Charlotte Bunch -- An important article which says, in its first paragraph, "Significant numbers of the world's population are routinely subject to torture, starvation, terrorism, humiliation, mutilation, and even murder simply because they are female. Crimes such as these against any group other than women would be recognized as a civil and political emergency as well as a gross violation of the victim's humanity. Yet, despite a clear record

of deaths and demonstrable abuse, women's rights are not commonly classified as human rights. This is problematic both theoretically and practically, because it has grave consequences for the way society views and treats the fundamental issues of women's lives. This paper questions why women's rights and human rights are viewed as distinct, looks at the policy implications of this schism, and discusses different approaches to changing it."

IV. Sisterhood is Global

- A. The World Women's Congress for a Healthy Planet, held in Miami in November, 1991 -- Michele Landsberg writes that "In five intense days, participants at the congress seesawed constantly between small, homey examples of women's environmental activism and the awesomely daunting spectre of the global power wielded by men. Women founded the environmental movement, are its backbone everywhere in the world, suffer most directly from environmental devastation -- and yet have virtually no decision-making power in the councils and corporations that rule the globe."
- B. The Network of East-West Women met in Dubrovnik in June, 1991 -- more than 70 women from Bulgaria, the Czech and Slovak Republics, the former GDR, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Canada, Britain and the United States talked about women's changing situation in Central and Eastern Europe. Subjects addressed were abortion and contraception; women and the family, work, health, and sexuality; women in government, social policy making, and law; women and the media; women and the rise of the new nationalisms; and the creation of women's studies programs.
- C. A petition urging the United Nations to give women's rights a central place in the 1993 UN World Conference on Human Rights.

V. Consciousness-Raising

- A. "Contextualizing Consciousness-Raising," by Debra Schultz of the National Council for Research on Women -- A review-essay drawing on several books: Alice Echois, Daring to Be Bad: Radical Feminism in America 1967-1975; Sara Evans, Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left; Anna Koedt, editor, Radical Feminism; Anita Shreve, Women Together, Women Alone.
- B. One Woman's Experience, by Marjorie Lightman -- "We talked about the children and husbands as we waited for everyone to settle down. Suddenly, there seemed nothing to say. We had no leader. We had no program. There was a kind of nervous laughter. Someone suggested we go around the room and each take a turn to say why she was here. We started to talk.
"So began my experience with consciousness raising early in the winter of 1970. I was a young woman with a husband and three small children. ..."

VI. Sexual Harassment

- A. "It's About Power, Not Lust," by Daniel Goleman -- A survey of various studies of sexual harassment in the workplace and women's reactions. The article concludes, "While greater awareness of women's feelings about sexual harassment may give more women the courage to speak out, Dr. Paludi [author of one study] says she believes that would be only part of the solution. 'Raising awareness among men,' she said, 'may be more important than getting women to complain.'"
- B. Princeton University's Policies and Procedures for dealing with Sexual Harassment.
- C. Igor Kon comments that in the Soviet Union such behavior is widespread and regarded as normal. Women very rarely complain. The reaction to the

Anita Hill-Clarence Thomas hearings would be, "We should have your problems! This is not exactly our most awful problem. ... When there is nothing to eat, people cannot worry about such things. There is now a strong wave of conservatism and traditionalism that wants to send women back to the home. It is essential to raise the level of equal rights and feminist consciousness." It is very hard to determine where sexual harassment begins. You cannot be categorical. The ideas of some American feminists are utopian. They require not only full equal rights, which in principle is possible, but also complete rationality in relations, which is not only impossible but also not desirable.

The editors invite readers to send us their observations and thoughts on sexual harassment.

VII. Women in Politics

- A. "Who's In Charge Here," by William Schmidt, about the major role that women play in the political life of Norway.
- B. The Largest Gathering of Women Lawmakers in the United States -- a brief report on the San Diego national forum of women state legislators sponsored by the Center for the American Woman and Politics at Rutgers University. Women legislators find it useful to discuss ideas and the experience of their various states, and they come away knowing who are the resource people on different issues. Anita Hill addressed the gathering, to the rousing support of the audience women who twirled their pink luncheon napkins in the air and chanted, "We believe Anita."

III. Effectiveness on the Local Level -- an interview with Fran Barrett Director of Community Resource Exchange, which advises community groups how to organize and work more effectively to bring about change at the local level. She describes some of the groups they have helped, what makes for good structure and leadership in an organization, and why it was that so many women's groups of the 1970's were ineffective and failed.

IX. Women Coping -- Three Examples

- A. Katrina vanden Heuvel, who gave birth to a daughter in May, 1991, writes, "I don't know how I could balance work and motherhood without my husband. We are equal partners in raising Nika. ... I remember how shocked our Soviet male (and female) friends were when Steve changed Nika's diapers or fed her. They didn't consider this man's work. Yet many American men ... are now playing and enjoying a large role in raising their children. Traditionally, it has been assumed that because women bear children, child care is a woman's issue. That is a dangerous assumption -- virtually every concern that faces our society will be directly affected by the way our children are raised now."
- B. Denise watkins-Hamilton, a nurse, had to stop working when she developed a serious chronic illness. She had no medical insurance and struggled to gain federal disability support. She went through periods of deep discouragement, nonetheless she is raising her daughter to look positively and hopefully toward the possibilities of life.
- C. Helen Thurston had her first children, twins, at the age of 37. She returned after three months to her full-time job at the Taft Institute of Government, and her babies are cared for by a young woman nanny. Helen and John and the twins manage life in a two-room "Russian-style" apartment through careful planning.

For example, instead of accumulating a lot of books, they use the public library. Helen does her desk work during lunch hour at the office. She writes, "I sometimes lie awake at night worrying about how I can manage all this. I guess it is natural. Attitude is a big part of coping, and I generally feel optimistic about life. If something is not going well, I ask myself what first small step can I take to change it. ... Also, I really believe that we are all placed on this earth to do something good. It's important for me to feel that my life has meaning. It helps me to manage."

- X. Reunion, by Jane O'Reilly -- a true story of her reunion with her daughter whom she gave up for adoption thirty years earlier.

YOU AND WE

A Russian-Language Journal
Published by The Women's Dialogue US/CIS
A Project of The National Council For Research on Women

Table of Contents of Issue No. 5, Spring-Summer, 1992

- I. Editors' Introduction: It is hard even to contemplate having choices in life when the only institutions of support that women have ever known are collapsing around them. At times like these, the natural human impulse is to cling to the remnants and drift toward whatever new environment is coming into being outside of our control. Yet there is another way, impossible as it may seem, and that is for women to take the initiative and try, even in small steps, to shape the kind of world they would like to live in.

This is the motif of our fifth issue. It has to do with going beyond resilience and patient fortitude which women have always shown, and starting to speak out and to fight back, to initiate and develop new attitudes, practices and institutions for every sphere and stage of life. Indeed, the most emotionally affecting segment in all our materials here is from a woman who even took the initiative to shape her experience of dying and the image of her after-life. This is a personal statement that you will never forget.

We begin the process of initiative-taking with a subject that interests many of our readers -- women's entrepreneurship. The first piece is about Women's World Banking, a unique world network whose business is to empower women to start their own small businesses. Then we describe a business development program in the city of Hartford, Connecticut. This is followed by a discussion on women's ways of leadership. How different are they from men's styles and, putting aside sex stereotyping, what qualities of good "human" leadership will we be needing in the future? Throughout this section are profiles of several women business entrepreneurs whom we have met. There is also an announcement to women entrepreneurs in your country that this September, the Gaia Women's Center in coalition with other groups will sponsor a conference in Moscow designed to support women's small business initiatives in the transition to a market economy.

An article on "Women and Work" addresses what its authors call "the real family issue for the 1990's -- women's low wages," reflecting widespread sex discrimination. Raising women's wages, the article concludes, is the most effective way to move women and their children out of poverty.

Victims of battering and rape are also taking initiatives, not only in the United States which now has many crisis centers and shelters -- and in this issue we describe one of them -- but also in the developing nations in thirty of which there exist crisis centers for rape victims. As our world survey points out, in some parts of Asia and the Middle East the stain of rape is so great that victims are sometimes killed to cleanse the family honor. Marina Pisklakova writes from Moscow that the problem of violence "is a very real one for our society, especially if we're talking about not only physical force but also the battering of a woman's spirit."

So painful is this theme that it is a relief to move on to the story of Gale Warner's struggle against cancer -- another kind of violence against the body, to be sure -- over which her spirit soared to extraordinary heights. Nothing like these thoughts from a dying woman have ever come our way. Those who doubt their capacity to effect even small changes for the better in their lives should take courage from Gale's effort to shape and give meaning to the last year, weeks and days of her own life.

The beginning of life also deserves an environment of nurturing and respect and in her Moscow journal, Laura Mann, a midwife from Vermont, writes of her work with doctors and nurses in your country to encourage new attitudes toward pregnant women and birthing. She says that women are crying out for humane treatment and her colleague, Carol Leonard, relates this to the overall state of things in the country. "To me, an indication of the collapse of a civilization, of a society, is how it treats women and children."

Empowering women to protect themselves is most definitely the purpose of a new product which is appearing on the market this year in Europe and the United States. We report on the first "condom for women" as it is popularly called -- a vaginal pouch which gives women effective control against the AIDS virus spreading rapidly throughout the world in heterosexual women and needs to be checked by all possible means.

Under "Sisterhood is Global" is a piece about efforts to help poor rural women by a bank in Bangladesh whose philosophy is similar to that of Women's World Banking, and also a passionate plea from Maria Cherkassova, Director of Russia's Independent Social-Ecological Union, that women take upon themselves the responsibility of saving the earth.

In her review-essay, regular contributor Debra Schultz looks at Backlash, the best-selling book that has revived and recast the American debate about feminism. Written by a young woman journalist, the book documents the pervasive political and cultural backlash against American women during the 1980's, and issues a call to a new generation of women to become active in the fight for equal rights.

The backlash against women includes society's manipulation of women's history to meet perceived economic and political needs. Gloria Steinem, the well known writer and one of the founders of America's contemporary feminist movement, retrieves and pieces together lost tales of how women have shaped world history. The truth, she believes, "releases the power of self-esteem and self-authority" for half the world's population.

Finally, we are grateful to our guest editor, Yelena Kobzeva, for her insights, knowledge, honesty, humor, and hard work in preparing this issue. Lena, a sociologist who has worked for several years in the KAMAZ plant producing heavy-duty trucks in Naberezhnye Chelny, is now a graduate student at the Russian Academy of Science's Gender Studies Center in Moscow. We will miss her when she returns home, and look forward to collaborating with her on subsequent issues of Vyi i Myi.

- II. Women and The Economy -- In her introduction to this section, Yelena Kobzeva writes: Out of bitter experience women know that they are the first candidates for dismissal from jobs. In the former Soviet Union's hard economic conditions, women's employment

is now an especially acute problem. A sociological survey on this subject was done in 1991 in Naberezhnye Chelny (Tatarstan), a young city with a half million inhabitants built around the heavy-duty truck-producing plant "KAMAZ" where 58% of the employees are women.

More than 1500 women from KAMAZ and other spheres of the city's economy took part in this survey of women's work and lives, their values and orientation and work motivation, and also their attitudes toward entrepreneurial activity. Over a third of the women surveyed would like to shift from the state into the cooperative or private sector of the economy, into small or joint enterprises, or to do some kind of work on their own. Almost 15% of the women surveyed would like to start their own business or enterprise. This is a very high percentage.

However we should not expect a big flow of women into entrepreneurship, because of the obstacles involved, which the women enumerated in their responses:

1. First of all, the absence of legal protection and the changing and erratic nature of laws in general ("today one law, tomorrow something quite different")
2. Secondly, the unstable conditions in the country ("I have no confidence in the future." "I fear changes for the worse in the political leadership.")
3. Thirdly, the fear of racketeers ("Any investments in one's store or workshop immediately bring demands for payments, bribes." "If you don't bankrupt yourself, invariably the thieves will do it, and there is nobody to protect you.")
4. Finally, women often have a low opinion of themselves ("I'm not confident I can do it." "I lack decisiveness and know-how." "I don't have managerial capabilities, I can participate but I can't lead.")

The majority of those surveyed think that women entrepreneurs must have the following characteristics: independence, initiative, dedication to their enterprise, professional knowledge, and the capability to organize. The surveyed women attribute to themselves such qualities as conscientiousness, discipline, goodwill, gentleness, a sense of responsibility, that are generally associated with following instructions and carrying out a job.

These responses show not only low self esteem and the habit of seeing oneself in secondary roles, but also in reality a possibly lower level of training.

In spite of all this, Naberezhnye Chelny had by the winter of 1991-92 400 registered women entrepreneurs. Most of them do home-based work, but there are a few running small enterprises employing up to 20-25 people.

In the last issue of Vyi i Myi I read that "women power is a great force. To rescue oneself is to rescue an entire country." I would like these words to become the motto for women starting their own ventures in Russia.

America has had a lot of experience with women's entrepreneurship. Former Secretary of Commerce, Malcolm Baldrige, said that America can remain competitive in the world market only by utilizing its reserves to the maximum extent, and a most important reserve and resource are its women entrepreneurs.

How are programs created in the United States to support women starting businesses? What knowledge and skills are necessary, and where does one learn them? Where does one begin? Are there differences between male and female styles of leadership, and if so

what are they? We hope the articles in this section, "Women and The Economy" will give you confidence in your own strengths.

- A. Women's World Banking -- Yelena Kobzeva's report on this global organization with some 51 affiliates in 39 countries of Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin and North America, including 6 affiliates in the United States. Each is a business in itself with the goal of helping women start their own small and micro businesses. The affiliates work methods and styles vary according to the local cultures, traditions and laws, and the approach which they share is that by building strengths at the local level, through coalitions, capital funds, access to bank monies and technical and managerial expertise, through evaluation and training programs, the affiliates can leverage their local strengths to gain larger resources for beginning women entrepreneurs. Being part of a world network is a major advantage. The report briefly describes how one of the 6 US affiliates in the state of Maine works in providing services for women entrepreneurs. Kobzeva talked with Susan Davis, regional coordinator for Europe and North America, who had just returned from observing and working with two women's groups in Poland, one of which runs job retraining programs for urban women while the other focuses on village women. Now Women's World Banking is taking its first steps into cooperation with women in Russia who are planning a conference on "Women and the Market" to be held in Moscow in September 1992.
- B. Notice of an International Conference, "Women and the Market" -- It will take place in Moscow from September 15-19, 1992 and will address practical, specific issues of helping women in Russia implement their business and entrepreneurial plans. Participants will include entrepreneurs, specialists, representatives of foundations and other social organizations from Russia, other states of the Commonwealth, and from abroad. There will be seminars and workshops on such subjects as financing, taxation, management, and marketing, information and consulting services will be available, and there will be an exhibit of goods produced by Russian women entrepreneurs.
- C. Programs in Hartford, Connecticut, supporting women entrepreneurs -- Yelena Kobzeva's report based on a visit to Hartford and talks with leaders of the Hartford Economic Development Corporation and Hartford College for Women's Entrepreneurial Program, which cooperate in helping women would-be entrepreneurs get evaluation, training, and access to resources. Kobzeva also talked with two women who benefited from these programs one who opened her own beauty salon and the other who started a commission shop for second-hand sporting goods. There is a profile on each of these two women.
- D. "Ways Women Lead," by Judy B. Rosener of the Graduate School of Management of the University of California, Irvine, on survey findings of similarities and differences between women and men leaders. "Intrigued by these differences," Rosener writes, "I interviewed some of the women respondents who described themselves as transformational. ... I call their leadership style

'interactive leadership' because these women actively work to make their interactions with subordinates positive for everyone involved. More specifically, the women encourage participation, share power and information, enhance other people's self-worth, and get others excited about their work." Rosener concludes that "Linking interactive leadership directly to being female is a mistake. We know that women are capable of making their way through corporations by adhering to the traditional corporate model and that they can wield power in ways similar to men. ... We also know from the survey findings that some men use the transformational leadership style.

"Large, established organizations should expand their definition of effective leadership. If they were to do that, several things might happen, including the disappearance of the glass ceiling and the creation of a wider path for all sorts of executives -- men and women -- to attain positions of leadership."

Rosener's article from the Harvard Business Review was followed by a debate in which one of the participants, Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, of City University of New York, criticized Rosener's mode of investigation as "impaired to begin with. Instead of observing men and women at work to ascertain whether they indeed act differently, she asked them to describe their styles.

"Much current research shows that men and women tend to stereotype their own behavior according to cultural views of gender-appropriate behavior, as much as they stereotype the behavior of other groups. Thus it was not surprising for Rosener to 'find' that men tended to 'command and control' and women leaned toward 'transformational' patterns, using interpersonal skills." Epstein concludes, "I believe it is time to reconsider the excessive and inappropriate sex typing that takes place, whether offered in the service of improving women's situations or restricting them. .. The category is 'people,' not 'men and women.'

E. Profile of a Woman Entrepreneur, Melinda Gros, who after being a professional dancer trained as a clothing designer, worked on Seventh Avenue, and then started her own business making nursing bras and nightgowns for pregnant women. Yelena Kobzeva visited the small factory on the Jersey side of the Hudson River where Melinda's business is located and talked with her about the struggles and satisfactions of being an entrepreneur and the effects on family life.

F. Article by Melinda Little, president of a mail order business selling items of use to and enhancing women and their families. The "Company of Women" catalogue was established several years ago to support the Rockland Family Shelter in New York State, an agency serving victims of domestic violence and rape. The Shelter owns 81% of the Company of Women stock and will receive dividends as the Catalogue and its profitability grow.

III. Women and Work -- "Raising Wages: The Family Issue of the 90's" by Heidi Hartmann, Roberta Spalter-Roth and Carmen Johnson of The Institute for Women's Policy Research. "With a growing number of women channeled into low-pay, low-benefit, and high-turnover jobs, our major challenge is to find ways to reverse this trend. ... In our view, the most prevalent workplace trend of the 1990's will be the continued deterioration of working conditions. ... Given the

impact of these conditions on women's ability to earn a living wage, the Institute for Women's Policy Research is currently investigating the factors that increase women's wages," -- factors such as working fulltime, being unionized, and having a college degree. "If we want to support women's movement out of poverty, we must insist upon a livable minimum wage and improved market conditions for all workers. We must find the means to refuse discrimination in work and school."

IV. Violence Against Women

- A. A report on The Rockland County Shelter and the services it provides to women and families -- "It was the women's movement in our country that forced family violence out into the glare of media coverage and public debate, which in turn led to growing recognition that this is not a marital issue but a women's rights issue. If women are not safe in their own homes, it certainly is the business of the community to get them out of danger.

"In Rockland County, just north of New York City, this kind of community awareness emerged in 1977 in a coalition of women activists, social workers, professionals and influential citizens, state politicians, and Catholic Dominican-order nuns who informally were already sheltering battered women. After two years of organizing, support-building and fund-raising, the coalition in 1979 opened the county's first emergency shelter for victims of domestic violence.

"By 1991 it had sheltered over 1200 women and 1300 children and responded to more than 5000 hotline callers. New programs and services were gradually added," which the report describes. It also refers to the pioneering programs in Duluth, Minnesota, the first place in America to adopt a mandatory arrest policy for misdemeanor assaults and a city which has an obligatory treatment program for batterers which, alas, does not prevent many of them from becoming reoffenders. The report concludes with law professor Elizabeth Schneider's comment, "We seriously underestimated how wedded our culture is to domestic violence."

- B. "When Women Are Prey," Around the World, Rape is Commonplace -- and the Victims Can't Fight Back, an article by Lori Heise who directs the Violence, Health and Development Project for the Center for Women's Global Leadership at Rutgers University -- "Worldwide, sexual assault may be one of the most underreported crimes, but even the official figures -- where available -- are chilling. ... Women have not kept silent in the face of such abuse. Already over 30 developing countries have specialized crisis centers for rape victims and a number of countries ... have waged successful campaigns to reform their rape laws.

"But notions of male prerogative and female culpability run deep -- dating back thousands of years to a time when rape was first defined as a crime against male property. Until women and men join forces to challenge these all-too-enduring beliefs, rape survivors will continue to be victimized by the very legal systems that should guarantee them justice."

- C. Another View on Violence, a letter to Vyi i Myi from Marina

Pisklakova in Moscow -- "I have long been concerned about the problem of violence against women, and that is why I chose this theme for my research in the Moscow Center for Gender Studies. It is a very real problem for our society, especially if we're talking about not only physical force but also the battering of a woman's spirit. 'To live in society and to be independent of society is impossible' -- this is what our children are taught from kindergarten onward. In our patriarchal culture children everywhere see and accept as natural the condition of women, of their mothers, sisters, and school companions. From this flows logically their behavior as adults.

"For the past six months I have been studying the problem of violence and I can say that it is a normal occurrence in most workplaces. Usually, women do not even understand that violence and discrimination is taking place. Accustomed from childhood to think that man dominates the world (as head of family, wage-earner, protector, master), women take for granted their lower wages and less interesting work. One of my friends is a computer programmer and I have observed how her male colleagues stand in the way of her upgrading her skills and getting more prestigious and interesting tasks. They say to her, you are a woman, so why do you need all this. Your mission is to look good and give pleasure. And in today's economic conditions when they are cutting back on staff, my friend and all the other women are the first candidates for unemployment.

"It is not surprising that the same principles determine relations in most families: the husband is considered head of family and breadwinner, while the wife provides support and backup. It is no secret that our life is hard and that women have excessive burdens, as always looking after the household and raising the children, and on top of that, working outside the home, making the rounds of stores and standing in long queues. Out of this constant tension come frequent crises. I did some consulting with women by correspondence and found that most often they see their own sense of inferiority as the reason for these crises (they are unattractive, ill, or unintelligent, etc.), and don't understand that it is something quite different, that they should not accept second place to their husbands.

"Many women ask for help with their personal problems. An analysis of their letters shows that even in love, women and girls put themselves in a subordinate and humiliating position, once again failing to understand that violence is being done against their souls. I was struck by the request of one woman for a recipe by which she could achieve reciprocity with her partner. Her present relationship with him is based on constant humiliation, her partner barely 'tolerates' her love. And there are many other relationships like this one.

"Another case, showing that all kinds of domestic violence exist in our country, involves a young woman whom I have been observing for four months. She is 30 years old, has 2 children, does not work outside the home, and has been married for 11 years. The essence of her life is serving her husband and children. She feels she cannot get an outside job or visit her friends because this would irritate her husband who thinks she should give all her time to the family. He tells her she is not attractive enough and that he did her a favor by marrying her. ... A recent scandal ended

in her being beaten in front of her children. She knows this is not the way to live but cannot break out of it.

"My brief experience in researching violence convinces me that major help could come from a network of social-psychological consultation centers which would give women a needed perspective on their problems. It is important for them to change their view of themselves, to gain confidence in their strengths. Then, I hope, a lot would change in their lives."

- V. The Inspiring Life of Gale Warner, An Activist Angel -- excerpts from her letters and diary, with an introduction by her friend, Cynthia Lazaroff. Gale was a writer, poet, and grassroots activist in American-Soviet citizen diplomacy. With her doctor husband, David, she founded Golubka, a network supporting peace and environmental activists in the former Soviet Union. Literature provided by Golubka on non-violence was circulated at the barricades during the August 1991 coup and at other moments of tension and confrontation in the country. When she learned that she had cancer, she shared with friends all the steps of her struggle to become healthy again. Accepting finally that she would die, she spoke bravely of preparing for her big transition the biggest one she would ever make. "Gale dear, are you ready for this? On some level we can never be ready, perhaps. I am not as ready as I might hope to feel ... I had thought I would have a little more time, even if only weeks ... Yet we must take what we are given and there is something to be said for going fast. ... Perhaps the time has come for an end to all this suffering, for a liberation, a release, a true rest and transformation." Towards the end, Gale asked her friends to tell her about whatever exciting social transformational work they were doing and about the good work they plan for the future. As David put it, "She's planning to be an Activist Angel and wants to be able to assist from the other side."
- VI. American Midwives in Moscow -- excerpts from Laura Mann's journal
- VII. The Vaginal Pouch or Condom for Women
- VIII. Review of Susan Faludi's Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women by Debra Schultz of the National Council for Research on Woman
- IX. Sisterhood is Global -- A. A news item that 75,000 women from 78 nations signed petitions urging the preparatory committee for the 1992 UN world conference on human rights to place the issues of women's rights and violence high on its agenda. B. Article about an innovative bank in Bangladesh making tiny loans to landless women to finance income-earning activities such as sewing, livestock raising, and furniture-making -- in the same spirit as Women's World Banking. C. Article by Maria Cherkassova, a Moscow leader in environmental programs, about women's obligation worldwide to protest against the present destructive policy priorities everywhere, the military-technocratic model of life, the ugly interpretation of scientific-technological progress. Women must organize a gigantic mutiny on the ship of Earth, otherwise they will not safeguard their children from what is to come.
- X. Seeking Out the Invisible Woman, by Gloria Steinem -- Watching "Amadeus" and "The Right Stuff" generated some thoughts about the missing women who helped shape history -- Mozart's sister, who was a gifted musician, and the women pilots who passed with flying colors the same tests as John Glenn and Alan Shepard, but were at first excluded from the space program. "Looking at the world as if women mattered, with both eyes open, provides a long overdue depth of understanding of how and why events take place."

ВЫ И МЫ



THE WOMEN'S DIALOGUE

ДИАЛОГ ЖЕНЩИН

№6

осень 1992

YOU AND WE

A Quarterly Newsletter
Published by the Women's Dialogue US/USSR
A Project of the National Council For Research on Women

Table of Contents, Issue # 6, Fall 1992

I. Editors' Introduction

In America, 1992 has been dubbed "The Year of the Woman." Indeed, it is a landmark year: more women than ever are running for the House and the Senate --an unprecedented 152 women for the US House of Representatives, and another twenty for the Senate. Also important, a new national pattern of women supporting women candidates is emerging. But these hopeful and extraordinary changes come after more than twenty years of organizing, and much sweat and tears. As Betty Friedan, one of the founders of the American women's movement noted recently, just twenty years ago organizing the National Women's Political Caucus (now quite a powerful political organization), was "an ambitious, daring dream."

Defining and organizing strategies and ideas to empower women in your country will take time and effort. What you develop, in all its diversity, will naturally be quite different politically and culturally from the American women's movement. And in the end, sensitivity to our cultural differences may bring us closer together.

What now? How can you respond to the extraordinary and disorienting changes of the last year? What part can you play in the new order of things? We do not pretend to have easy answers, but in America twenty five years or so after the early stirrings of our women's movement, we see women who were secretaries now running for the senate. We see women moving from the school board to the governor's mansion. We see housewives organizing their communities around environmental and other issues. Such transformations led us to ask a simple but provocative question in this

issue: What would a country run by women be like? Sit back and imagine the possibilities. They are breathtaking.

So where could you start? Anywhere. Modestly, flamboyantly, humbly, arrogantly --whatever your personal style and circumstances dictate. You can teach your children to be compassionate or you can run for local office. You can start your own business or you can write a letter to your local deputy. You can give a speech or you can call up five friends and complain and maybe they will be able to act. Whenever possible, you can try and keep your sense of humor (and we apologize for having so little in this issue. We're working on it.) You never stop thinking, hoping and, above all, speaking out.

At the same time, we are acutely aware that at a time of overall confusion and instability, these examples may be unrealistic. Nevertheless, there are some good examples of women in your country taking the next step. We think of Natalia Saptina in Kemerovo who took the next step in response to more layoffs by forming her reemployment and retraining group. Or we think of women around the Preobrazhenie group, who are taking the next step by talking out their individual feelings of discrimination and discovering that it is every woman's problem. Or we think of how more than a year after the First Independent Women's Forum in Dubna, it has become possible to speak of a "women's movement" in Russia.

Even if you have no other weapons than your words, your convictions and your courage, talk can be very valuable indeed. We hope that our modest newsletter is one example of the value of talking together. Since we started publishing Vyi i Myi in 1990 as an experiment in dialogue, we have been sharing ideas, experiences, hopes and dreams, and successes and failures. We still have a long way to go, but we are excited to have so many Russian contributions in our sixth issue. Indeed, we open with a multitude of voices-- an informal discussion between American and Russian women that was held in Moscow last June. The Russians are affiliated with Moscow's Gender Studies Center, a leading women's studies research center with a strong activist component. The American women include one of the editors of Vyi i Myi, a graduate student and a professor of political science.

This issue includes material about several exciting and promising women's initiatives in Russia. Natalya Saptina describes the work of the "Independent Women's Democratic Initiative" Fund in the Kuzbass region of Russia. Diana Medman talks about the interesting programs organized by the Moscow women's club "Transformation." Katherine Switz, an American student, reflects on her experience working at a rape crisis center in St. Petersburg. In the section on "Women and Politics," Lena Kochkina, a research fellow at the Gender Studies Center and a student at MGU, analyzes the tortuous but fruitful road ahead for women in your country's political life. And Linda Gordon, a leading historian of

abortion rights, explains why abortion has become a rallying point for women's groups in the U.S.

All too often women take care of others --children, husband, family --and neglect themselves. This is the case among millions of women in all countries, including yours and ours. Our section on women's health is a small step toward sharing knowledge, thoughts and experience on such issues as alcoholism, birth control and menopause.

At the outset, we conceived of this modest newsletter as a place where women could gather ideas and share experiences. Now, in these days of collapse and drift, it seems even more important for women to gather, as often as we can, to share our hopes and our disappointments and to try to be actors in our own fate, whenever we can. Equality may not be fully ours tomorrow, but empowering ourselves to demand it today is a right we can seize this instant.

II. Our Mailbox --Letters from Readers

1. Nina Voevodina, a teacher in a pedagogical institute in Novozibkov, Russia, writes us:
(See page 3 A)

2. Larisa Polyakova from Naberezhnye Chelnye, Russia, writes us:
(See Page 3B)

III. "A Roundtable Talk at the Moscow Gender Studies Center"
In June 1992, one of the editors of Vyi i Myi gathered a group of Russian women--philosophers, sociologists, economists, historians--affiliated with Moscow's Gender Studies Center to talk about the problems and opportunities facing Russian women in the post-perestroika years. A sidebar to the wideranging discussion was how Vyi i Myi, which all believed has become an important "bridge" between Russian and American women, can deepen and improve the exchange and dialogue. We excerpt below a few of the discussion's highlights:

Tatiana Klimenkova: "Vyi i Myi is trying to accomplish a very difficult task: to unite two very different universes--the real events of American life and the successes of American feminism, on the one hand, and what is going on in our country, on the other. I have distributed the newsletter and heard responses about it from very different kinds of women. Last week, for example, I gave the 4th issue to a woman at the local laundromat. She told me that she found it very interesting. She had read every word, understood it in her own way, and though she did not agree with it all she told me that she'd never read anything like it. It opened her eyes to a new world.

Anastasia Posadskaya: "In my view, the newsletter is a colossally important development. It has changed our consciousness."

Dear editors of You and We magazine,

I have read all the issues of your unique magazine. And not only have I read the magazine myself, but I have also passed it around to my friends and students. On several occasions we even discussed it in class. I am a teacher of history, philosophy, and law at a pedagogical school. Ninety-eight percent of my students are girls, because in this country, the teaching profession has (unfortunately!) been purely a woman's job for quite some time.

Some of my students presented overviews of your magazine's articles at social science classes, and it was interesting. It just so happened that the topic we were working on was "Man and Society", and we were curious to find out about the life of women in the United States. Can it be that there are problems there as well? The girls were very surprised to learn that the difficulties you face are very much like ours (not in all the cases, certainly).

You have violence? So do we. How can we avoid it? We studied carefully all the techniques mentioned in your magazine, had a discussion as to which of them can be applied in our case and which cannot, memorized them, and will try to put them to use.

The discussion of the magazine's articles led us to a sincere conversation and an avalanche of "How to get married?" questions. No, there is a far more important question, and that is: who is there to marry? These fools? Does it look like they can be real husbands or fathers?

The conversation turned out to be eternal. We would stay to discuss it after classes. We would get together both on school grounds and somewhere off the premises, trying hard to find solutions to our "purely womens' problems", as we came to call them.

And the questions were very straightforward: When can one start having sex? What kind of birth control measures should one take? What is love, and does it exist at all?

I found it strange. Girls around 19 - 20 years of age had never been in love. I asked, "What about your mothers, girls?" "No way! It is not interesting to talk about it with mother, besides, she is too busy for that, and she will not understand me," or, "It never even occurred to me to have such a conversation with her." So, we talked and talked. The girls knew that they could ask me any questions.

They will graduate and go to work in high school. Ninety-five percent of high school employees are women. So, their "womens' problems" will stay with them. What's the right way to solve them? Together or on your own? We do not know yet. I try to unite them. Maybe somebody will find it easier to deal with the problems this way. I initiated the "Talking To Me Club". Then we renamed it to "Eve". We often get together, trying to bring happiness and excitement into everybody's lives. That's how we live. And it looks like we are beginning to feel that we need each other.

Nina Voyevodina
Novozybkov, Bryanskaya Oblast

Dear co-editors of this highly unique publication,

So, things are moving along. I am holding a third issue of You and We, adorned with a very creative monogram conveying our closeness.

One thing that appeals to me about this publication is that despite the modest design, it already established its own personality. It follows from the illustrations done in the style of last century womens' periodicals. It follows from the fact that readers' letters serve as the principal foundation, and feedback - as a guideline. Readers immediately feel that their opinions are not simply of interest but are also valued.

It is so wonderful that you publish letters without the editorial "clipping" which strips letters of their individuality. They are so diverse, often expressing totally opposite opinions, as is the case, for instance, of the woman's place in society issue. I totally disagree with Tatiana Munina from the Moscow Region that the only place for a woman is with her family. Such submissiveness to tradition only serves the interests of our lame leaders who would like to shift the burden of helping the women of this country out of their hardships onto the shoulders of their husbands.

Articles and other materials of the He and She column convey extremely important ideas about the expedience of practicing differentiated approaches to children's education depending on the gender. Also interesting are various journalistic articles, such as those telling about the progress of the womens' movement in the United States, or about the first independent womens' forum in the Soviet Union. However, in addition to the general information, I would like to read about specific activities of the activists of the womens' movement, about womens' groups, and so on. For example, I have a wonderful pen pal in the United States, Fran Abbot, who is from Minneapolis, Minnesota. Living alone, without a husband (she has been divorced for over 20 years), she has brought up six wonderful kids while working in an administrative position with a firm. Having retired, she now devotes her time to working in two charitable shelters set up to provide assistance to young women and women with children who have found themselves in times of trouble. We could learn from the experience of the wonderful enthusiasts of the Ascension Place and Anne's Place. There are very few payroll employees in these organizations; however, a large group has been formed out of volunteers who contribute their efforts free of charge, some a couple of hours a day, some once a week. They help women in trouble to achieve psychological rehabilitation and then find their place in life. We can apply similar practices to our retirement homes.

Because of my age (I am 60 years old), I would like to find more information about old age protection on the pages of You and We. According to statistics, women worldwide live longer than men, often outlive their husbands, finding themselves in a difficult situation. In my opinion, there should be a program in the womens' movement focusing on the problems of those over 70 - 80 years of age.

I would also like to see more poems, short stories, everyday life anecdotes, quizzes, jokes, and recipes. Best wishes to you all.

Yours truly,

Larisa Polyakova
Naberezhniye Chelny

Tatiana Mezentseva: In your country, there are many publications for women. In our country, however, there's a kind of vacuum. Therefore for many women, Vyi i Myi is practically the only publication oriented towards women...It has revealed new ideas, new issues to us." We discussed how to improve and expand the newsletter. One suggestion was to add a section which would examine the changing image of women in the press, in Russia and in the U.S. Many Russian women complained that the current images of women in their press were overly simplistic and sexist--women were either Madonna (the old-fashioned kind) or a prostitute.

Tatiana Klimenkova: "Please publish articles about sexism and ageism. We have full-fledged discrimination against older women in our country."

There was a heated discussion about the current wave of pornography in Russia. In many ways, the debate mirrored the one that goes on in the US. Several women argued that pornography was violence against women, pure and simple. Others worried about the consequences of censoring pornography, especially in a country with a long tradition of censorship.

IV. "Obozrevatel'nitsa" (Women Commentator)

As a result of our talk at the Gender Studies Center, we have started a series in which, from time, we will publish reflections, comments, and observations on the changing image of women as reflected in the Russian and American press. Our first contribution is by Evgenia Daykshta, a 15 year old Moscow student.

Evgenia describes how many Russian newspapers, in particular the very popular and trendy Moskovskii Komсомоlet, treat women like sex objects who have no other characteristics or qualifications. She wonders--and worries--about how these images will influence young women's self-esteem. Some papers, for example, now report on incidents of rape. But such information is often accompanied by commentaries such as: "She was guilty--she didn't need to dress in such a short skirt or return home at such a late hour..." Evgenia writes: "The press has a terrible power to influence people's consciousness--and if it keeps up, what will our lives be like? It seems to me that we, women, must not remain silent and close our eyes to what we see around us...we should begin (while it's not too late) to fight actively for women's rights so that people understand that you can't build a free society by humiliating women and laughing at the word 'feminism'."

V. Women's Initiatives

1. Don't Wait--The Independent Women's Democratic Initiative by Natalya Saptisina, Director of the Fund to Support Women's Initiatives

-5-

Natalya Sapsina lives in Kemerovo, an important mining city in Russia. In 1991, she created a fund to support women's initiatives in the face of growing unemployment and cutbacks in social services. The fund has started a business school which, in its first year, trained 100 managers and accountants. Several people have organized their own small businesses, and the fund helps them with obtaining raw materials and equipment. In a sense, Sapsina writes, "the Fund has taken on the role of incubators of entrepreneurs," a role that in the US is often played by the Small Business Administration.

2. Transformation Club by Diana Medman

One of the first independent and "informal" women's groups to emerge at the end of the 1980s, "Transformation" began as a result of women gathering in apartments to talk about common problems. Like women everywhere around the world, they exchanged information about their daily lives, work, frustrations, anxieties. "What united us," writes Medman was a diffuse but powerful feeling of injustice, which each of us confronted in different ways--but we all recognized it as DISCRIMINATION...We began to realize that it was not simply a personal problem of a few women...We quickly realized that feminism is not simply a theory but a way of life."

3. Project Zabota (Project Care) by Eden Wurmfield and Deborah Fine

Project Zabota is a non-profit organization, based in St. Petersburg, dedicated to the improvement of quality of life in Russia through education and training in the field of health care, focusing on women's health and AIDS education and prevention.

In January 1992, Project Zabota started a peer education program at an all girls' pharmaceutical institute. Discussion groups of ten met three times a week throughout the semester. Topics included anatomy, sexually transmitted diseases, sexual assault and rape, birth control, and sexuality. The format and content of the meetings were adapted and translated into Russian from materials used in American peer education programs.

"Every day," Wurmfield and Fine write, "individuals contact us for assistance or counseling. They are looking for advice regarding pregnancy options, safer sex, gynecological care and contraceptives. They are seeking contacts and guidance for establishing new support services. We are proud and thankful that we have been able to provide information and counseling."

4. Crisis Center in St. Petersburg by Katherine Switz

Switz, a 21-year old student at Dartmouth College, arrived in St. Petersburg in June 1992 (under the auspices of Project Zabota) with the vision of establishing a rape crisis hot line and the objective of planning a twenty hour

training program on responding to the issues of rape and domestic violence. "I was thrilled," Switz writes, "to learn that a Russian rape crisis center existed in the city and that we could work together. The center grew out of a preexisting adolescent crisis center which began working with rape victims in February 1992. Together, Eden and I interviewed the volunteers at the center to ascertain what they wanted to learn, how they viewed the issues of rape and domestic violence, and how we might work together to plan a training program on whatever issues they found important. I was struck by the extent to which trusted us, and the extent to which they shared events in their lives that they had never shared with anyone before."

Switz struggled to adapt American material to Russian cultural sensibilities and norms. For example, date rape and marriage rape were alien concepts to Russian women at the center. "We met with the center's volunteers to discuss the concept of empowering women working with these issues. We provided them with information about available resources and worked on a system called active listening. We also discussed and translated information on the concept of safe housing, a service offered by women's centers in the US that shelters women in dangerous situations resulting from rape or domestic violence. We believe that this service is adaptable to Russia because it could be accomplished for no cost with a little initiative...The most lasting memory was the wonderful feeling of camaraderie that grew out of work with the women. The feeling of working toward a common goal despite sharp cultural differences. ...The concept of working together from a global perspective and then translating that work into local objectives was, for me, one of the most important aspects of our work."

5. Women's World Banking by Susan Davis, Coordinator for Europe Women's World Banking
(English text to follow)

Ukrainian Center of Women's Studies
An announcement that a women's studies center has opened in Kiev. It is concerned with economic, social and cultural problems affecting women's lives. We believe that only the unity of all women will help us survive these difficult times in our country. We hope to hear from you. We plan to publish a supplement to Vyi i Myi in Ukrainian.
Write us at:
252001 Ukraine, Kiev, Ulitsa Gryshevskovo, 4
Institute of Literature, Academy of Science, Ukraine
Pavlyichko Solomin

VI. Women in Politics

1. "Elections '93: Will They Take Place ?" by Vera Kurilchenko, Chair, United Women's Party, St. Petersburg

Spring 1992

2. "An Appeal to Russian Women" from the Women's fraction of the Social-Democratic Party

3. "Democracy Without Women is Not Democracy," by Lena Kochkina, Senior Researcher at the Moscow Gender Studies Center

4. "How American Women Help Each Other Gain in the Corridors of Power," by Tatiana Khudyakova, Izvestia Correspondent

5. "The Controversy About Abortion in the United States," by Linda Gordon, Professor of History, University of Wisconsin and author, Woman's Body, Woman's Right

6. "If Women Ran America," by Lisa Grunwald (Reprinted from Life, June 1992)

VII. Contemporary American Novels

1. An excerpt from Bobbie Ann Mason's novel, In Country

VIII. Women's Health: Knowledge is Power

1. A brief explanation of various contraceptive methods, excerpted from a handbook prepared for distribution in Moscow and St. Petersburg, by The International Center for Better Health and Project Zabota.

2. "Alcohol and Women," by Marion Sandmeyer, excerpted from Our Bodies, Ourselves

This article on alcohol and women is reprinted from the landmark book, Our Bodies, Ourselves. First published in the United States in 1969 by the Boston Women's Health Collective, the book led to the development of women's health groups in the US and around the world.

In 1993, Progress Publishers will bring out the Russian-language edition of Our Bodies, Ourselves, in a printing of 50,000 copies. Women editors, translators, and graphic artists in Moscow worked together to translate and adapt the book for women in Russia and other republics. (There are also projects underway to publish Ukrainian and Armenian editions.)

Judy Norsigian, one of the original members of the Boston Women's Health Collective, hopes that the Russian edition will reach "as many women as possible with the tools to enable them to take greater charge of their own health care and their lives, to deal with the existing medical system and fight whenever possible for improvements and changes." Above all, she hopes that the book will encourage women to get together --to meet, talk and listen to each other.

IX. Review of Contemporary Works on American Feminism

In each issue of Vyi i Myi, Debra Schultz of the National Council for Research on Women reviews a classic or contemporary work of American feminism. In Issue #4, she reviewed several books about consciousness-raising. In Issue #5, Debra reviewed Susan Faludi's Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women. In this issue, she writes about the new biography, Eleanor Roosevelt, Volume 1, 1884-1933, by Blanche Wiesen Cook.

X. "The Betty Friedan Phenomenon--Feminist Leader Sees Radical Change in Attitudes on Aging," by Eliot Carlson and Susan L. Crowley (Reprinted with permission from the AARP Bulletin, 1991)

Many of our Russian readers have asked us to publish more about ageing and attitudes toward ageing and women in the United States. In this interview, Betty Friedan talks about another revolution--what she sees as an impending transformation in consciousness about aging and the role of older persons in American life. "Age," she says, "will be redefined as a new stage in human development, not as lost youth...New values will come from new pioneers of aging." Having debunked "The Feminine Mystique" nearly thirty years ago, Friedan is now at work debunking the "age mystique" that defines older people in terms of deterioration and helplessness, as passive objects of care and not as persons in a new period of life. That view, she believes, denies them their "personhood," just as the feminine mystique denied women theirs.

XI. Russian Poetry From the Heart--Meet Lucia Kotsan

You And We



THE WOMEN'S DIALOGUE

No. 7

Spring 1993

THE DUBNA FORUM
Goals and Perspectives

SEX AND YOUR BODY
Questions and Answers

RESOLVING CONFLICT
The Art of Creating Coalitions

→
HILLARY CLINTON
America's First Lady

RAPE AFTER RAPE AFTER RAPE
Women of Former Yugoslavia

MENOPAUSE
Breaking the Silence

FROM THE EDITORS

A note of introduction, describing the contents of issue 7.

I. THE DUBNA FORUM: IMPRESSIONS AND DESIRES

The Second Independent Women's Forum, held in Dubna in November 1992, was an important moment in the history of the Russian women's movement. Women came from across Russia to meet, share ideas and experience, to organize and network. Many initiatives have been started; much needs to be done. But the Forum gave a great boost of moral and symbolic support to the over 500 women. Women looked around the packed auditorium on the forum's opening day and realized that they were not alone in their dreams and aspirations.

One important outcome was the decision to found an independent organization to make the Women's Forum an annual and well-organized event, and to administer a Women's Information Network. The Network will provide information on women's initiatives and resources for women across the former Soviet Union. As one participant noted, a fundamental problem, especially for women from small cities and provinces, is "information hunger." The enormous political, social and economic problems facing Russia, and their impact on women, were also discussed heatedly in seminars and corridors. Problems facing the international women's community were also on the agenda.

We asked four American women, who traveled to Russia for the first time, to comment on what they saw and heard at Dubna. They all agreed that Russian women are at a critical turning point: either they hold on to and develop further what they won under the old system, or they lose the gains they made in such areas as education and social benefits. The American women were struck by the intensity of Russian women's search for solutions, by their generosity of spirit, their warmth and their determination to create new initiatives and groups. As one American woman writes, Russian women have already made a great contribution to the creation of a "civil society" in Russia. Much will now depend on whether women will play an active role in the country's political life. At present, many Russian women feel alienated from the political process, considering it a "dirty" business. But as many of the participants at Dubna now realize, it may be impossible to improve women's lives and opportunities without taking part in politics.

The four American women who went to Dubna come from different fields. They participated in seminars, workshops and informal one-on-one conversations, sharing their knowledge and experience with women from all parts of Russia. We asked each of them to write a few words about

their impressions of those three hectic, exhilarating and exhausting days in November 1992.

Debra Schultz, Research Fellow, National Council for Research on Women

"As an outsider, I am astonished at how quickly the Forum has grown since its first meeting in 1991, which really represented the first large-scale attempt to organize a feminist movement in Russia after glasnost. As a point of comparison, thirty women attended the founding meeting of the U.S. National Organization for Women in 1966 and approximately 300 attended a conference the following year.

While it seems a bit dangerous to make generalizations on the basis of a very brief encounter with the new Russian women's movement at the Dubna Conference, I will now proceed to do so. Among similarities with western feminist conferences, there was the determination not to allow women's issues to be subsumed under other national priorities; pleasure and excitement in meeting new women and in networking; passionate arguments over politics and strategy; and the usual grumbling about how it should have been organized this way or that.

While the Forum addressed many issues of concern to women everywhere, the substance and relative importance of particular discussions were sometimes strikingly different. Although women's labor issues were a larger part of the U.S. feminist agenda in the 1960s than is commonly recognized, the Dubna Forum had a much broader range of sessions on such topics as women and unemployment, rural women, women and military conversion, women in business, women wanting to start businesses, etc. Even the young women included "employment and occupational choice" as a major discussion topic in their section. While this obviously grows out of both a socialist tradition and the current economic crisis, it does offer hope that the Russian feminist movement will be a grassroots movement right from the start.

The age range represented at the Forum should be the envy of western women's movements. Girls, young women, older women, and their advocates spoke clearly and movingly about their concerns....

Recalling the 1991 Forum theme, Democracy Without Women is No Democracy, participants also reaffirmed the importance of encouraging women to run for elective office. This will be a challenge. Several young women I spoke to expressed disinterest in politics, using the same tone that young women in this country use to say "I'm not a feminist." In other words, it's taboo for girls to admit an interest in or desire for power.

In her opening address, Forum organizer Anastasia Posadskaya noted that "many years of seeing women's social activity manipulated in the interest of other political agendas has fostered women's aversion to political activity." Posadskaya cited the need to get past internal and external prejudices against women running for political office and called on women to help create "the new kinds of political culture so badly needed by our society."

Dorothy Thomas, Director, Women's Rights Project, Human Rights Watch

The Dubna conference affirmed the common elements in the international women's human rights struggle: for women from all walks of life to "come out of the social shadow into the realm of social visibility," for "gender-based-violence and discrimination to be recognized as violations of human rights" and "for women's rights to be considered an indispensable part of human rights."

The Forum also clarified --especially for those of us from other parts of the world-- the particular character of Russian women's struggle in this difficult transition period, after the loss of years of legal equality unparalleled almost anywhere else and in the face of immense economic and social dislocation. I was again struck by the particular urgency of the Russian women's struggle when I recently read that Russian Labor Minister Gennady Melikyan said, "why should we try and find jobs for women when men are idle and on unemployment benefits? Let men work and women take care of the homes and their children." Courage sisters.

It may be that Russian women, like many American women, will choose to stay home. But the operative principle here is choice. It was not long ago that American women had no choice between home or work and, even now that more choices are available to us, we still run into the "glass ceiling" of discrimination against women in employment and live in a country with one of the highest rates of violence against women in the world.

I left Dubna...confirmed in my sense that women's rights activists everywhere are in a common struggle to secure and protect their fundamental human rights.

Jane Roberts Chapman, Feminist Advocate, Expert on Violence Against Women

Violence against women is a global human rights issue...The remarkable women's forum held in Dubna confirmed it as a problem for Russian women and took steps to develop woman abuse as a public issue. The final report of the Forum

recommended that the central government finance a series of crisis centers around the country for women victimized by violence. It also recommended a national funded training program for professionals who treat women survivors of rape, incest or battering...

The Forum report states that one of its major goals was "making women come out of the social shadow into the realm of social visibility." Throughout the world violence against women is kept in a particularly dark corner. Whole societies deny that it exists or keep it hidden under cover of family privacy. To the degree that this is the case in Russia, an initiative could be undertaken to educate the public that violence against women is a serious social and criminal problem.

The Forum adopted a resolution creating a women's Association Against Sexism in the Mass Media. This association could adopt violence against women as a target issue for the media. A Problem Statement on violence against women would be a useful tool for media, and ultimately for public education. ..

The Forum announced the establishment of ZHISET (Women's Informational Network), to encourage the free and efficient exchange of information. The importance of this kind of activity in organizing to combat violence can hardly be overstated. The battered women's movement in the United States has communicated through networking newsletters over the years to inform activists about legislative developments, how to set up shelters, how to advocate for criminal justice system changes, and new resources in the field. Let us hope that ZHISET can mobilize some of its resources to communicate around the violence issue...

Although crisis centers are expensive to develop, activists and professionals in St. Petersburg and Moscow are progressing toward these programs as well as the development of battered women shelters. An additional model which might be applicable to the contemporary Russian situation is the Safe House concept. This has proven particularly useful in rural areas.

Susie Johnson, Representative, MS Foundation for Economic Development

In response to the many requests I received from women at Dubna, I have started to organize information on enterprise and management development issues such as : Business Skills Training Curriculum; Business Financing and Access to Credit; Train-the Trainer Programs for Program Directors; Strategic Planning; Economic Literacy; Internship Training Opportunities; Organizational Development.

I hope that this can be an interactive educational exchange. Low-income women in the US and in other parts of the world can learn a great deal from you, and share their learning about "what works" as well all strive to achieve dignity and economic independence.

AT THE FORUM: A Conversation About Life, Love and Feminism with Young Women from the Russian Provincial City of Novozibkov. Students at the city's pedagogical institute, these young women started their own version of a consciousness-raising group--a weekly gathering where they drink tea, eat cake and talk about relations with men, sex, and everyday problems that women confront in Russian provincial cities. In our talk with them, they were particularly eager for more information about relations between men and women, and men's attitudes toward feminism--and lamented the absence of information, advice, books on this and other issues.

"Being here," one of the women told us, "I understand what the feminist movement means. We're only beginning to understand that we must have equal rights with men."

II.

SEX AND YOUR BODY

A Question & Answer section about "Sex and Your Body"--fulfilling at least part of our promise to the women of Novozibkov.

III.

WOMEN AND POLITICS

Profile of Hillary Clinton

A little history about First Ladies of the United States, and excerpts from a Newsweek interview with the First Lady in which Mrs. Clinton talks about her future role as First Lady and her evolving status as a model for women.

"I think the '90s is a time where we're trying to reconcile a lot of the changes that we've lived through in the last 20 or 30 years, where we acknowledge that we have a right to have control over our own destinies, and to define ourselves as individuals; but where we also acknowledge that, whether it's biological or social, women want to be part of relationships as well, and to be connected to something bigger than themselves as part of the kind of ongoing cycle of life."

Profile of Blaga Dmitrova

by Mariana Katzarova, a Bulgarian journalist, was among the founders of the country's first opposition daily newspaper, Demokratzia.

A poet, writer and the Vice-President of Bulgaria, Dmitrova is a remarkable woman. She unwittingly launched herself into politics after viewing a documentary about the chemical poisoning of the Bulgarian city of Rousse. "I remember the faces of these mothers on the screen," says Dmitrova. "I remember them marching on the streets of the poisoned city toward the Communist Party building, where the balcony remained empty." Angered by the Communist Party's response to the growing pollution, Dmitrova organized the Ecological Committee in Defense of Rousse. She gathered petitions in protest, and organized a rally in Sofia (the first opposition demonstration on the streets of Sofia since 1944) with banners accusing the Communist Party of complicity in the destruction of the people's health. As a result of their activity, several Committee members lost their jobs. But in spite of the harassment, Dmitrova stepped up her dissident organizing. In 1988, she helped found the Club for Glasnost and Democracy and spoke out against the harassment of Turks in Bulgaria.

When she ran for Vice-President at the end of 1991, many scoffed at her age and dismissed her a serious candidate because she was a woman and a poet. Ironically, she has also been accused of abandoning poetry for a politician's fame. "All my life," Dmitrova notes with some irony, "I was fighting against power, and now at the end of it I am in the unusual position of being in power. In fact my daily life now is about hard work and exhaustion. People can't realize that democracy is not an act; it is a process, and the big changes can't come overnight...On the other hand, power is useful for bringing about change; otherwise you're helpless. The most painful feeling for me is the impossibility of helping everyone."

Dmitrova's staff is made up of five women, specialists in different political and social areas, and one man who is responsible for correspondence and secretarial work. "One newspaper," she laughs, "called us the Amazon brigade." Her priorities include improving children's health, cultural policies and women's status.

Following the 1989 revolution, a number of women's organizations emerged, though Dmitrova says that there is as yet no united women's movement in Bulgaria. "It's just the beginning of the awakening," she predicts -- an awakening that she hopes will eventually bring to her country "an ecology of the women. We need ennoblement of human relations. We will be ready to say that our society is really democratic when the working and living conditions of Bulgarian women change so much that we can see a smile on their faces at

work and at home, and not only in the new television advertisements.

This will be our new revolution --not bloodshed, but a blood transfusion."

IV.

WOMEN'S INITIATIVES

"Women and Conversion"

Each issue of You and We includes news about emerging women's groups and new initiatives. "Women and Conversion" is a newly-formed Russian association of women working in the defense industry. The association is working to "solve the problems that have emerged in the conversion process, and to help and to support the women of the defense industry who are in need of it." A very high percentage of unemployed women worked in the military-industrial sector. "Conversion," according to Eleanor Ivanova and Galina Skorokhodova, two of the group's founders, "the way it is carried out today, has knocked the ground out from under our feet." Overall, women express a positive attitude toward conversion, but they "do not approve of the forms and methods of conversion, which have led to a sharp decline in living standards, loss of skills, and the threat of unemployment." The Association has submitted its proposals to the Supreme Soviet; its immediate plans include preparing a nation-wide report on the status of women in the defense industry.

In the next issue, we plan to run a response from a group of American women, who are also concerned with the conversion process and its impact on women.

**** ***** ***** ***** *****

"Not A Word About Feminism"

Editor and journalist Nadezhda Azgikkina describes another important initiative -- the creation of a women's course at Moscow's Russian State Humanitarian University. "This event," she writes, "although it hasn't received much attention in our mass media, can be viewed as one of the most successful steps in recent time toward a real, democratic post-Soviet society." In her view, the Russian establishment has, at last, recognized that women's issues are worthy of serious research and lectures. The establishment of this course may be a real basis for uniting diverse women's groups and clubs. A contact number is listed so that women can learn more about the program.

V. Consciousness Raising

Many Russian women were intrigued by Marjorie Lightman's piece on consciousness-raising (You and We, Issue 5) and asked us how they might start their own group. There are many ways, we answered. Then we came across an introduction to the book Radical Feminism (New York, 1973), which was originally put out as "a working sheet for a beginning consciousness raising group." The proposed topic areas are listed by week, though they are not in any particular order, nor is it necessary to rigidly adhere to a one-week/one-topic schedule.

VI. "Healing Pain and Building Bridges"
An Interview with Cherie Brown

Brown is the Director of the National Coalition Building Institute. She has been doing trainings in prejudice reduction and coalition building for twenty years in the United States, Canada, Europe, Africa, and the Middle East. She is the author of The Art of Coalition Building: A Guide for Community Leaders. Many Russian women have asked us for more information about organization-building skills. There is also great interest in leadership training, developing coalitions and avoiding intergroup conflict. Brown's interview answers many of the questions we have been asked by Russian friends and colleagues.

VII. Women and War

"Rape After Rape After Rape"
Three victims of rape tell their stories.

The news reports from the former Yugoslavia speak of the unspeakable: thousands of women systematically raped, tortured, forcibly impregnated and murdered. While most victims have been Muslim, it is important to remember that Serbian and Croatian women have also suffered rape and other forms of violence. In addition, having survived these abuses, many women have been cast out of their communities and homes and are now being sheltered in refugee camps. More than 80% of the refugee population consists of women and children.

As horrifying as these atrocities are, it is a shameful and tragic truth that throughout history the rape of women has been used as an acceptable military strategy during wartime. Most often, the victims and survivors, if they have been recognized at all, have been considered minor casualties, undeserving of compensation or treatment. Mass

rape is a method of genocide that should become a war crime and outlawed in all international conventions.

The Ad Hoc Coalition Against War Crimes, an alliance of American women's advocacy and human rights groups, has called for immediate aid to women in the former Yugoslavia. They have also demanded that rape be prosecuted as a war crime.

You can send letters and petitions in support of United Nations action to stop war crimes against women to :

Boutros-Boutros Ghali
Secretary-General, United Nations
New York, NY 10017

We published transcripts of interviews with three Bosnian women who were raped by Serbian soldiers.

VIII.

"All You Need is Love"

A Profile of Two Single Mothers in New York City

This is the first in a series of profiles of single mothers.

It is estimated that one in five Russian families is headed by a woman. Understandably, we are often asked, "How do single mothers in America cope?"

First of all, we always tell our Russian friends that there are many different kinds of single mothers in America. "You can't isolate single motherhood as a discrete phenomenon," says Barrie Thorne, a professor of sociology at the University of Southern California. "You have to see it in the context of an overall change in attitudes towards many sexual and family issues including the status of women, divorce and premarital sex."

Katrina vanden Heuvel, one of the editors of You and We, spent an afternoon last October talking with two single mothers, Danielle Alves, 26, and Deborah Fowler, 33. Both had been living, until recently, on the edge --doing drugs, living on the streets. They are beginning to put the pieces of their lives back together, with help from a valuable New York organization called Women in Need (WIN).

IX.

"Women's Health: Knowledge is Power"
Menopause

In the last year, several books and many articles have been written in America about menopause. As a result, many women are more knowledgeable and no longer feel isolated and alone. Russian women, on the other hand, live in a society where information about women's sexuality is virtually a state secret. Although Alex Comfort's The Joy of Sex was

published in 1992, and Our Bodies. Our Selves is scheduled to be published at the end of 1993, many women have asked us to publish more information about women's health and sexuality.

We reprint a long and informative article from Newsweek (May 25, 1992) about menopause.

X. "From the Life of An Answering Machine"
by Marina Palei

Palei is one of the most talented and powerful young writers to appear in Russia in the last few years. Her short stories and novellas have started to appear in Russian journals and magazines. "From the Life of an Answering Machine" is an ironic parable of contemporary life in Russia.

Editors: Colette Shulman & Katrina vanden Heuvel
Translators: Marina Litvinova, Viktor Radunsky

Our Address:

The Women's Dialogue
National Council for Research on Women
530 Broadway
New York, NY 10012
USA