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ARK COMMUNICATIONS INSTITUTE

Creating an ark as big as the world

November 25, 1987

Matt Zachary
Public Liaison, Foreign Policy Office
Old Executive Office Building, room 196
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Zachary:

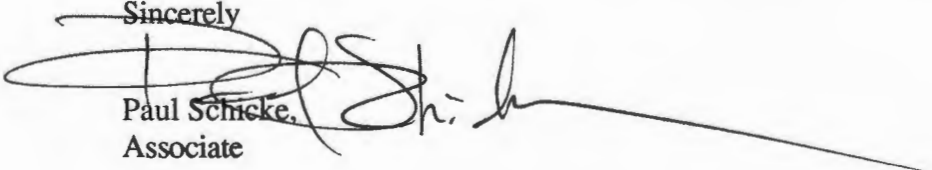
Private sector initiatives in the form of citizen exchanges between our country and the Soviet Union are the subject of the enclosed report, "A Vision Being Fulfilled." Prepared by Ark Communications Institute, this report matches proposals made by President Reagan in his address before the 1985 Geneva summit with positive developments in 23 specific areas.

The forthcoming summit in Washington offers an opportunity for the President, and others, to draw attention to hundreds of successful initiatives in "citizen summitry" and to propose new areas in which our private sector can expand relations with Soviet people. As background, I recently sent your office not only "A Vision Being Fulfilled," but also a companion report, "Next Steps in Citizen Exchange." With this letter I am enclosing an updated version of the first report, together with a news release dated December 2nd.

We at Ark hope that the report and news release will not only give credit where credit is due for the growth of citizen exchange, but also encourage further steps to be taken. With the earlier version of the report, we suggested that the President might consider meeting during the summit with a delegation of Soviet citizen diplomats who had been scheduled to be traveling then in the Eastern U.S. This particular group has now been postponed, but the President could follow up the summit by meeting with a different group of Soviets coming in January, together with some of their American hosts. If you find this appropriate, we will be happy to provide details.

A supportive tone of hospitality needs to be sounded at the highest level now that hundreds of Soviet citizens are scheduled to visit the U.S. in the next year, in part through programs organized by the Center for US-USSR Initiatives in San Francisco and by Friendship Force in Atlanta. We at Ark are prepared to suggest specific ways in which the White House could take the lead.

Sincerely


Paul Schicke
Associate



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ARK COMMUNICATIONS INSTITUTE

Creating an ark as big as the world

A Vision Being Fulfilled:

President Reagan's Pre-Geneva Proposals
on American-Soviet Citizen Exchange
Matched with Subsequent Developments in the Field

prepared by Ark Communications Institute

On November 14, 1985, just prior to the Geneva summit, President Reagan spoke out in favor of expanded citizen exchange between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Harkening back to the spirit of President Eisenhower, who "recognized that removing the barriers between people is at the heart of our relationship," Mr. Reagan declared that "we can find as yet undiscovered avenues where American and Soviet citizens can cooperate, fruitfully, for the benefit of mankind."¹

In addressing the American people, Mr. Reagan gave example after example of the kind of avenues he envisioned. They included, but went far beyond, the familiar kind of cultural exchanges involving writers, academics, and performing artists. "For example," said the President, "if Soviet youth could attend American schools and universities, they could learn first-hand what spirit of freedom rules our land..." American youth, while studying in the USSR, "could talk about their interests and values and hopes for the future with their Soviet friends."

On the following pages, we reprint relevant passages from the President's speech,² which are then matched, one by one, with examples of subsequent American-Soviet progress in the areas mentioned.³

Part of the credit for this progress belongs to Mr. Reagan and Mr. Gorbachev. On the American side, the Geneva summit led to creation of the President's US-Soviet Exchange Initiative, ably coordinated by Ambassador Stephen H. Rhinesmith. It should be added, as Mr. Reagan said in his pre-Geneva speech, that

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"governments can only do so much: once they get the ball rolling, they should get out of the way and let people get together to share, enjoy, help, listen and learn from each other...." What is so distinctive in American citizen diplomacy, as in our economy, is the decentralized initiative found throughout the society.

In his pre-Geneva speech, the President not only indicated a sensitive awareness of many initiatives already taken, but also encouraged further cooperation between Americans and Soviets. A vision is being fulfilled and the question is, "what next?"

Ark is now preparing a companion report that will include diverse newspaper clippings on citizen diplomacy, a list of coming events in the field, and some suggestions about how national leaders could help to encourage and shape this growing movement.

--CRAIG COMSTOCK, SENIOR ASSOCIATE, ARK COMMUNICATIONS INSTITUTE

¹ Speech quotations are taken from the *New York Times*, November 15, 1985.

² As they appear in a proof copy of *Global Partners: Citizen Exchange in the Soviet Union*, edited and published by Ark Communications Institute (ACI), April 1987.

³ Based upon items compiled, or directly reported, by Paul Schicke of the ACI staff.

Speech before the Geneva Summit



Lest anyone suppose that citizen diplomacy is associated with the liberal end of America's political spectrum, here are excerpts from the televised speech by Ronald Reagan just before he left for the Geneva summit meeting in November, 1985. Just as waste in the Pentagon is opposed by conservatives who dislike unnecessary spending, by liberals who worry about destabilizing weaponry, and by strategists who want a defense that's effective and not just expensive, so citizen diplomacy appeals to many constituencies. To a conservative, for example, it offers a way for private citizens, acting on their own initiative, to supplement the diplomatic efforts of the government that conservatives, in general, regard with suspicion. In short, grassroots diplomacy exemplifies volunteerism at its most adventurous.

by President Ronald Reagan

Despite our deep and abiding differences, we can and must prevent our international competition from spilling over into violence. We can find as yet undiscovered avenues where American and Soviet citizens can cooperate, fruitfully, for the benefit of mankind.... Enduring peace requires openness, honest communications, and opportunities for our peoples to get to know one another directly.

The United States has always stood for openness. Thirty years ago in Geneva, President Eisenhower, preparing for his first meeting with the then Soviet leader, made his "Open Skies" proposal and an offer of new educational and cultural exchanges with the Soviet Union. He recognized that removing the barriers between people is at the heart of our relationship. He said:

"Restrictions on communications of all kinds, including radio and travel, existing in extreme form in some places, have operated as causes of mutual distrust. In America, the fervent

belief in freedom of thought, of expression, and of movement is a vital part of our heritage."

"Imagine how much good we could accomplish, how the cause of peace would be served, if more individuals and families from our respective countries could come to know each other in a personal way."

I have hopes that we can lessen the distrust between us, reduce the levels of secrecy, and bring forth a more open world. Imagine how much good we could accomplish, how the cause of peace would be served, if more individuals and families from our respective countries could come to know each other in a personal way.

For example, if Soviet youth could attend American schools and universities, they could learn firsthand what spirit of freedom rules our land, and that we do not wish the Soviet people any harm. If American youth could do likewise, they could talk about their interests and values and hopes for the future with their Soviet friends. They would get firsthand knowledge of life in the USSR, but most important they would learn that we're all God's children with much in common.

Imagine if people in our nation could see the Bolshoi Ballet again, while Soviet citizens could see American plays and hear groups like the Beach Boys. And how about Soviet children watching "Sesame Street."

We've had educational and cultural exchanges for twenty-five years and are now close to completing a new agreement. But I feel the time is ripe for us to take bold new steps to open the way for our peoples to participate in a unprecedented way in the building of peace.

Why shouldn't I propose to Mr.

Gorbachev at Geneva that we exchange many more of our citizens from fraternal, religious, educational and cultural groups? Why not suggest the exchange of thousands of undergraduates each year, and even younger students who would live with a host family and attend schools or summer camps?

We could look to increase scholarship programs, improve language studies, conduct courses in history, culture, and other subjects, develop new sister cities, establish libraries and yes, increase athletic competition. People of both our nations love sports. If we must compete, let it be on the playing field and not the battlefields.

In science and technology we could launch new joint space ventures and establish joint medical research projects. In communications, we'd like to see more appearances in the other's mass media by representatives of both our countries: if Soviet spokesmen are free to appear on American television, to be published and read in the American press, shouldn't the Soviet people have the same right to see, hear, and read what we Americans have to say?

Such proposals will not bridge our differences, but people-to-people contacts can build genuine constituencies for peace in both countries. After all, people don't start wars, governments do....

We are proposing the broadest people-to-people exchanges in the history of American-Soviet relations, exchanges in sports and cultures, in the media, education, and the arts. Such exchanges can build in our societies thousands of coalitions for cooperation and peace.

Governments can only do so much: once they get the ball rolling, they should get out of the way and let people get together to share, enjoy, help, listen and learn from each other, especially young people.

These remarks are excerpted from the speech that President Reagan delivered on November 14, 1985, the full text of which appeared the next day in the New York Times.

"Imagine how much good we could accomplish, how the cause of peace would be served, if more individuals and families from our respective countries could come to know each other in a personal way..."

* Two hundred and forty Soviets came to upstate New York to attend the third annual Chautauqua Conference on US-Soviet relations, August 23-28, 1987. A highlight of the conference was the homestays of two hundred Soviets with one hundred and twenty American families. In addition, this year's Soviet delegation had a chance to interact with about two thousand attending American participants in a village atmosphere. They enjoyed many informal meetings as well as presentations that included, on the American side, speeches by Senator Bradley, Governor Cuomo, Administration representatives, and a televised speech by President Reagan. The conference was widely reported in the US media. [Surviving Together/New York Times/USIA]

Revised

* In September 1987, Friendship Force, located in Atlanta, GA, embarked on a major reciprocal exchange with the Soviet Friendship Society featuring homestays in both countries. One delegation from each of the fifteen Soviet republics will travel to partner states in America each month, while corresponding delegations representing American states will travel to partner republics. The delegation from the Russian Republic will be in Washington, DC from November 10-12, in Iowa November 12-18, in San Francisco November 18-22, and in NYC November 23-25 of 1987. The Iowa committee includes banker John Crystal. According to Friendship Force, Iowa Governor Brandstead will meet the delegation members and travel back with them to the Soviet Union. Iowa is in the early stages of negotiating a sister state trade link with the USSR. [Ark Communications Institute (ACI) & Surviving Together]

- * Apart from officials, scientists, and performers, a small number of Soviet citizens have visited the US, as compared with the number of American grassroots diplomats who have gone to the USSR. Seeking to enlarge the opportunities for unofficial Soviets to experience American life, the Center for US-USSR Initiatives, a San Francisco-based citizen exchange group, has proposed to authorities in Moscow that hundreds of Soviet citizens visit the US in small groups throughout much of 1988. These authorities have agreed to send a total of 400 Soviets, paying their airfare to the point of entry. In a two-week period, each group will be hosted by several American communities. Staying in private homes, the Soviets will meet a cross-section of society. This program is designed to enable Soviet citizens to learn about American life while they talk with Americans about their own experiences in the USSR. A pilot visit by twenty Soviets in January sponsored by the Kellogg Fellows will launch this program. After evaluation of this visit, the main program will begin in the spring of 1988. [ACI]

- * The Seattle-based Center for Soviet-American Dialogue is co-sponsoring the first annual "citizen summit" in the Washington, DC area, February 1-5, 1988. Scheduled to take place at the Radisson Park Plaza Hotel and Conference Center, this major conference will include 100 Soviets from many fields who will meet on joint task forces with American citizens. [ACI]

"Imagine if people in our nation could see the Bolshoi Ballet again..."

- * The Bolshoi Ballet performed at the New York Metropolitan Opera House, June 30-July 18; the Kennedy Center in Washington, DC, July 21-August 1; and in Los Angeles and San Francisco, August 2- September 1, 1987. [Surviving Together]

- * The Kirov and Moscow Ballets, the Moiseyev Dance Company, the Leningrad State Symphony and the Moscow Virtuosi are some of

the notable Soviet groups that have toured the United States since January, 1985. [USIA/ACI]

"...while Soviet citizens could see American plays..."

Revised * In January, 1987 American film and theater professionals plan to travel to the Soviet Union for the first-ever American film festival open to the Soviet public. The event is being jointly sponsored by Film & Theater Diplomacy, a sister organization of Internews, based in San Francisco, CA, and Soviet film and theatrical agencies. Soviet and American artists will collaborate in a workshop on improvisational portrayals, developing characters for a joint theatrical piece that is intended to tour both countries. Actor/director Andre Gregory (*My Dinner With Andre*, *The Mosquito Coast*) will stay on to work with the Soviets in putting together their side of the performance, if necessary. [ACI]

* In 1985, the Moscow Youth Festival supplied the opportunity for The Peace Child Foundation, a Fairfax, Virginia-based organization that promotes a US-Soviet children's play, to mount the first joint production of the show. The night that Soviet TV news ran an item on "Peace Child," its switchboard became jammed with calls requesting a repeat of the piece. Peace child mounted three joint Soviet/American summer programs in 1987, and plans to conduct eight Peace Child performance joint ventures in 1988. Five delegations of twenty American youths will travel to the Soviet Union to join with Soviet members of the cast in a three or four-city tour of the production. Three delegations of ten Soviet performers will join with American cast-members for a tour of from four to six cities in the United States. In both countries the traveling companies will be joined by local children's choruses. [ACI]

New Item * The Eugene O'Neill Theater Center is working with the Union of Theater Workers of the USSR to exchange plays, playwrights,

directors, actors, students, and theater companies between the US and the USSR. A current project is the publication of a US-Soviet Playwrights Directory which will contain entries on American playwrights in Russian and list Soviet dramatists in English. [Surviving Together]

- * In September 1987 representatives of the US entertainment industry including Kris Kristofferson, *Rocky* films producer Robert Chartoff, and *Amerika* mini-series producer John Lugar, traveled to Moscow for a conference entitled Soviet-American Images: A New Perspective. The conference was sponsored by the Seattle-based Center for Soviet-American Dialogue and hosted by the Soviet Peace Committee. During the conference, representatives of the Carmel, CA-based Frohman Academy made plans with the Soviet agency Gostconcert to mount a joint production of *Oklahoma!* that is intended to tour both countries. Frohman officials also initiated plans to launch an exchange program between American and Soviet theater students. [ACI]

"...and hear groups like the Beach Boys..."

- * American pop music star Billy Joel took Russia by storm when he brought his fully-staged rock show to the Soviet Union under the new US-Soviet cultural agreement. He performed in Moscow on July 26, 27, and 29, and in Leningrad on August 2, 3, and 5, 1987. The HBO *World Stage* premiere of *Billy Joel from Leningrad, USSR* aired on October, 24, 1987. [Time Magazine, USIA]
- * In the summer of 1986 Soviet authorities for the first time permitted a Russian rock band, the well-established Stas Namin Group, to tour the United States. [People Magazine]
- * To climax the 1987 Leningrad-to-Moscow American/Soviet Walk, rock bands of both nations performed in Moscow at a free July 4th concert produced by impresario Bill Graham. The Doobie

Brothers, Bonnie Raitt, Santana, and James Taylor appeared with an equal number of Soviet acts in a six-hour show before 15,000 people at Izmajlovo Stadium in Moscow. In October 1987 the July 4th "Interdependence" concert aired in the United States as a Showtime special called *Rock & Roll Summit*. A special of the event aired on Soviet TV shortly after the concert took place. [ACI/San Francisco Chronicle 7/6/87]

"...and how about Soviet children watching Sesame Street?"

Revised
* Jim Hensen, creator of *Sesame Street* and the *Muppets*, will be among the delegation of film professionals traveling to Moscow in January, 1987 to participate in the *Act One: American Film Festival*; the first American Film Festival ever open to the Soviet public. Hensen will be representing his productions *The Great Muppet Caper* and *Labyrinth*. He will also bring along a documentary on the making of *Labyrinth*. [ACI]

* When a short clip from the Soviet children's program *Good Night, Kids* was shown on Ted Koppel's *Nightline* and the host compared it to *Mr. Roger's Neighborhood*, a cross-cultural exchange was born. Fred Rogers, star of the popular American TV children's show, will be appearing as a guest on *Good Night, Kids* later this year. In exchange, *Good Night, Kids'* host, Tatyana Vedeneyeva, will enjoy a guest spot on Roger's show in March. [Chicago Tribune and Christian Science Monitor]

" Why shouldn't I propose to Mr. Gorbachev at Geneva that we exchange many more of our citizens from fraternal [groups]?"

New Item
In May, 1986 an American Bar Association (ABA) delegation to the Soviet Union had a two-hour conversation with Soviet President Gromyko, discussing human rights and other issues. On June 6, 1987 an ABA panel had a dialogue with a delegation from the Association of Soviet Lawyers (ASL) about the conflict

between domestic laws of the Soviet Union and its international commitments. In September an ABA delegation met in Moscow with lawyers, judges, law professors and Ministry of Justice officials. The delegation took part in a seminar about the differences and similarities of the two nations' systems of justice. Issues addressed included constitutional human rights, international agreements about human rights, and their implementation; procedural guarantees of justice; the rights of national, racial and ethnic minorities; social and economic rights of citizens; and the independence of the judiciary. [ABA and Surviving Together]

- * The Massachusetts League of Women Voters and the Washington, DC-based Organization for American and Soviet Exchanges (OASES) are co-sponsoring a "Women in Politics" tour of the Soviet Union, November 6-21, 1987. The program will include meetings with the Soviet Women's Committee and with other professional and political women in Moscow, Sukhumi, Leningrad, and Novgorod. [Surviving Together]

- * As part of its writers exchange, The Esalen Institute Soviet-American Exchange Program, located in San Francisco, will host a delegation from the Soviet Writers Union led by its director Mr. Karpoff, January 9-23, 1988. The six-member delegation will include short story writer Tatiana Tolgtoya, playwright Victor Roseoff, and poet V. Kuprionov. Esalen is arranging for the delegation to meet publishers, writers, and editors in Washington, New York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. The Writers Union plans to reciprocate by hosting a group of American short story writers in June or July of 1988. The Institute expects to initiate joint publications involving well-known Soviet and American authors. [ACI]

- * Ploughshares, located in Seattle, WA, reports that it sent three practicing physicians from Seattle to the Soviet city of Tashkent in September, 1987. The physicians stayed in the homes of their

Soviet counterparts, who took them on their hospital rounds. In November of 1987, the Seattle physicians will host their Soviet counterparts to complete the exchange. [ACI]

"..religious [groups]..."

- * Six young Soviet Jews will be allowed to study for the rabbinate in the United States with the understanding that they will return to lead Soviet synagogues, according to Rabbi David B. Hollander of Brooklyn, the head of a delegation of Orthodox rabbis who returned in May, 1987 from the Soviet Union. [New York Times 5/24/87]
- * Thirteen Russian Orthodox Seminarians visited seminary communities in Washington, DC, Atlanta, Chicago, New York and Boston, November 9 through December 4, 1986 under the auspices of National Council of Churches of Christ, based in New York City. [ACI]
- * In an ongoing exchange between the Russian Orthodox Church and US-USSR Bridges for Peace, headquartered in Norwich, Vermont, fourteen religious leaders from the Soviet Union visited the United States, April 3-17, 1986. Following this, a delegation of fifteen American religious leaders visited the USSR September 18 - October 2, 1986. Bridges' third religious exchange occurred when a sixteen-person delegation of US religious leaders toured the USSR from September 17 to October 1, 1987. This exchange will be completed when a delegation of Soviet religious leaders returns the visit in November of 1988. [ACI]

"..educational [groups]..."

- * A growing exchange of lecturers continues under the Fulbright Program administered by USIA and the Council for International Exchange of Scholars. In 1987 thirteen American and fourteen

Soviet scholars were exchanged between the two countries.
[USIA]

- * In a continuing program in cooperation with the Soviet Ministry of Health, the Center for US-USSR Initiatives' special project, Creating A Sober World, sent a delegation to Kiev, Leningrad and Moscow from October 1-15, 1987 to teach the message of sobriety in the USSR. The Center plans to send four additional delegations to the Soviet Union in 1988. These trips are scheduled to take place April 14-28, June 23-July 7, September 18-October 2, and November 6 to 20. [ACI]

- * Well-established educational programs in the process of expansion include the Council on International Educational Exchange (CIEE) which annually sends about two hundred American university students of Russian language and area studies programs to Leningrad State University, and the American Council of Teachers of Russian (ACTR) which sends approximately three hundred undergraduate and graduate students on its summer, semester, and ten-month programs in Moscow. Recent agreements signed in Moscow and Washington provide for increases in the numbers of students and teachers of English and Russian to be exchanged both ways, the development of a textbook of American English for use in Soviet universities, and the creation of a four-year basal Russian language series for American high schools. A joint Soviet-American conference on the advanced acquisition of Russian is planned for October of 1988. [USIA and Surviving Together]

- * Direct exchanges of scholars between American and Soviet Universities, such as the State University of New York (SUNY) and the University of Missouri with Moscow State University, are growing to include faculty exchanges. The University of California system plans to sign a protocol this year with Leningrad State University for a wide range of exchanges. [USIA]

"...and cultural groups?"

* Held in Los Angeles and New York on March 18-30, 1987, the first "Entertainment Summit" enabled director Elem Klimov (First Secretary for the Association of Soviet Filmmakers) and other distinguished Soviet directors, writers, actors and journalists to meet with American counterparts for the first time. Based on the conviction that the screen should be used as a bridge to connect the US and the Soviet Union rather than a wall to divide them, participants expressed their commitment to professional cooperation between Soviet and American filmmakers, and to the production of films in both countries which represent the authentic character, critical problems, and spiritual hopes of our two nations. The next Entertainment Summit is scheduled to take place in Moscow and Tblisi, January 20-30, 1988. As a result of the Entertainment Summit, the American-Soviet Film Initiative has been established as a non-profit corporation to carry out the programs of the joint venture. [ACI]

* Global Concepts, with headquarters in Dallas, Texas, has arranged a "Thanksgiving Sojourn" to the Soviet Union for November 1987. Half of the thirty members of the delegation are Native Americans who plan to prepare a traditional Native American Thanksgiving dinner for their Soviet hosts in Leningrad. In September of this year Global Concepts organized a delegation of 24 Top Texas Musicians to tour Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev as the *Texas Music Review*. The trip is intended to be the first in a continuing series. [ACI]

New Item * The State Legislature of Massachusetts has appropriated a million dollars to support Soviet-American cultural exchanges over the next two years. [Surviving Together]

"Why not suggest the exchange of thousands of undergraduates each year..."

* The Citizen Exchange Council (CEC), located in New York City, has begun its University Pairing Project in partnership with the USSR Committee of Youth Organizations and the Soviet Student Council. The undertaking will pair up to twenty American and twenty Soviet universities for short-term student exchanges. Six American-Soviet university pairings have already been established with four more planned later this month. The initial program plans to send one undergraduate delegation of 15 members from each campus to the hosting sister university for a period of two weeks. Visiting Americans will also spend a few days in Moscow and Leningrad while Soviets will spend time in Washington, DC and New York. No dates have been set for the first exchanges. The program anticipates the development of strong ties between sister universities eventually leading to semester-long exchanges of both faculty and students. The program is based on a pilot project initiated by 15 Yale undergraduates in 1984. With advice and logistical assistance from CEC, Yale's project has now completed three years of successful reciprocal exchange with Moscow State University. Agreed Sister University Pairings are as follows:

1. Yale-Moscow
2. Harvard-Leningrad
3. Stanford-Novosibirsk
4. Williams College-Tbilisi
5. University of Maine-Kharkov
6. Lafayette College-Kishinev [ACI]

* Olin Robison, president of Middlebury College in Vermont, announced in September, 1987 that a consortium of 18 Northeastern colleges has signed up for a program of undergraduate exchanges planned to begin next year with schools and universities throughout the Soviet Union. [Time Magazine]

"...and (why not suggest the exchange) of even younger students who would live with a host family and attend schools..."

- * The first academic high school exchange between the United States and the Soviet Union began when eight American youths from Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts studied at the Novosibirsk School of Physics and Mathematics in Siberia and visited Moscow during a five week period, March 15-April 21, 1987. The historic high school exchange continued when eight Soviet youths (ages 16-17) arrived in the US for five weeks at Phillips Academy beginning on September 13th, 1987. [USIA]

- * Twenty young Siberians, accompanied by Academician Andrei Ershov from the Computing Center in Novosibersk, came to the US in October, 1986 for a computer education tour of Washington DC and West Coast cities. In the capital the young people received laptop computers from Radio Shack which they used to sign onto PeaceNet, a global electronic bulletin board. In San Francisco the Soviets "phoned home" to their Center in Novosibersk via computer telecommunication. In the Northwest, the Siberians, together with American youth, planted trees in a sister city peace park, visited an Indian reservation, and tried out new software in a computer lab. Throughout their tour, the visitors stayed in American homes. [ACI]

- * Moscow's School #20 and the Lakeside School in Seattle have set up a sister school relationship, with pen pals corresponding and competitions being held by telex. In October 1986, ten students from the Lakeside School pioneered a five-week high school study exchange between the two schools. The ten Lakesiders attended classes at Moscow School #20, partied and played basketball together. A return visit is planned. [Surviving Together]

- * The plan of the New York City-based Citizen Exchange Council to provide American secondary schools with Soviet partner schools was accepted on May 6, 1987 in Moscow by the Soviet Committee of Youth Organizations. The plan calls for an ongoing exchange of letters, artwork, essays, books and information, leading to exchanges of students in the future. [ACI]
- * Youth Ambassadors, with headquarters in Bellingham, Washington is assisting the town of Median, Iowa with an exchange of 30 students who will travel to Moscow and Leningrad for two weeks in February, 1988. The Median Kiwanis, Rotary, and Mayor's office are all key supporters of the student exchange. In June 1988, 15 to 20 Soviet youths from Moscow will travel to Medina to complete the exchange. [ACI]

"...or summer camps?"

- * The YMCA, working with the Soviet Committee of Youth Organizations, has, during the past few years, run exchanges of camp leaders, counsellors, and other young professionals. Most recently, the National YMCA of Youth Governors hosted ten young Soviets at the seventh "Young Adult Leadership Seminar" in Greensboro, North Carolina. A delegation of Soviet campers sent by Sputnik is expected next Summer. Meetings between YMCA administrators and their Soviet counterparts are also planned for the Summer of 1988. In addition, the YMCA has received invitations from the Academy of Science and Committee for Systems Analysis to take part in discussions of management trends with respect to motivation, quality performance and social responsibility, and from the Council for Religious Affairs, which wants YMCA participation in the millennial celebration of the Russian Orthodox Church. The YMCA has invited a five-person delegation from the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation to come to the United States early next year for discussions on "How to Build Up Soviet and American Trust and Stability." [Surviving Together]

- * The Samantha Smith Foundation, based in Manchester, Maine, has announced its 1988 Campership program which will enable Soviet children to attend camps across the United States. [ACI]
- * In early Summer, 1987 for the first time in history, Soviet young people came to the US for an outdoor adventure. The US-USSR Youth Exchange Program, based in San Francisco, California brought twelve Soviets, ages 17-22, to join with twelve American young adults to explore the Rocky Mountains in cooperation with the Colorado Outward Bound School. [Surviving Together]
- * In January 1987 General Secretary Gorbachev began the Soviet International Fund for the Survival of Humanity. US/USSR Youth Ambassadors Camp Project, which took place last August with Soviet and American Youth attending a camp in Pereslavl, was the new fund's first project. In July of 1988 the fund will sponsor two more Youth Ambassador camps in Pereslavl, which is near Zagorsk, approximately three hours' drive from Moscow. The first July camp will be for Soviet and American children who are interested in building the camp. The second will focus on a celebration of Soviet and American culture by the youths of the two countries. As part of their camp exchange, Youth Ambassadors will bring six Soviet youths to the United States from Dec 18-24, where they will spend six days in LA and San Diego, and then travel to the Northwest for four days. [ACI]
- * Volunteers for Peace has negotiated with Sputnik to receive twenty Soviet youth at two environmental workcamps in the US next Summer. VFP will also send twenty Americans to a Soviet environmental camp near Moscow. An additional twenty-five Americans will take part in a Sputnik voluntary service program in Soviet Georgia, and another twenty Americans will go to an International Workcamp sponsored by Bitej (the International

Bureau for Youth, Tourism, and Exchange) either in Hungary or within the USSR. [ACI and Surviving Together]

"We could look to increase scholarship programs..."

- * The United States Congress has authorized an appropriation that will earmark two million dollars in USIA funds for youth exchanges between the United States and Soviet Union. On October 20, 1987 the House agreed to a conference with the Senate to work out differences in the bill for subsequent approval by the White House. [ACI]
- * Charitable organizations, including the Rockefeller and Carnegie foundations, along with Congress, have contributed more than \$20 million in the past four years to help underwrite university programs in Soviet-American relations. [Time Magazine]

"...improve language studies..."

- * The American Council of Teachers of Russian reports new developments in the area of in-country language training, language-related teaching and research, and materials development in Russian language during the 1986-87 school year. The ACTR Semester Programs at the Pushkin Institute in Moscow increased from 20 to 45 students per semester, effective with the Spring semester of 1987. In the Spring of 1988, the number of students will increase again, to 70 per semester. The 1987 summer group placed 140 students, graduate students, and teachers in a 7 1/2 week intensive training program in Russian language at the Pushkin Institute. ACTR has also sponsored visits to American universities by Soviet teachers. In 1986 fifteen Soviet English teachers studied for six weeks at Harvard. In 1987 twenty-five Soviet English teachers spent six weeks at the University of Pennsylvania, and in September twelve Soviet Russian teachers began four-month stays at various US universities. [Surviving Together/ACI]

- * American Field Service International and the Soviet Ministry of Education have increased the number of teachers involved in their exchanges. During the Fall, 1987 term, ten US teachers from elementary and secondary schools and colleges will teach in special English schools in Moscow and Leningrad and possibly in the Pedagogical Institute in Kiev. The Americans will teach from late September to late November. [Surviving Together]

"...conduct courses in history, culture, and other subjects..."

- * In a move that could revolutionize the teaching of contemporary issues in college classrooms around the world, American and Soviet students will study the history of the arms race in a satellite-linked course that will be co-taught next spring at Tufts University and Moscow State University. The classrooms at Tufts and Moscow State will be linked by live, interactive television four times for two hours each between next February and April. It is the first time a college-level curriculum of this sort will be shared by the United States and the Soviet Union, and the first time classrooms in the two countries will be connected by television via satellite over the course of a semester. [ACI]

"...develop new sister cities..."

- * In Seattle in May, Sister Cities International hosted a conference on US/Soviet paired cities. Several US mayors and seven Soviet mayors attended. The keynote address was given by Ambassador Stephen H. Rhinesmith, Coordinator of the President's US-Soviet Exchange Initiative. Twenty-two citizen-initiated US-Soviet Sister City pairings are in the process of being officially recognized. [ACI]
- * The Seattle-Tashkent Sister City Committee, Ploughshares, and two Washington state architectural organizations have formally presented a design and model for a "Peace Park" to Seattle's

Soviet sister city, Tashkent. The plans and model for the park were developed by twenty Seattle-area landscape architects. The park will be built next summer by a combined crew from Seattle and Tashkent numbering perhaps in the hundreds. The park is to be completed before the US-USSR sister cities conference scheduled to take place in Tashkent in 1988. [ACI]

"...establish libraries..."

- * In 1899, John S. Billings, the first director of the New York Public Library, agreed to open a Russian department in the library and established contact with several Russian institutions in order to exchange books and materials. Since that time the library's exchange partners in the Soviet Union have grown from the handful in 1899 to sixty-three in 1986. These include public libraries, university libraries and Academy of Sciences libraries from all the Soviet republics.

"...and cultural centers..."

- * No items found.

"... and yes, increase athletic competition..."

- * Many Soviet delegations participated in sports competitions held in the US last (1986) winter. These events include: Invitational Hockey Tournament, the International Freestyle Competition, Professional Indoor Soccer, Speedskating, the USA/Mobile Indoor Track and Field Championships, the World Figure Skating Competition, and the US Gymnastics Federation. [USIA]

New Item

- * People to People Sports sponsored an ice hockey team competition in the Soviet Union in April. The US team, the Boston Merchants, composed of ex-collegiate players, played against Soviet teams of a similar age, 35 years and older. Games

were played in Moscow, Kiev, Minsk, and Leningrad. [Surviving Together]

- * One hundred and fifty Americans joined Soviet runners for Moscow's Annual International Peace Marathon, August 8, 1987. Athletes United for Peace has announced that American runners will be participating in next years Moscow's 10K run. Sovintersport has approved another "Athletes" program for 100 Soviets and 100 Americans bicycler to tour from Moscow to Leningrad in summer, 1988. [Surviving Together, ACI]
- * Athletes United For Peace, based in San Francisco, CA, plans to send a delegation of baseball coaches to the Soviet Union in Summer, 1988 to teach Soviet physical educators "the great American pastime." The Soviet National Federation has proposed that Athletes United for peace send 3-5 baseball coaches over to teach Soviet coaches. [ACI]
- * Mir Organization, located in Seattle, WA, will send a delegation of basketball enthusiasts from San Francisco, comprised mainly of underprivileged youths, to the USSR in January 1988 to advance their sport on a 14-day tour of Moscow, Volgograd, and one other Soviet city to be named. The exchange will bring a group of Soviet players to the United States in 1988. [ACI]
- * In April, 1988, a men's and a women's volley ball team will leave from Seattle and Los Angeles to compete with their counterparts in the USSR. The trip is being arranged by Mir Organization, based in Seattle, Washington. [ACI]
- * In 1986 Turner Broadcasting sponsored the Goodwill Games, a world-class athletic competition in Moscow. Plans are underway to hold the second event in 1990 in Seattle, a city prominent in citizen-exchange initiatives. [ACI]

"...In science and technology we could launch new joint space ventures..."

* The United States and the Soviet Union signed an accord April 15, 1987 on cooperation in space exploration. The new accord specifies the coordination of national projects in solar system exploration, space astronomy and astrophysics, earth sciences, solar-terrestrial physics and space biology and medicine. Sixteen cooperative projects are described. [Henry Kamm, New York Times]

* At the April 12 founding meeting of the new International Space University at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, representatives from the Soviet Union, China, India, Canada, the European Space Agency and the United States voiced strong support for the idea of a multidisciplined education in space studies that would draw together graduate students from all nations in a single campus, with the site rotating among participating nations. The first session of the International Space University took place at MIT during the Summer of 1987. [New York Times , 4/14/87 /ACI]

New Item * Apollo astronaut Edgar Mitchell toured the Soviet Union in September as part of the international astronaut/cosmonaut lecture series of the Association of Space Explorers. At their third Planetary Congress in Mexico City in October the astronauts and cosmonauts of the ASE discussed ways to bring their influence to bear upon the development of universal space rescue capability, an essential first step toward world cooperation in space. Dr. Thomas Paine, former NASA director and chairman of the President's National Commission on Space, received the ASE annual award for his contribution, dedication and commitment to the future of humanity in space. [Surviving Together]

"...and establish joint medical projects..."

- * The Joint Committee under the US-USSR Agreement for Cooperation in Medical Science and Public Health held its first meeting since 1978 in April, 1987 to review progress in cooperative endeavors including cancer, cardiovascular diseases, artificial heart research, environmental health, arthritis, influenza, and hepatitis, eye diseases, biomedical communication, and the individual scientist exchange program. The meeting was spearheaded by the US Surgeon General's visit to Moscow in October, 1986 and a November visit by the Director of the National Institute of Health. [NIH Report, 2/26/87]
- * Medicom '85, a live two-hour satellite television medical conference linking American and Soviet cardiologists, took place on December, 1985 via WORLDNET. [USIA]
- * Recognized Soviet and American leaders in fields of psychoneuroendocrinology, behavioral medicine, cancer, AIDS, and addiction research met for five days, from September 27-October 2, 1987, at Esalen Institute, Big Sur, California, to discuss important developments in the field of health promotion. [Surviving Together]

New Item * Also in October the University of Alaska/Siberia Medical Research Program was launched when Siberian scientists arrived in Anchorage, Alaska for two weeks of meetings with American specialists in research and education on circumpolar health issues. For the first time, Western researchers and health professionals are able to gain access to the extensive body of information collected and developed by Soviet scientists and medical experts, who have worked in isolation from the West for the past thirty years. [Surviving Together]

"In communications, we'd like to see more appearances in the other's mass media by representatives of both our countries..."

- * On April 25, 1987 the first "Congressbridge" linked members of the United States Congress with representatives of the Supreme Soviet for the first in a series of six dialogues between lawmakers of the two superpowers. The first session, which served as a pilot for the project, was not publicly aired. The second Congressbridge, broadcast on ABC-TV in their *Nightline* time slot with Peter Jennings as US moderator, took place on September 23 and addressed international security. The third bridge, aired on October 14, addressed human rights. The fourth, on November 18, will focus on regional conflicts. Gosteleradio is carrying the proceedings in the Soviet Union. [ACI]

- * At the invitation of the Soviet Union and with the encouragement of the United States government, Walter Anderson, the editor of *Parade*, and Vitaly Korotich, the editor of the Soviet magazine *Ogonyok*, visited each other's country. It was agreed beforehand that each would write his impressions of the other's land and that the two articles would be published side-by-side in *Parade* and in *Ogonyok*, an illustrated weekly with a circulation of 1.5 million. This is the first time an American editor's view of the Soviet Union has appeared in a major popular Soviet magazine. Korotich, who has published material previously banned by the authorities, is credited with introducing the idea of investigative reporting to the Soviet press; *Ogonyok* has become its country's most controversial and eagerly sought publication. The Soviet editor's trip to the United States, on which he was accompanied by his wife, included visits to Washington, DC, Knoxville, Chicago, New Orleans and New York. [Parade, 6/21/87]

- * On April 8, 1987, a journalism spacebridge between San Francisco and Moscow, "The Role of the Media in Current US-USSR Relations," with hosts Peter Jennings and Vladimir Posner, was co-produced by the Center for Communications, the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Internews, and

Gosteleradio, with downlinks to many American universities.
[USIA]

- * East meets West in Idaho. In Moscow, appropriately. Yegor Yakovlev, editor-in-chief of the one-million circulation *Moscow (USSR) News*, spent a week with the staff of the *Moscow Idahonian*, circulation 8,000, as part of an exchange that sent *Idahonian* reporter Vera White to the Soviet Union until the end of July. [Idaho Statesman, Boise, ID 7/12/87]

"If Soviet spokesmen are free to appear on American television, to be published and read in the American press, shouldn't the Soviet people have the same right to see, hear, and read what we Americans have to say?"

- * Phil Donahue conducted two "citizen summits" by spacebridge, linking studios in the United States and the Soviet Union via satellite, in December, 1985 and July, 1986. These two-hour shows were broadcast in one-hour edited versions in the Soviet Union by Gostelradio. In 1987 Donahue took his TV crew to the Soviet Union to tape five shows which were aired February 9-13 in the US. One program on journalism was done by spacebridge, enabling American journalists currently serving as correspondents in the Soviet Union to discuss the media with Soviet journalists serving in the US. In Moscow, Donahue covered such topics as family life, teenagers, Chernobyl, and refusedniks. These programs were also broadcast in the USSR. [Surviving Together /ACI]
- * You can write to Moscow. It is now possible for American citizens to address the readers of the Soviet press to offer ideas on how to improve Soviet-American relations. At the Soviet-American conference in Chautauqua, New York in August 1987, columnist Jack Anderson agreed to turn over his column once a month to Soviet commentator Vladimir Posner in exchange for Soviet newspapers devoting equal space to Americans

expressing their views. It will be a free exchange of ideas to promote better understanding. Mail your statements to Jack Anderson, PO Box 2300, Washington, DC 20013. [Jack Anderson Syndicated Column]

New Item *

The Soviets have agreed to publish in Pravda an article by Senator John Tower entitled, "Glasnost: a Letter to the Soviet People." [Surviving Together]

- * Millions of radio listeners in the United States and the Soviet Union tuned March 20, 1987 to the premiere of "Moscow-New York Live," a six-part series of broadcasts on issues ranging from peace in a nuclear age to stereotypes. The most dramatic feature of the two-hour show was the 25 uncensored minutes open to telephone callers in both superpowers. The program, which had hosts in both cities, was carried by the Pacifica Foundation's WBAI-FM in New York from 3 to 5 pm and relayed to affiliates in Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Boston, and Houston. Soviet spokesman estimated that 150 million Soviet citizens in 12 time zones would hear the broadcast either live or taped. [Washington Post, 3/20/87]

- * Internews, the San Francisco-based organization that is Associate Producer of the Capital-to-Capital spacebridges airing this fall in ABC-TV's *Nightline* slot, is putting together a spacebridge between a family in Philadelphia and a family in Leningrad for the Group W television network program *Evening Magazine*. The US and Soviet families will discuss cultural similarities and differences. A program date has yet to be finalized. [ACI]



ARK COMMUNICATIONS INSTITUTE

Creating an ark as big as the world

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Summit sidebar
for release Wednesday, December 2, 1987

Private Sector Summitry: How Far Are the Soviets Prepared to Go?

While the U.S. government was negotiating the treaty banning medium range missiles, the American private sector has been reaching out to, and even making agreements with, the Soviets in hundreds of other ways, in a vigorous movement so decentralized that its scope has not yet been generally recognized. Ironically, this movement has been encouraged by the same President who once referred to the Soviet Union as an "evil empire."

Concerned with increasing human contact even as the governments negotiate about decreasing armaments, this unprecedented citizen outreach has involved such diverse Americans as businesspeople, teachers, attorneys, summer campers, psychologists, athletes, filmmakers, elected officials, computer students, fashion designers, fishermen, and retired military officers. This year an estimated 100,000 Americans will visit the Soviet Union, more than doubling the total for 1986.

On the American side, almost all this activity has been initiated and sustained by individuals and private organizations. "Contrary to the old cliché that only peaceniks would reach out to the Soviets, middle-of-the-road Americans make up the vital center of citizen diplomacy," said Don Carlson, a California entrepreneur and founder of Ark Communications Institute, an independent, nonpartisan foundation that has tracked the growth of private sector exchanges.

Much of this private sector activity has found support in a remarkable speech that President Reagan made just before the 1985 summit in Geneva. In a report released today, Ark Communications Institute describes leading developments in 23 areas of exchange endorsed by Reagan in the pre-Geneva speech (see "A Vision Being Fulfilled," enclosed).

"Before Gorbachev began to restructure his country's relations with the West, the Americans with whom Soviets spoke were primarily diplomats," said Craig Comstock, senior

associate at Ark and co-editor of *Citizen Summitry*, a recent book on exchanges (see "Getting to Know the Other Side," enclosed). "Now these indispensable diplomatic contacts are being supplemented by a growing network of vigorous citizen initiatives. In the case of Western Europe and many other areas, this is a normal pattern; in the case of the USSR, it is revolutionary."

"The U.S. ought to respond to Gorbachev not by dismissing his proposals about a new relationship as propaganda, but by putting them to the test," said Don Carlson, founder of Ark Communications and co-editor of *Citizen Summitry*. "Exactly how far are the Soviets prepared to go in restructuring the relationship? What do we want them to do and what are we willing to offer? Working together, the U.S. private sector and government can help one another to explore the alternatives."

In addition to the many examples of private sector exchanges described in the new Ark Communications Institute report, here are some upcoming events in citizen diplomacy:

1. On January 1, 1988, a new joint venture will begin operations in the USSR. Using Soviet engineering equipment and American computer software, the new firm--owned by Combustion Engineering, Inc., of Stamford, Connecticut, a \$2.5 billion firm, and the Soviet ministry of oil refining and petrochemical industries--will develop automated controls for oil refining and petrochemical plants.
2. Between November 27 and the date of the summit in Washington, a group representing the state of Iowa will tour the Soviet Union, staying in the homes of Soviets who recently visited Iowa. During its stay in Stavropol, between December 4 and 8, the group is expected to conclude the first American-Soviet "sister state" agreement and to watch TV reports on the summit with their Soviet hosts.
3. In January 1988, Moscow will play host to the second session of the "Entertainment Summit" that brought together American and Soviet filmmakers last March in Los Angeles. In the same month, the Soviet capital will be exposed to the first American Film Festival, which will be open to the Moscow public. Meanwhile, many American producers are negotiating with the Soviet film industry to do joint productions--for example, "Genghis Khan," produced by Yuri Spilny, an American.
4. Also in January, the first group of 20 Soviet citizens will arrive in San Francisco for "Soviets Meet Middle America," a program that will bring 400 visitors to the U.S. in 1988 and send them in small groups to over 200 cities in all parts of this country. Staying with host families, the Soviets will go to schools, local factories and businesses,

potluck suppers, radio stations,, medical facilities, and other community institutions.

5. A book jointly produced by an American-Soviet team of scientists, national security experts, and citizen activists, *Breakthrough* will be released in January by Beyond War, located in Palo Alto, California. One of the first joint publishing projects between the two countries, *Breakthrough* argues that unilateral security must be replaced by universal security, that enemy stereotypes are obsolete, and that the concept of world revolution, pursued with messianic fervor by either side, can no longer be tolerated.

6. In the fall of 1988 the first Soviet undergraduates will arrive in the Northeast to attend American colleges in a consortium under the leadership of Middlebury College. Meanwhile, Tufts University will be conducting a joint course on arms control this spring with Moscow State University, using shared readings and communicating through periodic TV spacebridges.

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Getting to Know the Other Side

The following is the
introduction to section 2 of

Citizen Summitry: *Keeping the Peace When It Matters Too Much* *to be Left to Politicians*

edited by Don Carlson and Craig Comstock
of Ark Communications Institute,
published by Jeremy P. Tarcher/St. Martin's Press

Getting to Know the Other Side

2

For the leader of a superpower, summitry means briefly meeting his counterpart, surrounded by a circus of foreign policy aides, security agents, and reporters, amidst widespread hope that somehow the discussions will make war less likely. Four out of ten Americans confess to expecting a major world war within the next decade. It's no wonder many people dream of a breakthrough during a fireside conversation, a walk in the woods, or a quiet dinner in an embassy. Sometimes leaders sign a meaningful agreement at the summit, yet the "spirit" of the occasion always seems to dissipate not long after the leaders fly home.

In general, summitry simply means going to the top. We ordinarily think of the top as being occupied by officeholders rather than by citizens. Since war is conducted by nations, it's assumed that peace is likewise necessarily created "at the highest levels." All that citizens can do, according to this theory, is vote for the best available leaders and then acquiesce in what they do, unless their actions become flagrantly counterproductive.

A different perspective was offered, in striking terms, by Dwight D. Eisenhower, who had commanded a great army and who, when he spoke, was President of the U.S. "I like to believe," he said in 1959, "that people in the long run are going to do more to promote peace than are governments." He may have liked to believe this because he knew from direct experience how awful wars are—how awful they were even prior to the nuclear age—and also how awkward governments have generally been in preventing them.

"Indeed," he continued, "I think that people want peace so much that one of these days governments had better get out of their way and let them have it." Is this a bit of populist chatter from an old Kansan, or does Eisenhower have a deeper message than may at first appear? What would it mean for governments to "get out of [the people's] way"? And how could ordinary people possibly go about contributing to peace?

If Eisenhower was, as revisionist historians argue, a thoughtful and even crafty statesman who often concealed his best moves, his words would merit close attention. Perhaps the President really meant to imply that, with regard to peace, governments have a natural tendency to stand in the way. In his Farewell Address, Eisenhower returned to this theme when he warned against allowing excess power to the "military-industrial complex." In a draft of this address, he had also mentioned Congress as part of the complex.

Eisenhower clearly thought not only that the people "want" peace more than their governments, but also that, in some unspecified way, they would "do more to promote peace." Many observers have taken this to mean that, as voters, people would demand that their representatives and their President take actions, on the official level, to reduce the risk of war and create more constructive relations with

other countries, including adversaries. However, Eisenhower appears to have gone beyond this in his own thinking. After all, he did not say the people would “demand” peace or “support” it; he said they would “promote” it.

I do not know exactly what Eisenhower had in mind, but it seems clear that he would have been fascinated by the recent greening of grassroots diplomacy or, as our title says, “citizen summitry.” Obviously, not many citizens can go to meetings of top leaders and anyway they are forbidden, by law, from negotiating on behalf of their country. But thousands of citizens have begun a new kind of diplomacy—taking care not to speak for their government, but showing openness, persistence, and flair in representing much that’s best and most creative about America. These citizen diplomats enlarge the opportunities for productive relations between peoples and, by extension, between their governments.

In the view of citizen diplomats, it would be absurd for two enormous countries to relate solely through their top leaders and the bureaucracies that supposedly serve them. Formal treaties must of course be negotiated by official representatives. However, nations actually touch one another in many other ways. For example, they trade. Citizens travel; they study or work abroad; they write and speak; they meet with colleagues in and from other countries; they take part in international associations and projects.

Sometimes when official relations are hostile or limited, other kinds of relations can nonetheless be rich and relatively constructive. While the Logan Act expresses a worry that a private citizen may be tempted to act as if he or she were the Secretary of State, one of the great advantages citizens have is that they are free *not* to do that; they aren’t expected to speak for their government. This frees them to act on behalf of interests that cut across national lines.

Assume for a moment that, as some conservative and libertarian theorists argue, the most basic role of government is defense. In defending ourselves effectively, as we must take care to do, our government must watch for threats and take care not to be fooled; this easily leads in the direction of paranoia. A paranoid often has trouble making friends. Therefore, it follows that the agency with

the necessary job of watching out for threats should not be solely relied upon to create constructive relations. If we fail at creating them, the penalties, in this nuclear age, are about as severe as they can get. If the government is taken up with the responding to threats, who can hold a positive vision that another approach is possible?

Ordinary citizens can, and America is as well suited as any major power to take advantage of this possibility. As Tocqueville noted, our culture favors voluntary associations and supports a rich, constantly changing network of them. We also have a tradition of individualism which, despite its faults, encourages people to act on their own initiative.

By contrast, the Soviet Union in general has favored official bodies such as its “peace committees” and has frowned upon unofficial initiatives by individuals; it has even openly suppressed them. Most Soviets who have substantial contact with foreigners act as members of some official body. In theory, there’s a “line” on every question, and everyone is expected to follow it.

However, we know that, as in any society, an official line in the Soviet Union is often the outcome of a process of debate or differing initiatives within a complex establishment; and that once it takes shape, it’s subject to various interpretations. Citizen diplomats often work in the space opened up by these legitimate differences, and may find that speaking unofficially gradually encourages others to reciprocate.

As compared with a government, a citizen may seem to have little power. He has no military forces to put on alert. Alternating genders, let’s add that she cannot sign a treaty. His personal budget is miniscule as compared with that of the state, nor does she have a huge bureaucracy working for her. In short, a citizen enjoys none of the usual prerogatives of power. However, an individual has the enormous power to speak from the heart. It’s overly harsh to say that an ambassador is “sent abroad to lie for his country,” but in politics there’s often an official reality that’s understood to differ from what an ordinary individual would straightforwardly see, or say.

At their best, officials can prevent war; in a sense, however, they are seldom able to make peace of a profound sort. We want

them to, but we may also want them to act out our paranoia and hostility; they can't always do both. We are heartened when Reagan and Gorbachev enjoy the roar of a fire together, without aides. It's as if they could be friends. We resist the advice of our own first President who told us that states don't have friends, or at any rate not permanent ones; they only have interests. In contrast, ordinary people can make friends and can weave a fabric of shared projects.

It's true that citizen diplomacy has been dismissed as an illusion, a sideshow for tourists who are self-deceiving idealists or megalomaniacs who think that their efforts, as much as anyone's, are keeping the missiles in their silos or bringing about historic change in the Soviet Union. Critics also say that while the U.S. is capable of generating citizen diplomats, the Soviet Union puts forward only agents of a highly centralized society devoted to ruthless power seeking. Therefore, any exchanges are doomed to hurt us while helping them.

It may come as a surprise to some that President Reagan has a different view of citizen exchanges. In November of 1985 he asked us to "imagine how much good we could accomplish . . . if more individuals and families from our respective countries could come to know each other in a personal way." Calling for "bold new steps," the President explained that "we could look to increase scholarship programs; improve language studies; conduct courses in history, culture, and other subjects; develop sister-cities; and yes, increase athletic competition." Nothing wrong with competition, but "let it be on the playing field and not on the battlefield."

In this speech, which mentioned other specific ideas, the President beautifully caught the spirit of citizen summitry. "Such exchanges can build in our societies thousands of coalitions for cooperation and peace." Of course this program would require government facilitation, but "governments can only do so much; once they get the ball rolling, they should step out of the way . . ." Here Reagan seemed to echo the Eisenhower who had said, "one of these days governments had better get out of their way and let them have [peace]."

What's so distinctive about Reagan's imagination, in this speech, is its humane particularity. Instead of simply referring to peace in

the abstract, he envisions people from the two cultures getting together "to share, enjoy, help, listen, and learn from one another." And he goes further. He dreams that "our children and grandchildren can someday travel freely back and forth between America and the Soviet Union; visit each other's homes; work and study together; enjoy and discuss plays, music, and television; and root for teams when they compete."

If America were fully to act upon the vision set forth in the President's speech, this initiative could exceed in historic significance the founding of the Peace Corps by John F. Kennedy. There are serious problems in any exchange, but Americans and Soviet people need to know one another. Part of the answer is an exchange of artists, scientists, and other professionals. Part is trade.

Another part is accurate information about the other society. Reports don't need to be magnanimous; it would be a major advance if they were simply neutral instead of grudging, tendentious, or hostile. Beyond that, it would help if we showed even the most basic level of compassion for the other country's history and struggles, as President Kennedy did in 1963 at American University. Reminding us of the Soviet experience in World War II, he observed that if the U.S. had suffered a comparable disaster, it would have involved severe destruction from the East Coast as far west as Chicago. While finding Communism "profoundly repugnant as a negation of personal freedom and dignity," Kennedy praised Soviet achievement in various fields, "in science and space, in economic and industrial growth, in culture, and in acts of courage." Pointing to a "mutually deep interest in a just and lasting peace and in halting the arms race," the President announced a cessation of nuclear testing in the atmosphere, inviting Soviet reciprocation. Less than two months later, the limited test ban treaty was signed.

Above all, it would help if relations were to go beyond official speeches and events, into the ordinary lives of people. We need to travel more in each other's country and share a slice of our lives. Among other promising initiatives, President Reagan has proposed an exchange of students. Why not? Some say that the Soviets treat any exchange mainly as an opportunity to spy. Others note the major

Getting to Know the Other Side

restrictions upon travel within the U.S.S.R. and upon contacts there. But restrictions can be eased and espionage contained. The question is, to what positive effects could an exchange lead?

Reluctance to engage in people-to-people diplomacy may spring in part from realization that nuclear threats would come to seem incongruous to the growing network of people with friends in the other society, as well as to the larger public that would watch this phenomenon develop. At a certain point, while acknowledging the enduring conflicts between the two governments, people would nonetheless begin to ask, "Why is my government threatening to blow up my friend Mikhail in Leningrad?" and "Why is mine preparing to incinerate young Michelle in Boston?"

—Craig Comstock

Global Partners:

Citizen Exchange with the Soviet Union



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CONTENTS

Have You Ever Met a Russian?

— Craig Comstock — *never too late to start* 1

1. Coming and Going

I Never Met a Russian I Didn't Like 4

— Perry Flippin — *a party of communists is overwhelmed by Texas*

Facing the "Enemy" 6

— Rama Vernon — *an American confronts the evil empire*

Americans and Russians Continue to Practice Citizen Diplomacy 8

— Cheryl Sullivan — *a card-carrying capitalist and his friends*

Reflections on Russia 10

— Alice Tallmadge — *"never again," he said about war*

Let's Take Personal Responsibility 12

— Sharon Tennison — *peace in the living rooms*

Space Travel Between Moscow and San Francisco 14

— Joel Schatz — *reach out and touch them by satellite*

The New Breed 16

— Sharon Tennison — *"ve must stop blaming the other side"*

Understanding the Soviets 19

— Robert Gilman — *passive resistance and people who care*

Teenage Travel Abroad 20

— Stephen H. Rhinesmith — *one of the greatest gifts*

A New Era for Soviet-American Youth Exchanges 21

— Cynthia Lazaroff — *finding ways to make it happen*

Earthstewards Welcome Computer Kids 24

— Danaan Parry — *here come the Siberian teenagers*

An Evening Out 27

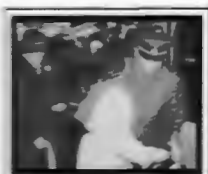
— Molly Young Brown — *psst, Stalin died a third of a century ago*

Yale Students at Moscow University 29

— Lisa Weil — *a bull session in the Cafeteria*

Muscovites Visit Yale for Ten Days 31

— Susan Heller Anderson — *surprised by "extreme hospitality"*



Talking with the Soviets 33
— Anonymous — *we're the rich kids on the hill*

New Message of Hope for Soviet Alcoholics 35
— a member of Alcoholics Anonymous — *on the wagon together*

It's Up to All of Us 39
— Diana Glasgow and friends — *"we prefer to be equal"*

2. What Does It All Mean?

Getting to Know the Other Side 42
— Craig Comstock — *people doing more than governments*

Why Become a Citizen Diplomat? 46
— Michael Shuman and Jayne Williams — *only if we meet, argue and work together*

Americans Invade the Soviet Union 50
— Renata Rizzo-Harvi — *"like rain on dry soil"*

Human Rights 55
— Michael Shuman — *a correlation between detente and rights?*

Getting Together 57
— Michael Murphy — *"their eyeballs protrude as if on stalks"*

Speech before the Geneva Summit 59
— Ronald Reagan — *"people don't start wars, governments do"*

Psychological Skills for Citizen Diplomats 60
— Michael Shuman and Jayne Williams — *Aikido politics*

An Agenda for U.S.-Soviet Exchanges 62
— Senator Paul Simon — *"most valuable precisely when relations are strained"*

President's Exchange Initiative 64
— Stephen H. Rhinesmith — *inventing a culture piece by piece*

Creating an East-West Peace Corps 66
— Ploughshares — *Soviets and Americans working side by side*



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