

Masterarbeit über das Thema

**US-USSR Citizen Diplomacy:
A Blueprint for Preventing Catastrophes of Tomorrow?**

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Author

Alexandra Khrenova

Abstract

In the mid-1980s, private citizens from the United States and the Soviet Union challenged the political status-quo and prevailing stereotypes. They began getting to know each other and building bridges on a personal level. However, their commitment to peace went far beyond their initial goals. American and Soviet citizen diplomats left an enduring legacy. They shaped the anti-nuclear movement, fostered the democratization, strengthened the civil society in the former Soviet republics, and started large international projects, which are often taken for granted today.

This paper studies US-Soviet citizen diplomacy. Whereas the movement comprised numerous fields of cooperation, my research focuses on the environmental and anti-nuclear initiatives. The hypothesis of this study is that US-USSR citizen diplomacy on environmental issues might provide a blueprint for resolving some of the biggest challenges that humanity is facing today. Even though it might never be scientifically proved that citizen diplomacy considerably affects big politics as a rule, there are still reasons to believe that it might work. First, US-USSR citizen diplomacy movement (CDM) significantly contributed to ending the Cold War. Second, having a grassroots origin, it empowers the marginalized and the voiceless—the layer of society that suffers the most in times of conflict, catastrophes, natural disasters and alike. Finally, and most importantly, citizen diplomats plan for the long run and aspire positive peace (as compared to negative peace, which means the mere absence of war).

Therefore, in order to determine whether US-USSR citizen diplomacy has the potential of

becoming a model for preventing certain types of international crises, this thesis has the following objectives: (1) analyze political and societal circumstances that led to emergence of the US-USSR CDM; (2) document the history of the green CDM; (3) identify key actors and formats of cooperation that are typical of the movement, and (4) develop a model for a life cycle of such movement, applicable for other scenarios.

The political, societal and environmental circumstances that led to emergence of the US-USSR citizen diplomacy on environmental and anti-nuclear issues (ECDM) were: (1) the major change in the US-Soviet relations on the official level in 1980s: they shifted from animosity to reconciliation; (2) 1987 was the breakthrough year for the ECDM; (3) environmental deterioration in the USSR; (4) eco-glasnost; (5) simultaneous emergence of various green grassroots groups in the USSR.

Further, this thesis studied the history of the ECDM from three different angles: (1) life paths and achievements of individual citizen diplomats, (2) work of citizen diplomacy organizations, and (3) major citizen diplomacy projects which took place from 1987 to 1995. This project is herewith the first holistic documentation of the US-USSR ECDM.

The leaders of the ECDM were Francis Underhill Macy, Enid Schreibman, Alexey Yablokov and Lydia Popova.

The NGOs that brought ECDM forward were CCI, ISAR, CSAD and CSE.

Major projects that facilitated that development of the ECDM were: (1) American-Soviet

Walks in 1987 and 1988, (2) Interhelp Trips to the USSR, (3) Findhorn-Soviet EcoTrips; (4) Soviet-American Citizens' Summit II, (5) First US-USSR conference on the Environment, and (6) EcoForum 1995.

The analysis of these initiatives showed that (1) cooperation on even very specific issues need not to be carried out by professional and experts in a formal setting and (2) brainstorming for solutions can be conducted in creative ways.

The interview with Askhat Kayumov, prominent Russian expert on environmental protection and citizen diplomat, showed the following: (1) citizen diplomats do not necessarily identify as such; (2) for a CDM to succeed there needs to be at least two self-organized, strong

partners; (3) citizen diplomacy brings concrete results; (4) the prominent citizen diplomats of the ECDM that I identified were indeed the leaders of the movement; (5) beware idealistic enthusiasm: for a CDM to succeed there needs to be long-term commitment on both sides.

Interpretation of the results of the study can be summarized as follows: (1) the five types of CDM movement are (i) trailblazers, (ii) bannermen, (iii) spiders, (iv) 4x4; (v) megaphone; (2) a CDM has a life cycle; (3) my model of a CDM life cycle allows for a simple allegorical analogy, which is easy to apply to other scenarios; (4) this model can be also used to conceptualize a similar CDM and to plan for its development.

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Abbreviations

CAN	Climate Action Network
CCI	Center for Citizen Initiatives
CDM	citizen diplomacy movement
CSAD	Center for Soviet-American Dialogue
CSE	Center for Safe Energy
ECDM	environmental citizen diplomacy movement, stands for: US-USSR citizen diplomacy on environmental and anti-nuclear issues
FOWS	Friends of the Wild Swan
GS	Global Security
INT	Interhelp
ISAR	Institute for Soviet-American Relations
NFFA	Nuclear-Free Future Award
SCEF	Steering Committee EcoForum
SEU	Socio-Ecological Union
SPC	Soviet Peace Committee

1 Introduction

The fact that humanity is facing some big challenges today has been old news for years. I am talking about the climate change, the growing gap between the rich and the poor, gender inequality, to name a few examples. Scholars, politicians and non-governmental organizations are looking for solutions, but so far governments are failing to deal effectively with long-standing problems. So, the search continues.

Hegel wrote, “what experience and history teach is that peoples and governments never have learned anything from history”. Truth be told, there have been some improvements in our learning capabilities since the 19th century, when Hegel made this observation. Yet, we tend to learn from bad things such as wars, genocides, disasters, but not from the good ones. Perhaps, it might be useful to reverse this trend in our pursuit of new answers to the old problems.

A good opportunity to do this offers the time, when the world stood at the brink of a nuclear war and two superpowers separated people of the West and the East by the Iron Curtain. Back then it was “us” versus “them”, and a minor misunderstanding could have destroyed the world in a few minutes. Fortunately, this never happened. The Cold War ended peacefully and on a high note. Remarkably, it was not the governments, who made the first step towards ending the Cold War and preventing nuclear warfare. It was ordinary citizens, who were responsible for the change of the hostile attitude towards each other and therefore laid the foundation of the peace. These people called themselves citizen diplomats.

This paper studies US-Soviet citizen diplomacy. Whereas the movement comprised numerous fields of cooperation, my research focuses on the environmental and anti-nuclear initiatives. The hypothesis of this study is that US-USSR citizen diplomacy on environmental issues might provide a blueprint for resolving some of the biggest challenges that humanity is facing today. Even though it might never be scientifically proved that citizen diplomacy considerably affects big politics as a rule, there are still reasons to believe that it might work. First, US-USSR citizen diplomacy movement (CDM) significantly contributed to ending the Cold War. Second, having a grassroots origin, it empowers the marginalized and the voiceless—the layer of society that suffers the most in times of conflict, catastrophes, natural disasters and alike. Finally, and most importantly, citizen

diplomats plan for the long run and aspire *positive peace* (as compared to *negative peace*, which means the mere absence of war).

Therefore, in order to determine whether US-USSR citizen diplomacy has the potential of becoming a model for preventing certain types of international crises, this thesis has the following objectives:

- analyze political and societal circumstances that led to emergence of the US-USSR CDM,
- document the history of the green CDM,
- identify key actors and formats of cooperation that are typical of the movement, and
- develop a model for a life cycle of such movement, applicable for other scenarios.

In this project, I conduct both primary and secondary research. The core of it constitutes archival work. I use digital copies of files from three archival collections: Francis Underhill Macy records (1983-2007), Institute for Soviet-American Relations records (1986-2003), Enid Schreibman records (1990-2011). These were provided by my academic advisor Prof. Dr. Birgit Menzel, which she obtained in 2013 and 2014 in the Hoover Institution Archives at Stanford University. None of these have been documented prior to this study.

This study demonstrated that the citizen diplomacy on environmental and anti-nuclear issues (ECDM) was a complex system, which was constantly developing and transforming itself. Nevertheless, it was possible to identify some typical actors and formats of cooperation within the movement. These were theorized in accordance with different developmental stages of the US-USSR ECDM. Building on this, I suggested an allegorical model, which describes a life cycle of such movement, which might have the potential of being applicable to other scenarios.

The thesis is structured in nine parts. Following this introduction, the second section lays out the research framework. It introduces the primary sources, defines the concept of citizen diplomacy, gives a brief description of its history and current debates, and explains the methodological procedure and the underlying theoretical approach. The third chapter analyzes the emergence of US-USSR citizen diplomacy—specifically its environmental and anti-nuclear sector—within the context of political, societal and environmental developments of the time. The fourth part presents leaders of the green CDM and their life's work. The fifth section discusses the most influential non-governmental organizations that promoted US-Soviet citizen diplomacy and carried out

environmental programs. Chapter six examines major citizen diplomacy initiatives with an emphasis on either anti-nuclear or general environmental issues. Part seven presents the interview with Askhat Kayumov, Russian ecologist and participant of US-USSR citizen diplomacy programs. Chapter eight interprets the findings of the research and suggests a model for a life cycle of a CDM. Finally, section nine summarizes the results of the study and outlines further research questions.

2 Research Framework

In this chapter, I present the building blocks of my approach to the topic at hand and primary sources I am working with. First, I will introduce my procedure with the archives. Then I will give definitions to the most relevant concepts for this work and put a theoretical framework together, which—in combination with the topic of this research—will produce a unique methodological approach, tailored for the goals of this inquiry.

2.1 Primary Sources

2.1.1 Institute for Soviet American Relations records, 1986-2003

The ISAR records, which were acquired by the Hoover Institution Archives in 2007, include correspondence, memoranda, reports, proposals, financial records, serial issues, and other printed matter relating to Soviet-American cultural relations, relations between the United States and the successor states to the Soviet Union, and environmental programs in those states.

The collection consists of ten boxes, each containing ten to twenty folders. I had access to some preselected copies, which stem from Box 1 and 2:

- 1:1 Anatoly Lebedev correspondence, 1994-1995;
- 1:2 EcoForum Conference correspondence, May 1995;
- 1:3 EcoForum press, 1995;
- 1:4 EcoForum originals, 1995;
- 1:5 EcoForum directory, 1995;
- 1:8 Conference mailings, 1991;
- 1:10 Institute for Soviet American Relations Socio-Ecological Union Membership Dialogue, 1995;
- 2:1 Conference publicity, 1991.

This means, that I worked at best through 10% of the information contained in the ISAR records, focusing mostly on two big projects, which ISAR was part of: First US-USSR Joint Environmental NGO Conference held in March 1991 in Moscow, and EcoForum that took place in 1995 in Kiev. The rest of ISAR's longstanding activity remained out of my reach.

2.1.2 Francis Underhill Macy papers, 1983-2007

The collection was acquired by the Hoover Institution Archives in 2010 and includes correspondence, reports, meeting materials, notes, lists, memoranda, printed matter, and photographs, relating to non-governmental exchange programs between Americans and citizens of the Soviet Union and its successor republics, and to promotion of Gestalt psychology, environmentalism, nuclear safety and alternative energy sources in the Soviet Union and its successor republics. It consists of 16 manuscript boxes. I was working with preselected files from the boxes 4 to 9. Specifically, I was looking for:

- documents relating to citizen diplomacy projects (field trips, exchanges, conferences, etc.): project proposals, emails, programs, lists of participants, evaluations;
- press coverage of citizen diplomacy projects, interviews with citizen diplomats;
- newspaper articles about environmental issues in the Soviet Union and post-Soviet countries and activists;
- scientific reports, studies, maps, discussing the consequences of the Chernobyl catastrophe and other environmental problems; and
- brochures and information about environmental NGOs in the US and post-soviet countries.

2.1.3 Enid Schreibman papers, 1990-2011

The collection was acquired by the Hoover Institution Archives in 2012 and contains correspondence, notes, reports, grant proposals, meeting materials, financial records, printed matter, and photographs, relating to activities of the Center for Safe Energy in promoting nuclear safety and alternative energy sources in the former Soviet Union, and to women's leadership training in Kazakhstan. It consists of 11 manuscript boxes. I was working with preselected materials from boxes 1 to 3 and others, which location I was not able to identify.

2.2. Organization, Time Frame, Data Selection

How does one approach such bulk data while having a very modest research capacity? First, it needs to be organized in some way. There are different ways to do it. One can use a chronological approach, or look for often reoccurring names, events, organizations, divide the files according to a certain typology (e.g. correspondence, press, reports, programs, events, etc.), or identify different topics or regions (e.g. consequences of the Chernobyl catastrophe, Baikal, renewable energy, pollution, etc.).

In the beginning, I wanted to create a unified database with documents from all three archival collections. The easiest way to do that was to organize files in a chronological order. However, creating a timeline alone was not enough. Even though I was able to exclude some miscellaneous, unrelated documents from the pool of working files, which somewhat cleared the picture, the volume of to-be-analyzed data was still overwhelming. The records comprise together a time span of over a quarter century and document the activities of dozens of non-governmental organizations. Moreover, they point to several hundred joint projects on issues of the environmental spectrum, which were simultaneously carried out in different corners of the former Soviet Union and overseas, in the US and other Western countries.

Hence, it was necessary to determine a time frame up for investigation. Common sense suggested, that under current conditions it would be nearly impossible for me to cover more than a decade of citizen diplomacy history. Naturally, I leaned towards the origins of the movement. Citizen diplomacy emerged as a lived utopia of peace, friendship, and understanding, despite the language barrier and ideological incompatibility. It was all about personal empowerment and overcoming prejudices.

There is a lot of evidence indicating that citizen diplomacy on environmental issues emerged in 1987. Symbolically, I added two years prior to 1987, to put into context the establishing of a totally new channel of non-governmental, informal dialogue between the United States and the Soviet Union. This was necessary because it is insufficient to study citizen diplomacy programs in a historic and political vacuum, without considering the changes, which were brought about by Mikhail Gorbachev in 1985, or without discussing the impact of Chernobyl accident on people's attitude to life and environment. Thus, I selected the decade from 1985 to 1995.

Next, I tried to single out projects or events, which were crucial to the movement. Yet I looked not only for remarkable initiatives, but also for those, which were thoroughly documented. Regardless how big the project was, the information contained in the pool of files was always incomplete. This meant that I would have to either speculate about missing pieces or do additional research. Speculating is never a good option. Attempts to find more details often yielded little to no results. At the end of the 1980s and at the beginning of the 1990s, it was highly unlikely for a project to leave digital traces, as compared to modern times. At that time, Soviet environmentalists communicated mostly via hard letters and telephone calls. Communication via the internet was non-

existent, or rare at the very least. Emails were used mostly by Americans. It was only in 1991 and the following years that citizen diplomats from the US brought first computers and modems to the ecologists in the FSU. And those were used predominantly for email exchange and not for creating websites about citizen diplomacy projects.

Consequently, the more files I was able to gather on a project, the more chances it had to make it to the final selection. There was an additional factor, that supported this procedure. A larger number of files on a project served as an indicator of its importance to the movement. As a rule, the amount of paperwork rises with the growing scale of an event, which is also often a sign for growing financial, human and organizational resources.

As soon as I had a set of major projects, which matched the criteria described above, I went ahead by summarizing each document, related to a corresponding project. Slowly certain projects, organizations, and individuals started coming to the forefront. This enabled me to identify key actors in the field and the scope of the movement, alongside with all different types and formats, which citizen diplomats used to cooperate.

It turned out that almost all projects that I selected for this thesis differ from each other in some principal way. Some projects attracted hundreds of people from both sides of Atlantic and suggested a non-mediated contact with locals, while others had a tight schedule and only allowed for some twenty participants. Some put an emphasis on building bridges between random people, united by ecological concerns and aspirations for a nuclear-free future, others aimed at connecting professionals in the field of environmental protection. Some organizations provided funding, others did not, and so forth. It became obvious that the movement was constantly evolving and transforming itself. New actors came to the playfield, others perished or changed their focus. From the initial “getting-to-know” objective, citizen diplomats went on drafting and carrying out complicated joint projects, most of which needed external funding.

These variations raised further questions. First, how to evaluate or compare such different projects, and second, how to determine its influence on the civil society in the FSU in general. At this point, a theoretical framework was needed, which could explain these differences and provide with new methodological tools for this inquiry.

2.3 Theoretical Approach

In this study, I use the system of *Multi-Track Diplomacy* (MTD) developed by John McDonald and Louise Diamond (1996) as a guide to my analysis. In my opinion, it is the most comprehensive work on non-governmental diplomacy. The concept of MTD is an expansion of the *track one—track two diplomacy* paradigm.

As many records state, the phrase *track two* was coined in 1982 by Joseph Montville of the Foreign Service Institute to describe methods of diplomacy that were outside the formal governmental system. It referred to non-governmental and unofficial contacts and activities between private citizens or groups of individuals, sometimes called citizen diplomats or nonstate actors. Around the same time, universities and scholars started conducting research on *track two* diplomacy. Soon enough though, the term *track two* became problematic: “the designation of Track Two no longer covered the variety, scope, and depth of citizen involvement” (Diamond and McDonald 1996, 4). Whereas the term *track two* refers to a specific way of conducting diplomacy, the term MTD is meant to be understood as a conceptual framework for theorizing and analyzing the phenomenon. In other words, both as a theoretical base and as a methodological instrument of analysis.

MTD distinguishes nine tracks of diplomacy:

1. *Government*, or Peacemaking through Diplomacy;
2. *Nongovernment/Professional*, or Peacemaking through Conflict Resolution;
3. *Business*, or Peacemaking through Commerce;
4. *Private Citizen*, or Peacemaking through Personal Involvement;
5. *Research, Training, and Education*, or Peacemaking through Learning;
6. *Activism*, or Peacemaking through Advocacy;
7. *Religion*, or Peacemaking through Faith in Action;
8. *Funding*, or Peacemaking through Providing Resources;

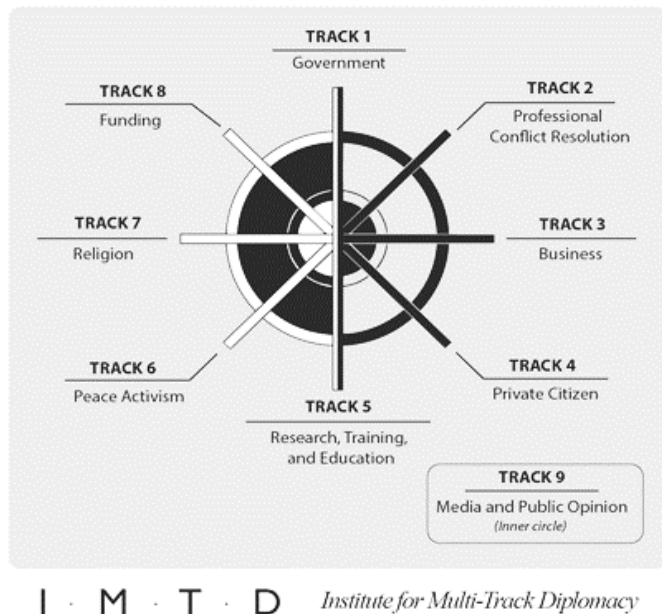


Figure 1. Visualization of the Multi-Track Diplomacy System. Source: IMTD

9. *Communications and the Media*, or Peacemaking through Information.

While studying archival materials, I encountered examples of all nine tracks of diplomacy, as well as different kinds of symbiotic interaction between them. However, I would like to elaborate specifically on *track four*, because I see this channel of diplomacy as the origin of the US-USSR CDM in a broader sense.

Track four diplomacy

Private citizens organize themselves in grassroots fashion. McDonald and Diamond identify five major groupings or types of non-governmental organizations in this track:

1. citizen diplomacy and exchange programs,
2. private voluntary organization or development programs,
3. advocacy or special interest groups,
4. democracy building institutions, and
5. individuals, who act independently, out of their own interests or beliefs.

Their main objective is to „establish personal relationships with people from other nations and cultures and, through those relationships, to address issues of mutual concern, break down stereotypes and promote friendship, provide needed resources, and educate the public and the policy-makers on international peace and development issues” (Diamond and McDonald 1996, 60).

The subculture within *track four* is informal and casual. This subsystem draws mostly from the middle class and attracts a lot of professionals. Besides, women are broadly represented in *track four* community and frequently hold significant positions of power and influence. Most people involved in this track engage in activities in their spare time. The staff of the organizations is usually small, but the number of participants might be very large. Activities in the field encompass travel programs, issue-specific conferences and dialogues.

3 US-Soviet Green Citizen Diplomacy in Context

3.1 US-Soviet Relations in the 1980s: From Animosity to Reconciliation

After a period of détente in the 1970s, the first half of the 1980s was marked by the acceleration of the nuclear arms race. The hostility between the two superpowers reached its peak since the beginning of the Cold War. The world faced the real possibility of a nuclear war. American and Soviet citizens feared the potential consequences of the conflict escalation, which could lead to the destruction of humanity and the whole planet.

At the same time, state propaganda on both ends portrayed its counterpart as the enemy, dehumanizing its populations. Reagan Administration advised Americans against involving with “the evil empire”: “It refused to renew the official cultural exchange agreement, cut the budgets of other exchange programs, denied visas to many would-be Soviet visitors, and increased restrictions on the movement and activities of the Soviets it did allow to visit” (Shuman, Warner, and Forest 1987).

Then in 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev and his democratic reforms allowed for a fresh start in the US-Soviet relations. Later that year, Reagan came along to support citizen diplomacy between Americans and Soviets. At the Geneva summit, he and Gorbachev decided to resume regular air traffic for civilians and to renew some exchange programs.

3.2 1987: The Breakthrough Year for Citizen Diplomacy

In her interview to *The New York Times*, Harriett Crosby, co-founder of the Institute for Soviet-American Relations, shared her experience of pioneering citizen diplomacy between the US and the USSR: „In the early 1980s, you were considered a weirdo if you were interested in the Soviet Union. Now it is considered the ‘in’ thing to do” (Gamarekian 1987). By that time, Crosby had already made 16 trips to the Soviet Union. Gamarekian further observed that almost overnight „everyone—politicians, rock stars, students, scientists, environmentalists, educators and astronauts—[was] making the Moscow-Washington commute”.

Numbers of Americans traveling to the USSR support this development. In 1976, when Soviet-American détente was near its peak, some 65,000 Americans applied for visas to visit the USSR. In 1980, after the Soviet invasion into Afghanistan, only 12,000 Americans applied. In 1985,

45,000 Americans traveled to the Soviet Union and 3,000 Soviet visitors came to the United States. Stephen Rhinesmith, director of the United States Information Agency office, which oversaw the cultural and educational exchange agreement signed in 1985 in Geneva by Reagan and Gorbachev, estimated that in 1987 more than 100,000 Americans went to the Soviet Union, with some 10,000 Soviets visiting the United States. (Deutsch 1986; Gamarekian 1987)

3.3 Environmental Deterioration in the USSR

Decades of policies that had ignored the necessity of environmental protection left Soviet citizens with massive industrial, toxic and nuclear waste contamination by the time the USSR was about to fall apart. By the end of the 1980s, 40 percent of the Soviet citizens lived in areas where air pollutants were three to four times the maximum allowable levels. Nearly 70 cities, mainly in Ukraine, Kuzbass and Ural region in Russia, the Caucasus and east Kazakhstan, showed highest levels of air pollution. Water contamination was the most severe on Kola Peninsula, as well as along the Bug, Dnyestr, Danube and Don rivers. The Aral Sea had lost two-thirds of its original size in the prior two decades. Rare species, such as tigers, hyenas, wolves and snow leopards were facing extinction.

Lake Karachay at the Mayak nuclear facility in Chelyabinsk-65 (formerly Chelyabinsk-40, currently Ozyorsk), became the most contaminated area on Earth. The lake was used to dump reprocessed high-level waste. It contains 120 million curies of radioactive waste, including seven times the amount of strontium-90 and cesium-137 that was released at Chernobyl complexes; over 7,000 residents received from 3.5 to 170 REMs.

Although being not particularly well-known among the broader public, the Kyshtym disaster remains the third-most serious nuclear accident ever recorded, behind the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear disaster and the Chernobyl disaster. On 29 September 1957, a chemical explosion in Mayak's radioactive waste storage site involved some 20 million curies of material. Nearly 2 million curies spilled across Chelyabinsk, Sverdlovsk, and Tyumen region covering a total area of 23,000 square kilometers inhabited by a quarter of a million people. The first evacuations did not take place until ten days later, and other areas were not evacuated until a year later. During this time, the entire population had been unknowingly consuming contaminated food and water. Significant radioactive contamination covered an area of more than 800 square kilometers, and there are areas where

the concentration of Cesium-137 and Strontium-90 are still hazardous to human health in 2019. In 1968, lake Karachay began to dry up, and the wind carried away a substantial volume of radioactive dust, irradiating half a million people with five million curies.

The 1986 Chernobyl catastrophe, which released 100 times as much radiation as the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs combined, shook deeply the whole world. The accident put into question the safety of humankind and our planet. It became apparent that neither nuclear nor fossil fuel power plants are secure means to produce energy. Ordinary citizens started raising their concerns about nuclear waste and radioactive contamination of the environment.

Residents of the areas impacted by the Chernobyl disaster stopped trusting the authorities and scientists. The reason behind that was blatant disinformation spread by the government in the first days after the accident. Many people could have stayed healthy otherwise. The Ministry of Atomic Energy was putting a lot of effort into convincing researchers and ecologists that there are more important issues than the safety of nuclear power plants: air and water pollution, species extinction, etc.

3.4 Eco-glasnost

Democratization and glasnost gave the green movement a voice. One after another, newspapers started publishing shocking revelations about the catastrophic state of the environmental degradation in the Soviet Union. The article by Vladimir Lupandin, prominent child psychiatrist and sociologist, and Yevdokia Gayer, geographer and politician, “Chernobyl on the Chukot Peninsula: Peoples of the North Pay for Nuclear Tests”, which came out in the *Moscow News Weekly* (1989) is a good example.

The piece reported on a shocking evidence of far-reaching consequences of the nuclear tests, which were carried out in 1950s and 1960s in the northern regions of the USSR. It discussed how these affected health and life expectancy of Chukcha people on the Chukot Peninsula. The discovery had been made by a special commission of researchers, scientists and people’s deputies during their visit to the Chukot peninsula. The researchers were conducting investigations on the territory of the Chukot autonomous region since the early 1960s. Their report shed light on the unprecedented levels of the total radiation level among the local population of the peninsula, which was

“twice as higher as the average figure in the USSR and was equal to the average dose of radiation of people who suffered as a result of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant”.

Yet the results of their work were withheld from the public and hidden in a safe in the office of the regional Party committee. At the same time, the official statistics understated the real situation and attributed an extremely low life expectancy, the highest rate of infant mortality and rapid spread of various diseases to diverse social factors: “bad housing, low-quality food and to absence of skilled medical aid”.

The situation described in the article is goosebumps-terrifying:

As a matter of fact, 100 per cent of the native population suffer from tuberculosis, and 90 per cent from chronic lung diseases. [...]

Despite the fact that the region is almost completely isolated, there are permanent outbreaks of virus and bacterial gastrointestinal infections and parasitic diseases. But the most serious evidence of the effects of radiation is spreading and growth of cancer among the natives.

Their level is twice or three times as high than the country’s average. Death rate from the esophagus cancer is the highest in the world. The incidence of liver cancer is 10 times higher than the average, and of lung cancer 3 times higher. The incidence of leucosis and gastric tumors have doubled over the past 20 years. Breast cancer has also increased. But the main thing is that the types of cancer are changing. New forms of malignant growths—tumors of connective and bone tissue and the thyroid gland are appearing... In the first village which we visited the chairman of the rural Soviet told us that practically all adults suffer from cancer. What’s more, malignant growths in this region are revealed only in late stages and invariably are fatal.

[...] the average life expectancy of Chukchi natives (not even counting accidents) is only 45 years. This is 11 years less than the official figure and is shocking record for any country.

As for infant mortality, the statistics understate the real situation by three or four times. In fact, 70-100 deaths per 1,000 births, and this figure has increased by 6 per cent over the past six years. (Lupandin and Gayer 1989)

Another example is a popular woman’s magazine the *Working Woman* with a circulation of 13 million. Nearly every family in the Soviet Union read it. In his interview for *New Solutions: A journal for Environmental and Occupational Health Policy* (Zeff 1992), Lupandin mentions his article about the city Salavat in Bashkortostan republic, where the air was polluted by emissions from petrochemical processing plants, which came out in the *Working Woman*. His contribution evoked an immediate response from the local population.

3.5 Emergence of Environmental Grassroots Groups in the USSR

The Soviet environmental movement originated in the early 1960s, when students and independent scientists questioned Nikita Khrushchev’s plans to sow the “virgin lands” of western Siberia with grain, pointing to the dangers of soil erosion. Yet, re-established censorship in the late 1960s dampened the growth of the environmental movement.

Through glasnost, the rising awareness of these hazards resulted in the simultaneous emergence of various grassroots initiatives across the Soviet Union. Not infrequently, the leaders of citizen action groups were women. They tend to be more concerned about pollution, because they see how it affects the health of their children (Lupandin qtd. in Zeff 1992).

Lupandin believes that the movement developed into a mass phenomenon around 1988 with “the mother—the woman as mother” being its driving force. Remarkably, most of these women had not been involved in any political activity prior to their participation in ecological activities. This was their first democratic expression. (Lupandin qtd. in Zeff 1992)

3.6 Connecting the Dots

All the trends described above answer one of the most important questions of this thesis: out of all topics, why environmental movement? It appears that it was due to the fact that at the time when the CDM emerged it was the strongest possible sector of the civil society. This also support the assessment by ISAR (1994, 2) and the statement by Askhat Kayumov. He considers the environmental field of the civil society “not only the most developed one, but the most organized” (Kayumov 2018, 12:07-12:09). Americans needed a partner in dialogue, which already existed and had some grassroots base, so that they could build upon, rather than creating something from scratch.

By 1990, there were five large environmental groups in the Soviet Union, the largest of which was the Socio-Ecological Union, an umbrella group with 200 branches mostly in Russia. The Union advocated for change through political action. The other groups included the Ecological Society of the Soviet Union, which has tied with the ultranationalist organization “Pamyat”; the Ecological Union, which promoted solar and wind power and advocated for introduction of fines levied on polluters to clean up toxic wastes; and the All Union Movement of Greens, which was formally backed by the Communist Party’s Youth organizations. (Ridgeway 1990)

4 Prominent Citizen Diplomats

Citizen diplomacy is about reaching understanding at a micro level, through contacts between ordinary citizens. Therefore, it makes sense to discuss first the people who were the driving force of green citizen diplomacy between the US and the FSU. This list is not exclusive and represents just a fraction of Soviet and American citizen diplomats.

4.1 Fran Macy

Francis Underhill Macy was a therapist, an expert on Russia and an environmental educator. He was born February 19th, 1927 in Evanston, Illinois. In 1951, he received his master's degree in psychology and Soviet Russian studies at Harvard University.

In the 1960s, Fran Macy became an active participant of the peace movement. He marched against the Vietnam and against construction and testing of nuclear weapons numerous times. At the same time, Macy started building bridges to the people of the Soviet Union. Since 1961 he regularly visited Soviet Union and then its successor states.

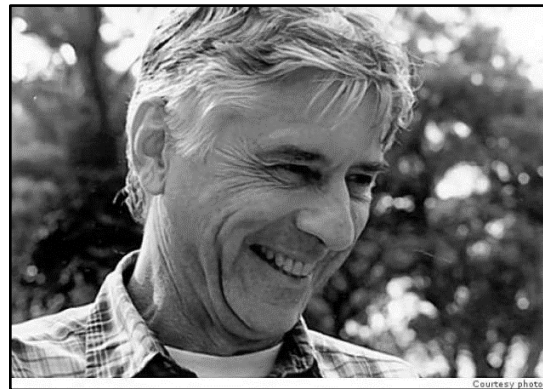


Figure 2. Francis Underhill Macy. Family archive. Courtesy photo.

In 1983 he became director of the Association for Humanistic Psychology. In the same year he established the Soviet Exchange Program for American and Soviet psychologists under the umbrella of the Association. He organized seminars in the USSR and USA on such topics as psychology, psychiatry, psychotherapy, human growth and education. During that time, he hosted many Soviet scholars and therapists in the USA.

Macy's deep concern about the effects of the nuclear weapons and energy industries started in the 1980s. The Chernobyl accident was the catalyst for his devotion to the struggle for nuclear disarmament and his effort to develop lasting relationships with the environmental grassroots movement in the Soviet Union.

Together with his wife, Joanna Macy, he founded 'Nuclear Guardianship Project' in 1989. They wanted to study and to educate the public about dangers, which come from the transportation and

the stockpiling of radioactive waste, in both the US and the USSR. In the same year, he co-founded the Center for Safe Energy, which purpose was to train and support the green movement in addressing the environmental challenges across the FSU.

In 1991, on the 5th anniversary of the Chernobyl accident, he visited Russia and Ukraine. Fran Macy and his wife Joanna offered psychological rehabilitation for citizens of Novozybkov. (a town in Bryansk region), which became the most contaminated area in Russia after the radioactivity discharge in 1986.

During his lifetime, Macy made over 50 working visits to the Soviet Union and its successor states. He advocated for and taught the activists of the anti-nuclear and environmental movements the philosophy of Deep Ecology, which main premise is that humankind is not the master of the Earth, but its part, and that we should take care of its health just like we do with our own.

In 2002, he received the Nuclear Free Future Life-Time Achievement Award for “building bridges between the Russian and American peace and environmental movements”, recognizing “his many decades of dedication towards building a bridge of understanding between the Russian and American peace movements” (qtd. in CSE 2003b). In her introductory remarks at the prize-giving ceremony, Lydia Popova (2002) said that “[Macy’s] input into cultural and human exchange between the United States and Russia (former Soviet Union) is invaluable”.

Fran Macy died at the age of 81 on January 20th, 2009. He is survived by his wife Joanna, his sons Christopher and Jack, daughter Peggy and three grandchildren.

4.2 Enid Schreibman

Enid Schreibman is an experienced trainer, organizational consultant and women’s rights activist. Since 1983, she led professional and cultural exchanges between Americans and citizens of the former Soviet Union. She co-sponsored and addressed many energy conferences and seminars in Russia and Ukraine, conducted training and grant programs in Kazakhstan and organized study tours in the US for environmental activists from those countries.



Figure 3. Enid Schreibman. Source: changemakers.com

Together with Fran Macy, she co-founded the Center for Safe Energy in 1989. Schreibman led the organization until July 2017, when she bade their friends and partners a final farewell after two and a half decades of groundbreaking initiatives and numerous accomplishments. In their Goodbye Letter, Enid Schreibman (2017) and her Team looked back at the beginnings of their endeavor and the change they brought about:

When we began in 1995 [sic!], environmental activists were small groups monitoring nuclear plants. They knew very little about the means for energy conservation and the promise of alternative energy. They were eager for up-to-date information, strategic planning, use of volunteers, grant writing, and monitoring. Their networks were weak or non-existent. The activists felt isolated from each other and from the international environmental community. Philanthropy was non-existent in the former Soviet countries. The safety net had fallen apart with the breakup of the Soviet Union. There was little money available for rural groups, few programs for disabled, elderly, and other disadvantaged groups. There was no money for tiny rural entrepreneurs.

What a change we see after twenty-two years! The activists are now well trained and knowledgeable. 'In Kazakhstan, all the strong women leaders were trained by you,' said a US Embassy staff person. The Internet narrowed the information gap. The activists are now part of the international environmental community.

These two paragraphs serve to illustrate, how impactful and empowering Schreibman's life work has been and that her legacy will leave on through the voices of people, who she trained.

4.3 Alexey Yablokov

Alexey Yablokov (born on October 3rd, 1933, in Moscow, USSR) was a prominent Russian scientist and environmental policy analyst and a recognized leader of the Russian environmental and anti-nuclear movements. He is the author of more than 450 scientific and policy-oriented publications on biological and environmental problems, including 24 books, translated into English, German, Japanese and other languages.

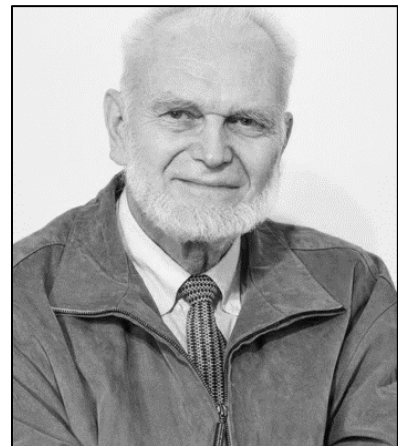


Figure 4. Alexey Yablokov.
Source: europeangreens.eu

In 1984, he was elected as a member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences for his studies of animal populations. He organized and headed studies on impact of nuclear testing in Novaya Zemlya and of operation of nuclear power plants on the environment. Political reforms undertaken by Mikhail Gorbachev allowed Yablokov to be elected to the Supreme Soviet and put issues of nuclear and radiation safety on the political agenda.

In 1988 he co-founded and chaired Greenpeace USSR. From 1989 to 1991 he served as Deputy Chairman of the Ecology Committee in the Soviet Parliament. In this capacity, he organized first

in the history of the Soviet Union parliamentary hearings on nuclear accidents in the South Urals. Besides, Yablokov was a member of the parliament commission on the consequences of Chernobyl accident.

In 1991, after disintegration of the Soviet Union, Alexey Yablokov was appointed by President Yeltsin as his special advisor on the environment and health. In the same year, he met Fran Macy, when the latter visited Russia with a delegation of environmental specialists to mark the 5th anniversary of the Chernobyl catastrophe. Their encounter resulted in the formation on the Nuclear Watchdog Network, a coalition of grassroots organization monitoring nuclear sites throughout Russia and Ukraine.

In 1993, he founded the Interagency Commission on Environmental Security, of the Security Council of the Russian Federation, which he presided over until 1997. In 1996 he became honorary member to the American Academy Art and Science. He was an expert consultant to the European Commission on Radiation Risk as well as the Vice President of the World Conservation Union.

His life work has earned him international recognition with many prizes and honorary degrees, including Nuclear Free Future Lifetime Achievement Award in 2002, which he shared with Fran Macy.

Alexey Yablokov died after a long illness at the age of 83 on January 10th, 2017 in Moscow, Russia.

4.4 Lydia Popova

Lydia Popova was a whistle blower of the nuclear industry, an international leader of the anti-nuclear movement and a nuclear educator.

After receiving a Master of Science in Physics from Moscow State University in 1969, Lydia was employed for 17 years in the nuclear industry. She worked in the highly classified Institute for Information and Technical-Economic Research on Nuclear Science and Technology under the powerful Ministry of Atomic Power and Industry.



Figure 5. Lydia Popova. Source: nffa.de

It was there that she researched and analyzed the nuclear fuel cycle in the former Soviet Union and countries of the Eastern Block.

In 1990, Popova resigned from her secure and prestigious position and began volunteering with the environmental movement. She started a new career of educating the public about the dangers of nuclear technologies and the benefits of energy conservation, energy efficiency, and renewable energies. In the same year, she became the coordinator of the SEU Alternative Energy Program.

In 1993, she founded and directed the autonomous Center for Nuclear Ecology and Energy Policy of the SEU. Through the Center, she worked with SEU groups concerned with plutonium and proliferation issues, nuclear and radiation safety, and energy policy in their regions and nationally. She organized workshops for activists and published a quarterly bulletin *Energy and Environment*.

Popova was very active in promoting international cooperation among anti-nuclear activists. She was frequently invited to represent the Russian anti-nuclear movement at conferences and consultations in England, France, Japan and the United States. In 1993, she headed a delegation of SEU activists from regions of the USSR that are adversely impacted by nuclear military production facilities. They met and formed alliances with their American activists working near Department of Energy weapons facilities. Their organizations belong to the non-governmental Military Production Network (now Alliance for Nuclear Accountability), which served as a model for the Russian nuclear watchdog network.

In 1994, she published her book *Plutonium in Russia: Ecology, Economy, Policy. Independent analysis*. From 1995 to 2005, she was a member of the International Advisory Board of Wuppertal Institute for Climate, Energy, and Environment, Germany. She was also on the Board of Directors of the Center for Energy Efficiency based in Moscow. She was an advisor to nuclear think tanks in Washington, D.C. such as the Nuclear Control Institute, the Institute for Energy and Environmental Research and the Natural Resources Defense Council.

In September 1999, Lydia Popova received the Nuclear Free Future Award in the category Education, in Los Alamos, USA. Fran Macy, who nominated her for the prize, described her work and personality with much respect and admiration:

From my many contacts with Russian environmental activists since 1988, Lydia Popova emerged as the most respected and knowledgeable of all those dealing with the environmental consequences of the nuclear weapons industry and the nuclear energy industry, which are highly integrated in Russia. [...]

Unlike many who advocate changes in government policy, Lydia is able to communicate effectively with people of diverse opinions on nuclear issues. I have witnessed her giving highly substantive testimony before the Committee on Environment of the State Duma, Russia's parliament. I have admired her conduct of press conferences in Moscow. In the United States, she was the chosen spokesperson when, in March 1999, I took a delegation of six Russian NGO leaders to meet with US Congressman Edward Markey, and high officials of the State Department, Energy Department and White House. With scientific cogency, persuasive facts and fine sensitivity, she explained in fluent English why the organizations in her nuclear watchdog network oppose the American policy of pressuring and assisting the Russian government to use excess military plutonium as fuel in civilian nuclear power stations. During field trips, she was very effective in addressing Louisa County Supervisors in Virginia and representatives of local media. Her warmth and collegiality with grassroots American activists was also a pleasure to behold. [...] She spoke with scientific courtesy, persuasive facts, and fine sensitivity. Lydia Popova has stood strong against the horrendous menace of nuclear technology, she has been a tower of proof, a beacon of information—she is a world-class global educator. (Macy 1999, [2f.])

Lydia Popova died on July 14th, 2008.

5 Organizations—Facilitators of Green Citizen Diplomacy

5.1 Center for US-USSR Citizen Initiatives

The Center for US-USSR Citizen Initiatives (later renamed into Center for Citizen Initiatives) was established by Sharon Tennison in 1983 in San Francisco. During its first decade, CCI pioneered many extraordinary measures, primarily focused on ending the nuclear arms race. Its original program organized travel to the USSR for thousands of Americans with the intention to build human connections with counterpart Soviet citizens. Numerous travel and exchange programs, environmental initiatives and agricultural projects erupted in the 1980s as a result.

History of CCI's Programs

Program	Year Started	Year Ended	Target Audiences	Funding Sources
Citizen Diplomacy Travel Program	1983	1991	US & Soviet Citizens	participants
Soviets, Meet Middle America!	1987	1990	US & Soviet Citizens	participants
Creating a Sober World	1984	1992	Russian alcoholics & their families	foundations
Environmental Program	1987	1996 moved to Earth Island Institute	Russian & Ukrainian grass-roots environmental leaders	foundations, individual contributions, US AID subcontracts
Economic Development Program	1989	1997	Small-business owners & managers	Participants, Foundations, US AID
Agricultural Initiative	1991	1997	Russian growers & farmers	Foundations, individual contributions, US AID
Nonprofit Management Training Program	1993	1997	Russian non-profit managers	Foundations, individual contributions
Russian Initiative for Self-Employment (RISE)	1993	early-2000s	Unemployed/underemployed Russians	Foundations, US Agency for International Development
Productivity Enhancement Program (PEP)	1996	2009	Russian producers/plant managers	Participants, US Information Agency
Consulting Services for Russian Entrepreneurship	1997	2000	Russian business support organizations and private businesses	Hosting firms, US Agency for International Development
Presidential Management Training Initiative	1998	1999	Russian business managers	Russian Govt., US State Department

Table 1. History of CCI's Programs

Citizen Diplomacy Travel Program

Citizen Diplomacy Travel Program was CCI's first official program established in 1983. During the next seven years it led to tens of thousands of face-to-face interactions between Soviet and American citizens. All Citizen Diplomacy travelers pledged to perform six months of public education upon return from their trips. They became public educators to their fellow Americans in Rotary Clubs, schools, universities, city hall meetings, churches and professional associations. CCI's Citizen Diplomacy Travel Program completed its mission and closed with the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991.

Soviets Meet Middle America

In 1987, CCI created the Soviets Meet Middle America (SMMA) program, the first ever program in history to bring ordinary, non-state appointed Soviet citizens and place them in homes and communities throughout America. In the early stages of the program, the Soviet Peace Committee, which was responsible for issuing visas to travelers, insisted on choosing the Soviet people to participate in the program. After several uninspired government-chosen delegations, CCI began carrying out this function itself in 1988. Soon ordinary CCI-chosen Soviets began traveling to the US on SMMA.

Soviet citizens from all walks of life lived in American homes, visited Rotary Clubs, went to church, attended potluck dinners, were interviewed on radio and TV and covered in American newspapers. Over a two-year period, CCI brought Soviet citizens from Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Armenia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and the Russian Far East to visit in 265 American cities and towns. They stayed in over 800 American homes, visited hundreds of Rotary Clubs and educational institutions, were covered in over 1,000 newspapers and interviewed on television and radio in every city they visited.

Sister City relationships developed, long-term friendships blossomed, and hundreds of exchange projects were born as a result of SMMA. School educators made reciprocal trips back and forth to each other's countries, computer specialists began joint ventures, wine regions developed long-term professional relations and many American hosts traveled to the USSR to visit new Soviet friends.

SMMA ended its two years of action with a farewell celebration in Moscow in 1989. Over 90 percent of the Soviet participants traveled to the capital city to trumpet the remarkable effects this program had in their lives.

Environmental Initiative

CCI's Environmental Initiative began in 1987 when a group of Soviet environmentalists applied to CCI to help them develop a "voice" to wage a campaign against an official dam decree. Soviet officials in Moscow and Leningrad were pushing forward a massive project to stem the flow of waters from the Baltic Sea into the Neva River to prevent once-a-century floods in Leningrad. The downside was that the Neva would virtually become a cesspool when regional wastes could no longer be flushed into the Baltic Sea.

CCI brought US foundation executives and environmentalists to Leningrad to caucus with the renegade environmentalists. Consultations were given, and funding was made available. It took years to destroy the dam project, but the project was finally forsaken in 1991.

The Environmental Initiative began to undertake a variety of environmental projects in Leningrad and other Soviet cities, including exposing Soviet nuclear waste pollution. Soviet environmentalists were paired with American activists at Three Mile Island, Hanford, and Tri-Valley Cares. This professional exchange resulted in the implementation of critical environmental projects throughout Russia. The nuclear waste cleanup work was spun off to Earth Island in 1996 under the leadership of CCI Board Member Francis Macy and former CCI Board Member Enid Schreibman.

Over the years CCI's Environmental Initiative grew rapidly, taking on ever larger projects. Urged by Russian environmentalists, CCI's leaders became involved in solving the pollution and devastation of Lake Baikal. Soviet paper mills and other contaminating industries built on the edge of the lake were rapidly deteriorating the water in the lake. CCI received a \$4 million grant from USAID to create and implement a land-use policy for the Baikal basin in 1994, thus taking on the organization's largest-ever environmental program.

George Davis, professional environmental land use planner, was hired as CCI's Baikal project manager. Davis and his team researched and mapped the basin and began the long process of restoration. The program provided funding to reestablish the fauna and flora of the lake and basin, which included yak and reindeer to repopulate the region. In 1997, CCI and Davis agreed that he

should run the Baikal project from his East Coast office, and afterward the Baikal restoration project continued to completion independent of CCI.

Expansion

From 1983 to 1990, Soviet-citizen coordinators were set up to handle the growing work in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Tashkent, Yerevan and Minsk. These unpaid ordinary Soviets organized informal people-to-people programs for CCI delegations, and ultimately became the base of CCI's expanding work.

In 1993, USAID requested CCI concentrate its work on Russia. In the following five years, six Russian regional CCI offices were established in Volgograd, Rostov-on-Don, Ekaterinburg, Voronezh, north Moscow region (Dubna), plus CCI's headquarters in St. Petersburg, thus markedly expanding CCI's citizen networks within Russia. In 1998, CCI developed a seventh Partner Office in Vladivostok.

Funding

Non-governmental Funding

Through 1984, CCI was self-funded by the handful of volunteers who created the organization. Then slowly revenues began to come from a combination of fees collected from travelers under CCI's first program, Citizen Diplomacy Travel, CCI membership and newsletter requests.

In 1986, CCI was introduced to small US foundations, beginning with the Columbia Foundation, which became a donor and introduced CCI to other family foundations. The range of grants was \$15,000 to \$20,000. In 1988, Apple Computer co-founder Steve Wozniak gave CCI its first large grant of \$100,000 to insure Soviets Meet Middle America program operations. In that same year, CCI took the first of three delegations of American Foundation Executives to the USSR.

CCI garnered support from major US foundations beginning in 1989. The first grant was from the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation. In the following years, CCI received various grants from the Rockefeller Brothers Foundation, W. Alton Jones Foundation, Weeden Foundation, Arthur B. Schultz Foundation, Anonymous Foundation and others. These foundations provided the base to implement early programs, which US government funding agencies expanded into multi-million-dollar programs.

Governmental Funding

In 1993, the US government began funding technical assistance for Russia. CCI became the recipient of generous funding that allowed it to expand existing programs in the areas of business management, agriculture, environment and micro-business development. CCI received its first USAID grant for \$7.6 million to advance its Economic Development Program (EDP). USAID grants for CCI's Environmental Initiative, Agricultural Initiative and Russian Initiative for Self-Employment (RISE) programs followed. The US Department of State gave CCI its first grant to build the Productivity Enhancement Program (PEP) in 1996. By 2010 most of the funding had evaporated. Center for Citizen Initiatives remains one of the few organizations specializing on citizen diplomacy between the United States and Russia, which are still active in 2019.

5.2 Institute for Soviet-American Relations

The Institute for Soviet and American Relations (later renamed into Initiative for Social Action and Renewal in Eurasia) was established in Washington DC in 1983. Its founding mothers were Harriett Crosby, a former teacher with a master's degree in psychiatry, and Nancy Graham, a former Peace Corps official. They set it up as a private nonprofit organization for the promotion of cultural relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

ISAR's mission was to encourage citizen diplomacy and facilitate exchange between the US and the Soviet Union, as well as to support citizen activists and grassroots non-governmental organizations in their efforts to create just and sustainable societies. ISAR educated the public in the US and Eurasia about the unique role that grassroots groups play in shaping positive social, political, and economic transformation in the countries of the FSU.

ISAR started in Crosby's kitchen and grew out a survey all the organizations and groups involved in Soviet-American relations:

We discovered there was no coordination of all these groups, and so we became sort of a networking body collecting and distributing information about what was going on, not only in exchanges but all kinds of activities that relate to American-Soviet relations (Crosby 1987, qtd. in Gamarekian 1987).

From the very beginning, ISAR had a good handle on the extent of Soviet-American contact by private and public organizations and individuals. Particularly valuable was the ISAR handbook *Organizations Involved in Soviet-American Relations*. It was published yearly since 1983 (last issued in June 1986) and contained a listing of private and governmental organizations from the

US and the Soviet Union. Its 1986 edition listed 232 private groups. Besides, it provided information on all kinds of exchanges and had a section of information frequently requested by American citizens.

Apart from this, ISAR brought out its own journal *Surviving Together*, which reported every four months on Soviet-American joint projects and exchanges as well as on trade, legislation, public education programs and news coverage. Its first issue consisted of just 12 pages. By 1987, the issue extended to over 100 pages, with 30 pages of reporting on exchanges and joint projects alone. The readership grew to 3,500.

Stephen H. Rhinesmith, the director of the United States Information Agency office, which was established to oversee the cultural and educational exchange agreement signed in 1985 in Geneva by Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev said in his interview to the *New York Times*: “One of our jobs is to keep track of exchanges, but every time *Surviving Together* comes out, we find we only know about 30 percent of what is going on. It is a tremendous resource.” (qtd. in Gamarekian 1987)

In the glasnost era, as news of the severe environmental degradation plaguing the Soviet Union reached the West, ISAR focused its attention on citizen efforts to protect the environment. They started supporting community environmental problem-solving initiatives, building advocacy skills, galvanizing international environmental campaigns and increasing public participation in environmental decision-making.

In 1991, ISAR and the Socio-Ecological Union, a large environmental umbrella organization, jointly organized the first US-USSR NGO conference on the environment and launched an effort to create an FSU-wide environmental e-mail network.

ISAR’s efforts to find and support activists throughout the FSU were funded by a range of private and government funders, including US Agency for International Development (USAID) and a few Western foundations. In 1993, with funding from the USAID, ISAR began implementing small grants programs in the FSU. Ever since, ISAR distributed more than \$4 million in small grants to over 2,000 NGOs in eleven countries as well as \$2 million in support of US-FSU cooperative projects.

ISAR worked with a network of field offices in Azerbaijan (Baku), Belarus (Minsk), Kazakhstan (Almaty and Atyrau), Russia (Moscow, Novosibirsk, Vladivostok), and Ukraine (Kyiv) for over a quarter century until Vladimir Putin came to power in Russia.

5.3 Center for Soviet-American Dialogue

The Center for Soviet-American Dialogue (CSAD; later renamed into Center for International Dialogue) was founded in 1985, by Rama J. Vernon. Its original purpose was to promote non-official dialogue and peaceful cooperation through joint projects between the people of the US and the Soviet Union.

During its first five years of existence, CSAD sponsored over 40 conferences, forums and exchanges, which led to the development of 796 joint projects between the US and USSR and other countries. Areas covered included environmental ecology, economics, business and trade, medicine and health, education, human rights, conflict resolution, film, media, religion, and the arts.

CSAD-sponsored US-USSR events and programs include:

- International Peace Conference (82 US participants, 400 Soviet participants), 1985;
- In Search of a Positive Future (80 US participants, 350 Soviet participants), 1986;
- Women in Leadership Conference (50 US participants, 100 Soviet participants), 1986;
- Children as Teachers of Peace (50 US participants, 200 Soviet participants), 1986;
- World Peace Event (60 US participants, 7000 Soviet participants), New Year’s Eve 1986/1987;
- Soviet-American Citizens’ Summit I, Washington, D.C., “A New Way of Thinking in the Nuclear Age: Social Inventions for the 3rd Millennium” (500 US/International participants, 100 Soviet participants), 1988;
- Citizens’ Summit II, Moscow, “Restoring the Global Environment” (700 Soviet participants, 254 US/International participants), 1990;
- Conflict Resolution between Armenia and Azerbaijan (co-sponsored with Ukrainian Peace Committee), (20 US participants, 25 Soviet participants), 1990;
- Conflict Resolution Training of members of Supreme Soviet (Co-sponsored with Soviet Diplomatic Academy), 1991;
- Co-Sponsors with Russian Orthodox Church, Religious Dialogues, Moscow, Zagorsk, US, 1986-1990;
- Co-sponsors 1st Soviet-American Rights Conference “Life with Human Rights”, Moscow, (32 US participants, 100 Soviet participants), 1988;

- Co-sponsors with Soviet-Chamber of Commerce—Business and Trade Conferences & Exchanges, (13 US participants, 150 Soviet participants in 1988; 500 US participants, 12 Soviet participants in 1989), 1988-1989;
- Russian-American Center for Better Health, 1990;
- Center for American-Russian Folk Medicine, 1990;
- MiraMed Hospital and Birthing Clinics for Women, 1990;
- Treatment Clinics for Aids throughout Russia and Commonwealth Republics, since 1990;
- Research project on reduction of Cholesterol in Russian diet, since 1988;
- Joint Soviet-American Alcohol and Drug Abuse Programs, since 1988.

At first, CSAD had offices in the US and the USSR in Moscow and Ukraine. Those served as a base for a broad spectrum of Soviet society to come together to discuss issues of common and current concern. Over time, the Center's work branched out internationally to include dialogues and conflict resolution roundtables within the former Soviet Republics, Central and South America, Western Europe, Africa, Central Asia, China and the Middle East. Several records indicate that CID remained active until early-2000s.

5.4 Center for Safe Energy

In 1989, Francis Macy and Enid Schreibman founded the Center for Safe Energy (CSE). That year Fran Macy and John Knox, Earth Island co-director, co-led a delegation of American environmental NGOs to the Soviet Union. Based on these contacts CSE started establishing partnerships with environmental organizations around energy issues across the former Soviet republics.

This is how the Center defined its core objectives as stated on their official webpage:

- foster energy efficiency and the use of renewable energy resources in order to phase out reliance upon nuclear energy and fossil fuels in the US, former Soviet Union and other countries;
- support the growth of independent non-governmental organizations which are concerned with energy issues in the former Soviet Union and to link them for joint efforts with their counterparts in America and other countries;
- educate the public worldwide on the environmental and proliferation risks in the transport and management of nuclear waste, in the reprocessing of irradiated fuel rods from reactors and in the use of plutonium in nuclear power plants;
- build the strength and effectiveness of non-governmental organizations in the former Soviet Union, and in particular to strengthen women's leadership in those organizations. (CSE)

CSE engaged in a wide range of activities. Among them were:

- sending experts to provide technical assistance to the environmental citizen groups in the FSU;
- organizing professional delegations from the FSU to the US;
- organizing cultural collaborations between citizens of the US and of the FSU;
- co-sponsoring energy conferences and seminars in Russia and Ukraine;

- conducting training and grant programs in Kazakhstan;
- organizing study tours in the US for environmental activists from the FSU;
- NGO capacity building;
- organizing NGO advocacy campaigns;
- consulting businesses on developing energy efficiency and renewable energy;
- fostering women’s leadership and civil rights;
- facilitating exchange of information around energy;
- fundraising from US foundations and individuals in support of independent NGOs in the FSU;
- supporting grassroots groups in provincial and rural regions that are isolated from international funding and information resources;
- promoting the use of renewable fuel sources and energy conservation; and
- educating the public on the environmental and proliferation risks of nuclear power.

Below I list some of the key projects, facilitated by the CSE.

In 1991, CSE launched its first exchanges of US and Russian environmental activists, which were concerned with nuclear energy and radioactive contamination in both countries.

In 1994, together with the Socio-Ecological Union of Russia, CSE co-sponsored the Nuclear Watchdog Project. It was aimed at training Russian activists to promote renewable energy and energy conservation. It allowed US specialists to participate in conferences on the environmental impact of nuclear facilities in Krasnoyarsk and Tomsk.

In the same year, CSE organized two women’s delegations of nuclear activists from Russia and the Ukraine to the US. They visited alternative energy organizations, made connections with US counterparts, studied grant writing and development.

In 1996, CSE carried out Joint Energy Education Project in collaboration with local chapters of the Ukrainian Environmental Association, Green World. The Center organized a series of exhibits and technical seminars during the 10-year anniversary observances of the Chernobyl disaster, which took place in cities near nuclear power plants: Nikolaev, Nikopol and Zaporozhe.

Together with local NGOs, the Center co-sponsored the Conference on Sustainability in the Next Century in Nikolaev, Ukraine, in 1997. Center representatives spoke on Global Warming and Women in the Environmental Movement in the US. Energy Education Project in Ukraine included three specialists from the Center for technical seminars on energy and the quality and quantity of water in Nikolaev, Kirovograd, Krivoy Rog and Dnepropetrovsk. Center staff facilitated Deep Ecology and Women's Empowerment workshops in each city.

After twenty-two years of successful work in Russia, Ukraine, Georgia, and Kazakhstan, the Center was closed in 2017.

6 Selected Citizen Diplomacy Initiatives 1987-1995

6.1 American-Soviet Walks

In June 1987, 230 Americans arrived in Leningrad to walk together with 200 Soviets 450 miles all the way down to Moscow. The walkers were on route for five weeks. A year later, in summer 1988, International Peace Walk (IPW) and the Soviet Peace Committee (SPC) conducted two additional walks for peace and nuclear disarmament, one in the US with 200 Soviets and 50 Americans, and a second Soviet walk with 200 Americans and 200 Soviets in the Ukraine, from Odessa to Kiev.

The origins of the American-Soviet walks lie in the Great Peace March for Global Nuclear Disarmament, which brought together 500 people on a nine-months trek from Los Angeles to Washington D.C. It was at the bank of the Mississippi River in Davenport, Iowa, where American marchers met a small delegation of the SPC. This unplanned encounter gave birth to the idea of a similar walk in the Soviet Union.

According to Steve Brigham (2010, 594)¹, who was one of the dozen organizers of the 1987 walk on the American side, the five-week walk not only pushed the limits of the openness and democratization but also tread well beyond the traditional, safe conventions of a small-scale citizen exchange.

Indeed, in many respects the Walk stands out among other citizen diplomacy initiatives. As Brigham emphasizes, the scale of it was truly unprecedented: 400 participants spent five weeks intensively interacting with each other, as compared to the usual size of delegations coming to the Soviet Union—25 people or less. Another aspect that distinguished the American-Soviet Walk from other projects was the access to “everyday Soviets” and their way of life in its true colors. (Brigham 2010: 597). During these five weeks, as American and Soviet walkers passed through big cities, small towns and forgotten villages, there were countless spontaneous, unplanned interactions with ordinary people, who were not necessarily prepared for such an experience. These raw encounters enabled the communication to be as genuine as possible:

¹ In this part, I heavily rely on Brigham’s article, because it is, perhaps, one of the most detailed and reflected accounts of a US-USSR citizen diplomacy project, provided by an eyewitness.

Assessing the impact of the Walks, Brigham concludes that they reverberated on many levels:

1. At the international level, they broke new ground for Americans and Soviets engaging in large-scale, highly meaningful citizen diplomacy.
2. At the national level, the walks served as one of the many testing grounds for the Soviet government regarding the boundaries of glasnost and democratization.
3. At the local level, the walks brought thousands of Soviet citizens into direct contact with Americans for the first time in their lives. As such, the walks humanized the “enemy” that had haunted them for decades.
4. At the interpersonal level, American and Soviet walkers forged friendships that genuinely deepened over the passing weeks. Many of those friendships lasted for years after, and some continue to this day.
5. Finally, for each individual, the walks had a powerful, sometimes profound effect intellectually, emotionally, and spiritually. Walkers were inundated by one eye-opening encounter, experience, or conversation after another throughout the entire trip. The walks challenged our bodies, minds, and hearts and caused us to reflect more deeply than most travel ever does [...]. (Brigham 2010: 622)

6.2 Interhelp Trips to the USSR

In 1987, a US-based network Interhelp (founded in 1982) organized its first trip to the Soviet Union (INT 1987; Stiefel and Bennett 1987). This was chronologically one of the earliest citizen diplomacy projects for a peaceful and nuclear-free future, that I could identify while working with archival materials. However, Interhelp found a surprisingly unconventional way to address deep public concerns about potential nuclear destruction of our planet.

As stated in *The History of Interhelp*, they see their origins in anti-nuclear activism and research on the impact of the nuclear threat on culture, human relationships and lives. They wanted to resist isolation, lack of dynamism and vision for solutions, and inability to act collectively—what was described by Robert Jay Lifton as “psychic numbing” (Hendrick and Anders).

Using their experience in intercultural communication and relying on the latest findings of interdisciplinary research, Chellis Glendinning, Fran Peavey and Joanna Macy conceptualized and developed “despair and empowerment” work (a term coined by Glendinning). Its underlining idea was that “when people share with others their feelings of fear, anguish or despair, their power to act for change is released” (Hendrick and Anders; see generally Macy 1993, 2007).

Thus, among numerous US-Soviet citizen diplomacy initiatives on environmental spectrum, Interhelp trips to the Soviet Union truly stand out with its take on the issue. Their primary focus was never stated as ecological or anti-nuclear cooperation. Neither were participants exclusively environmental or peace activists. Among them there were ordinary citizens, who aspired to build bridges, to overcome the Iron Curtain, to start a dialogue with their Soviet counterparts, to talk

about burning issues of the time, and to try to find a sustainable solution, all of which stands in line with the notion of citizen diplomacy.

The December issue of the *Interhelp Newsletter* (1987) reports on the first trip to the USSR sponsored by Interhelp in July 1987. Thirty-five Americans spent two weeks in the Soviet Union, visiting Leningrad, Moscow and Tbilisi. This exchange was coordinated by Adi Bemak, former development coordinator for Interhelp, Ray Stiefel, former staffer for the Project on the Present Danger², who had spent seven weeks in the USSR in 1987, and Fran Macy, who was at the time director of the Association for Humanistic Psychology US-Soviet Exchange Program.

Throughout the trip the Interhelp group organized six despair-to-empowerment type workshops, two in each city, which were conducted with joint US-Soviet participation:

[...] USers and Soviets shared their creative responses to the world situation, and to the problems they have in common—fear of nuclear destruction, environmental deterioration, AIDS, etc. The time was spent more on personal sharing than on theoretical discourse [...]. (INT 1987)

Some of the workshops were “official”—held at Institutes of Psychology, others were “unofficial”—held in private apartments and community centers. Fran Macy arranged all of them, with the help of Barbara Hazard. According to Stiefel and Benett in their letter to Interhelp members, workshops “led to wonderful and heartfelt connections. Many of the participants on this tour have spoken of it as having changed their lives” (1987, 1).

² This reference on Ray Stiefel stems from the *Interhelp Newsletter* (1987). An attempt to research background information on the Project on the Present Danger yielded no results. I assume, that by mistake, the author of the text in the Newsletter might have incorrectly indicated the name of organization, which Stiefel had worked for. My best guess is that this was the Committee on the Present Danger (CPD), which is, given the context, quite unexpected, to say the least.

CPD was a bipartisan US foreign policy lobbying group, promoting a militaristic, expansionist, anti-Soviet agenda. It drew on the worst-case-scenario outcome of the Cold War and advocated US first strike against the USSR. The Committee was first founded in 1950 and re-formed in 1976 to push for larger defense budgets and arms buildups, to counter the Soviet Union. Alexander Zaitchik (2010), journalist, security policy researcher at the Institute of International Relations in Prague, Czech Republic, and editor at *Freezerbox Magazine*, describes CDP’s scope of influence under Ronald Reagan’s administration, 1981—1989:

Most of the super-hawks that populated Reagan’s cabinet were culled from the ranks of the advocacy group Committee on the Present Danger. The Committee [...] was organized by fanatically anti-communist neo-conservatives with little patience for the give-and-take of Nixon/Carter diplomacy. Once viewed as extremists with minimal influence on policy debates, Reagan’s victory brought the Committee to the center of power, the reigns of policy delivered into its lap. The arms control process was hijacked, beheaded and left to rot besides the discarded corpse of détente.

If my guess is right, it would be of great interest to learn, what led to Stiefel’s drastic change of occupation. For further reading on CPD see Sanders 1983; Tyroler 1984; Vaise and Goldhammer 2010; Bright and Roberts 2012, but cf. Blackburn 2016.

The 1987 trip was considered a huge success. According to Philipp Benett, there were three key elements, that secured the favorable outcome of their undertaking: group bonding and focus on personal sharing, the attitude of ease and friendship, and making friends with Soviets:

[...] there are many problems in the Soviet Union, but [...] spending one's time pointing them out is counterproductive. Simply meeting and talking with as many Soviets as possible will do more to break down misunderstanding and mistrust than 'scoring points for democracy'." (INT 1987)

Taking into account the experiences of the 1897 trip, Interhelp made some alterations to the program for the next year:

"[...] responding to evaluations from this year's tour, we will limit the number of costly group excursions and seek to facilitate a maximum of person to person contact, building on the many relationships we developed this year." (Stiefel and Benett 1987)

All members of the Interhelp network and their intimate relations could apply for this program. The number of participants was limited to 30 people. Yet if there were vacant places, those could be offered to external candidates under the condition that they would come from peace or environmental circles and share Interhelp's vision.

Interhelp US-USSR Citizen Understanding Project

After its second trip to the Soviet Union in summer 1988, Interhelp proposed to invite some of their new Soviet friends to the United States. A project proposal issued later that year gives us some insight into the planning process of the return exchange.

Starting 1989, Interhelp was planning to host individual Soviet citizens for four to six weeks, one visitor each calendar year. The expenses in the US would be covered by the inviting side, whereas the invitees would be responsible for transportation costs to and from the US. Visitors would be housed in American homes and accompanied by Interhelp members during their stay.

What distinguished this initiative from other similar programs, is that Interhelp preferred to host individuals rather than groups. Invited were women as well as men, members of minority groups such as Jews, and individuals who helped US-Interhelpers visit and lead workshops in the USSR. Their proficiency in English or lack of it would not influence the decision making. The program would include visiting rural parts of the US as well as large cities. The project was done in collaboration with the Insight Meditation Center of Barre, Massachusetts and members of Insight Meditation group that had visited the USSR in 1988. (INT 1988)

These visits were thought as an opportunity to educate themselves and their American neighbors that the concerns of ordinary Soviet citizens are similar to theirs, and to educate a Soviet visitor about everyday life in the United States. Soviet guests were to be introduced to the philosophy and working approaches used in Interhelp, so that more grassroots approaches to solving global problems may emerge in the USSR: “Interhelp has something very unique to share, because ‘I can’t make a difference’ and ‘I don’t want to know’ are common attitudes among Soviet citizens” (INT 1988).

6.3 Findhorn-Soviet EcoTravels

A brochure by Findhorn Foundation [1990] provides information on their program called *Findhorn-Soviet EcoTravels*. From 1988 to 1991, they ran nearly 20 exchange projects with the Soviet Union in different formats: conferences, work camps, youth programs, travel tours, etc. The brochure shows a great variety of fields, on which Findhorn Foundation wanted to cooperate and exchange experience with the Soviets. These include ecology, politics, art, psychology, leadership, spirituality, and others. Below I list and shortly describe Findhorn-Soviet projects with focus on environmental protection.

In 1989, 40 young people from the Soviet Union, Britain, Sweden and Botswana spent 5 weeks camping and travelling together through the Kalahari Desert and the Okavango Delta in Botswana. For all participants, it was their first experience of Africa and of living with people coming from such different backgrounds. Later in 1990, Soviet, Swedish and British groups hosted a return exchange. The program included traveling to Ulan-Ude, exploring the Lake Baikal, sailing on a boat to and camping on an island in the Swedish Archipelago. The group visited a biological sewerage demonstration plant at Stensund, the Centre for Alternative Technology in Wales, and the Easterhouse Youth Centre in Glasgow. The project ended with collective work on the Caledonian Reforestation Project in northern Scotland.

In February 1990, a group of eight ecologists from Bazhukovo Ecological Cooperative, nearby Sverdlovsk, visited the Findhorn Foundation, and the Centre for Human Ecology in Edinburgh.

In May 1990, fourteen ecologists from Moscow State University spent two weeks at the Findhorn Foundation, at the Centre for Human Ecology in Edinburgh, and in London.

In July 1990, 20 young people between 14 and 18 years old—10 from the Soviet Union and 10 from Europe—took part in a three-week Findhorn-Soviet ecology camp. An opening week at the Findhorn Foundation in Scotland was followed by two weeks camping in the Ural Mountains. The program was offered again one year later, in July 1991.

In August 1990, ten Soviet children and five youth leaders from Polarex Speleocentre, Sverdlovsk, spent two weeks in the Forest Schools Camp in Wales.

In June 1991, a delegation from Findhorn Foundation spent two weeks camping together with members of Bazhukovo Ecological Cooperative in the Bazhukovo Nature Reserve nearby Sverdlovsk and sharing ideas on developing the Nature Reserve and decreasing air and water pollution in Sverdlovsk.

In August 1991, a students' ecology work camp brought together ten young people, 18 to 25 years old, from the West and students of the Biology Department of Sverdlovsk University.

All the programs by Findhorn Foundation were costly. Prices for a two- or three-week program started from 2000 US dollars. It remains unclear, whether the Foundation provided scholarships for the Soviet participants or they were responsible for the funding themselves. In any case, this was a big sum of money for ordinary Soviet citizens, meaning that programs in which participants had to carry the expenses themselves were only available to the wealthiest in the Soviet Union. However, it might have worked differently. A lot of programs mention students of Sverdlovsk university and local ecologists, who were highly unlikely to be able to pay the full price.

There is a document (Stiefel [1990]), which indicates that Interhelp was cooperating with the Findhorn Foundation in the area of the citizen diplomacy with the Soviet Union. Namely, it is an invitation to apply for a Findhorn Experience Week in Northern Scotland, which was to be followed by a visit to the Soviet Union for two weeks. The trip was to take place from November 9th to November 30th, 1990. Interhelp was looking for approximately 15 participants on the American side.

Another interesting detail in that invitation letter: Ray Stiefel writes, that by 1990, the group leaders—supposedly him and Liza Schnadt—have had twenty trips to the Soviet Union in total. This gives us some insight into intensity and the scale of the US-Soviet exchange in the 1980s.

6.4 Soviet-American Citizens' Summit II

In January 1990, the Soviet Peace Committee (SPC) and the Center for Soviet-American Dialogue (CSAD) hosted the 2nd Soviet-American Citizens' Summit in Moscow. The theme of the conference was "Restoring the Global Environment: Sustainable Models for the New Millennium".

A report on its proceedings (CSAD and SPC 1990) states, that over 200 Americans and 300 soviet citizens, "from all walks of life and from many sectors of society", attended the Summit between January 21st and 25th. They shared their vision for the future, set common goals and exchanged ideas for new projects in over twenty round tables and task forces. Those covered such topics as environment, energy, economics, youth and education, business and trade, wholistic health and healing, communications, spirituality and religion, and the arts. Prominent personalities spoke on the global issues and the need for joint action at plenary sessions. Among them were:

- Dr. Noel Brown, special representative for North America of the UN Environmental Program;
- Hazel Henderson, global economist and author;
- Sergei Tolstoy, grandson of Leo Tolstoy;
- David Brower, founder of Sierra Club, Friends of the Earth, and Earth Island Institute;
- Vladimir Pozner, noted TV journalist;
- Daniel Ellsberg, global security futurist;
- Mikhail Milstein, Retired USSR General and Researcher at the US-Canada Institute and USSR Academy of Sciences;
- Sergei Kapitsa, physicist and popular host of TV show on science, and others.

The round table on global ecology and environment, co-chaired by Noel Brown, criticized the two superpowers for prioritizing military objectives over environmental concerns:

We believe the United States and the Soviet Union have not only been involved in the arms race, but also have been the major polluters and major inefficient consumers of natural resources. And therefore we believe that the whole style of the relationship between our two countries should be changed and that the environment should be the core issue for cooperation between us, as it is the case for this Citizens' Summit. (CSAD and SPC 1990, 4)

They called for a cut in defense spending by a minimum of 50% and redirecting the funds to ecological restoration and "areas of global human need" (Wilhelm 1990, 18), and envisioned the

US and the USSR as leaders in establishing “new environmental ethics and behavior for all of humanity” (CSAD and SPC 1990, 4).

Another round table, co-chaired by Fran Macy, discussed global ecology and energy issues. By the year 2000, they proposed to increase energy efficiency by 50% and to cut carbon dioxide emissions by 20% worldwide (the United States and the Soviet Union—by 35%) (CSAD and SPC 1990, 5).

The working group on the global security described their desired future as “a global home [...] with a sign over the door saying, ‘No nuclear welcome here’”. They continued: “The people and nations dwelling there must delegitimize war and promote the [sic] need to reject nuclear and non-nuclear strategies of war”. (CSAD and SPC 1990, 7)

Overall, the executive summary of the Summit included over 35 goals and projects, that reflected their idea of a new sustainable world by 2000. In their propositions, they pled to halt deforestation, phase out ozone depleting chemicals by 1995, initiate recycling programs globally, replace GNP calculations with Sustainability Indexing, and many others (Wilhelm 1990).

It is a shame that in 2019 we are nowhere near achieving any of these goals. What is worse, it appears that we are moving in the opposite direction—with the President of the United States Donald Trump denying the global warming and withdrawing from the Paris Climate Agreement, while Russia is building more nuclear power plants all over the world and initiating a “witch hunt” on the civil society—to name a few examples. The Summit’s hopeful vision for the future seems now to be an almost unreachable utopia.

Nevertheless, not every appeal of the delegates was doomed to fail. For example, one of the goals set at the Summit was to establish International Green Cross “to facilitate international cooperation on restoration of ecological areas that are globally significant to life on Earth” (Wilhelm 1990, 18). Green Cross International (GCI) was launched in Kyoto, Japan, on April 18th, 1993. In spring 1994, Green Cross National Organizations from Japan, the Netherlands, Russia, Switzerland, and the United States formed a network and joined the GCI. Today, the Green Cross operates on every continent, in more than 30 countries.

Yet, it would also be wrong to consider the establishment of the GCI as an achievement of the Summit alone, because the idea of it belonged to Mikhail Gorbachev. He expressed it just days

before the conference, during his address at the Global Forum on Environment and Development for Survival, which took place in Moscow, January 14th—20th, 1990.

According to several sources, the second Citizens' Summit saw the creation of an estimated 170 additional joint projects. These are, however, difficult to track down. Rama Vernon (2015), the founder of the CSAD, writes the Summit II and ongoing forums enabled the organization to launch 1000 joint projects. It is a bold statement, but either way it is nearly impossible to support or rebut it.

6.5 First US-USSR NGO Conference on the Environment

The first US-USSR joint NGO environmental conference was held in Moscow, March 14th —19th, 1991. The event was hosted by the Socio-Ecological Union (SEU). Other independent Soviet groups like the Moscow Ecological Foundation, “The Green Movement” and the Association for the Support of Ecological Initiatives helped organize it. (Klose and Cook [1990])

Among the American environmental organizations, which expressed interest in sending a delegate to the Moscow conference, were the Appalachian Mountain Club, the Chesapeake Bay Foundation, Earth Island, the National Audubon Society, the Natural Resources Defense Council and the Sierra Club. Numerous small local environmental groups applied as well. In addition to the steering committee, the American side was planning to include about twenty NGO delegates plus interested observers from the press and the philanthropic community. (Klose and Cook [1990])

There was a chain of events, which made this conference possible. In December 1989, the World Resources Institute set up a meeting for American NGOs, which were involved in joint US-USSR activities, and representatives of US Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). The meeting was called—amongst other things—to discuss the possibilities for support in hosting of a Soviet delegation in January 1990 in Washington. Twenty-five US NGOs agreed to host the visiting Soviets. For the first time, a delegation from the Soviet Union included an NGO representative—Dr. Maria Cherkasova of the SEU. (ISAR [1990], [1])

Cherkasova used that time to connect with American environmental NGOs. This is how the idea of organizing a Joint NGO Conference emerged. She received a second invitation to the US in April 1990. EPA representatives pursued this idea further with Cherkasova and Soviet environmentalist-legislator Alexei Yablokov. Cherkasova returned to Moscow and set up a representative

steering committee to organize the Soviet NGO end of such conference. The American side drew up a tentative agenda in summer 1990. (ISAR [1990]) EPA provided partial funding for the conference—it granted \$25,000 to the ISAR on behalf of the US environmental NGO community. (Klose and Cook [1990])

Both sides took the selection of participants very seriously. Americans wanted their delegation to represent broadly the US NGO environmental community. So, they looked for organizations, local and national ones, from different regions of the country, specializing on different issues. To participate, groups were required to be willing to commit to US-Soviet projects and have the capacity to support such activities. In choosing the delegates, the American side was also guided by pragmatic concerns. They made sure, that there were groups with a substantial experience in American environmental activism to share their expertise with the Soviet counterparts. Besides they needed experts on the Soviet Union fluent in the Russian language to help others contextualize new information and assist in producing reports after the conference. Finally, they were looking for experts in communications technology in order to establish a computer-based networking system for further cooperation, manage databases and monitor developments in environment. (Klose and Cook [1990]; ISAR [1990], [2]).

The SEU, being a network of 200 grassroots groups across the Soviet Union, looked forward to working with American environmentalists on several critical issues, ranging from monitoring radioactivity to the effects of pollution on the population. (ISAR [1990], [1])

Thus, this conference became a platform for connecting environmental NGOs across the Soviet Union and between the US and the USSR. The goals of the conference were set as follows:

- to educate American and Soviet activists about the role of environmental NGOs in both countries,
- to research the state of environmental activism in the Soviet Union,
- to determine the nature and extent of existing joint activities,
- to identify and begin to devise solutions to the problems which hinder cooperative efforts,
- to lay the groundwork for establishing concrete joint projects, and
- to consider the establishment of a coordinating center on US-USSR environmental activities.

In accordance with these objectives, the program of the conference included time for small group workshops and individual meetings. (Klose and Cook [1990]; ISAR [1990]).

The first day of the conference was designed to allow the conference participants to get to know each other. The program was divided in two parts: first, American environmental groups introduced themselves, then the Soviet ones. Each time, following questions were up to discussion:

- environmental policy-making in the respective country;
- responsibilities and activities of different actors and institutions;
- the role of independent citizen groups;
- major environmental NGOs, and their purpose, capabilities, functions, mechanisms for action;
- sources and possibilities of funding. (ISAR [1991], [1])

The objective for the second day was to explore existing cooperative activities and identify problems and possibilities for further development of such activities. US NGOs were given the opportunity to meet with members of Soviet environmental organizations and learn firsthand about their concerns and the conditions under which they work, or to observe a problem area of concern to the Soviet group, such as a polluting factory or hazardous waste dump. (ISAR [1991], [1])

The third day of the conference was reserved for a series of workshops in groups of ten to fifteen people. Initially, the following topics were suggested for the groupwork:

- Citizen Organizing;
- Citizen/Government interaction;
- Communications (a chance to compare notes on computer networking, electronic mail, etc.);
- Conflict-Resolution; Establishing a Coordination Center for joint activities, prospects and possibilities;
- Fundraising;
- Lobbying;
- Education & Media;
- The how-to's of setting up an NGO, legal framework, bylaws, etc.;
- Enforcing environmental laws and regulations. (ISAR [1991], [1])

On day four, a roundtable discussion of cooperative efforts was held in plenum. The session was led by members of groups already engaged in joint projects and included both Soviet and American participants. Apart from giving examples of existing projects and sharing their experiences “of what works and what’s causing problems”, they put an emphasis on networking and

communications generally, because it was a big issue for both sides. The last day was to be a public session with invited prominent guests and press. (ISAR [1991], [2])

6.6 EcoForum USA-NIS Kiev 1995

EcoForum was conceptualized as a networking opportunity for Eurasian and American greens, and held in May 23rd—28th, 1995 in Ukraine, outside Kiev. It gathered NGO representatives from Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, the USA, Uzbekistan, and other countries. The idea came from Elisa Klose, ISAR's executive director. The US Agency for International Development (USAID) provided financial support. The means were managed and distributed by ISAR.

Preparations for the Forum started in November 1994. The steering committee concluded that activities and communications between environmental NGOs need to be coordinated on two levels: regionally among the Newly Independent States (NIS), and internationally between US and NIS groups. (SCEF 1994, [1])

EcoForum pursued the following aims:

- to provide the opportunity (atmosphere) for a creative transformation within the environmental movement;
- to assist in the development of cooperation between environmental NGOs in the USA and NIS;
- to determine the similarities and differences in environmental NGO activities in the USA and NIS;
- to share the experiences, both positive and negative, of cooperative NGO projects;
- to define directions of new cooperative projects;
- to assist in the coordination of activities between environmental NGOs at the regional, inter-regional and international levels;
- to assist in the defining of new approaches and strategies for the development of the environmental movement in new political, social and economic conditions;
- to improve the prestige of NGOs in the NIS. (SCEF 1994, [2])

This time, Forum participants were selected differently: the decision was made by the regional ISAR representatives in consultation with their regional experts, both members of the Steering Committee and of the ISAR regional boards. ISAR declared that it is ready to finance the participation of 160³ representatives of regional NGOs, both from the US and NIS. Among other criteria,

³ Accounts on the number of participants vary. Carol Vesecky of Biointensive for Russia and Ecology Action (both Palo Alto, CA) writes that there were 140 representatives of “green” groups (Vesecky 1995, 5). According to Arlene Montgomery, who represented Friends of The Wild Swan (Swan Lake, MT), there were 150 participating NGOs, with 37 from the US (FOWS 1995, 6). I suppose, that these differences can be explained by the fact, that ISAR was planning on inviting publishers, press, private investors and alike (SCEF 1994, [3]).

upon which the delegates were chosen, were expertise in the field of environmental protection; project proposals for inter-regional and international cooperation; NGOs with little or no prior experience in cooperative projects in their regions. Each organization could only send one representative. (SCEF 1994, [3]; ISAR 1994a)

EcoForum offered over 56 seminars, workshops and round tables on a variety of environmental issues (Vesecky 1995, 8). Among them were:

- stepping up the activities of environmental NGOs;
- development of information networks;
- environmental legislation;
- independent environmental impact assessment;
- organization of advocacy campaigns;
- new trends in energy development and natural resource management;
- ecosystem restoration and preservation;
- establishment of protected areas;
- effects of pollution on human health;
- toxic waste cleanup;
- agricultural development and biointensive farming;
- environmental education;
- medical ecology;
- practical application of environmental philosophy;
- women’s participation in the environmental movement; and many more. (ISAR 1994a; ISAR and SCEF 1995; FOWS 1995, 6)

A separate mention deserve Deep Ecology sessions led by Fran Macy. This was the only workshop offered three times during the Forum (ISAR and SCEF 1995). It seems to have left a strong impression on the participants. Here is what Olga Green of Blue Bird (Vladivostok, Russia) says about the empowering impact of this session:

The most important part of the EcoForum for me personally was a workshop on Deep Ecology. I recognized myself as a part of the world. We talked in small groups about our pleasure in being alive and about our pain over the environmental crisis. We were asked later to speak from the point of view of a person concerned about an environmental problem, then from the point of view of someone who has the opposite opinion, and finally with the voice of a creature, object or being, which is directly affected by the problem. I spoke with the voice of a bird who was trying to live with pollution. (Green qtd. in ISAR 1995)

7 Expert Opinion and Witness Account: Interview with Askhat Kayumov

Askhat Kayumov is a prominent Russian ecologist and recognized leader of the green movement in the Volga region. He is founder and director of the Environmental Center “Dront” in Nizhny Novgorod, member of the Socio-Ecological Union, currently co-chair of the Russian Socio-Ecological Union, and author of over 350 publications and 50 scientific papers.



Figure 6. Askhat Kayumov. Source: dront.ru

He participated in the First US-USSR NGO Conference on the Environment in March 1991. One of the things that interested me the most was whether he and his colleagues saw themselves as citizen diplomats. He answered that they “never identified” as citizen diplomats, or “felt like” such (Kayumov 2018, 15:59).

He asserted that the notion of a citizen diplomat became widespread only later in the 1990s with the launch of the program “Open World”.

I was also interested in his assessment of the influence that citizen diplomacy had on the development of environmental movement as a part of the civil society across the FSU. He hesitated:

I would not draw this parallel that bluntly. [...] In the Soviet Union, the environmental movement, as part of the movement for nature conservation⁴, was very active and already self-organized union-wide. Thus, as possibilities for citizen action emerged, ecological activity became one of the most developed. Alumni of the nature conservation movement founded a great number of environmental organizations, which were generally self-organized. The Socio-Ecological Union, as an umbrella-institution of various green groups, stepped forward as a partner in organizing conferences on the Russian [sic] part. Clearly, the resources that were brought to us from the American side, helped the environmental movement a lot to keep its leadership in the civil society activity. It is difficult to say, how it would have been, had there been no such cooperation with Americans. Simultaneously, there was also cooperation with European organizations. It was not as active as with Americans, because Europe react and moves slower than America. And still similar cooperation was going on for about 15 years. [...] I would say following: our cooperation with the ISAR and [the program ‘Seeds of Democracy’] helped us significantly. But the strength of the environmental sector in Russia was not due to it. The opposite was true: they came to a strong partner. Undoubtedly, the effect of it was profound. (Kayumov 2018, 12:58-15:34)

Another question on my part was, whether the 1991 NGO conference led to any tangible results in terms of joint environmental projects and activities. His answer was affirmative. He considers it

⁴ I believe he refers to the All-Russian Society for Nature Conservation, which was an official environmental organization in the USSR, founded 1924 and reorganized 1991.

to be the starting point of the cooperation between environmental NGOs of the US and the former Soviet republics (Kayumov 2018, 11:18-11:21). As one of the most important outcomes of this conference, he sees the small grants program “Seeds of Democracy”, implemented by the ISAR with funding from the USAID. (Kayumov 2018, 4:38-5:01). He emphasizes that the selection of projects, which were to be funded was a transparent and fair process:

I was a member on the expert advisory board and witnessed how the decisions were made. This was a real competition with a real evaluation. As a result, a great number of significant environmental projects were implemented. Was it not for this program, these projects would have never been carried out. (Kayumov 2018, 5:03-5:19)

Beside funding, this conference led to creation of an FSU-wide environmental email network, which was a breakthrough in coordination of joint activities. This was a cooperative effort of the SEU and the ISAR.

At that time, the concept of communication via email was non-existent in Russia. Moreover, no one had access to the internet. Prior to that, environmental organizations communicated mainly per post. First citizen groups, who started using emails in Russia, were ecologists. Every large city, where major environmental activism took place received a computer, a printer, a modem with access to Internet and an email account. This was indeed very useful, because for the first time NGOs in the FSU were able to communicate instantly with each other, as well as with their American counterparts, which in its turn facilitated dozens of new US-FSU joint projects on different topics. (Kayumov 2018, 6:50-8:29, 10:49-10:59)

Kayumov took part in one of such projects around 1993⁵, which was initiated by the Center for Nuclear Ecology and Energy Policy, founded by Lydia Popova in 1992. Twelve activists from Russian regions, in which radioactive contamination was a major concern, traveled to the United States to meet with American activists from similar organizations to learn how they solve problems of nuclear safety. Later there was a return exchange with American activists traveling to Russia with the same goal. (Kayumov 2018, 8:31-9:13) For example, due to these trips, they discovered the difference between handling nuclear facilities in the US and the FSU:

In Russia, they shut down the whole city [...]. In America, the cities remain open and instead, nuclear sites become closed objects. We were in a city, analogous to our Sarov⁶—it is possible to go there. But around the nuclear site itself there is a strictly guarded safety zone. Upon prior request, they allowed us to visit the site. This applies to all facilities, which are not considered classified. They even gave us a tour inside their nuclear center. As you can see, these two are conceptually different

⁵ Kayumov could not remember exactly the time he traveled to the US.

⁶ Sarov (formerly Arzamas-16) is a closed town in Nizhny Novgorod Region in Russia. It is the Russian center for nuclear research and atomic bomb design. The town is surrounded by fences patrolled by the military. Only permanent residents of Sarov are allowed to travel to and outside the town freely. All of them have a specific ID, confirming their residence in Sarov. Others are required to apply for an authorization to visit or remain overnight.

approaches. The American approach lies upon securing the safety, whereas for Russians it is about using the funds for securing the safety. (Kayumov 2018, 10:04-10:46)

He affirms that Popova's Center was a very active and efficient organization. During its existence, Russian and American anti-nuclear activists cooperated extensively, shared most recent information and their experience with each other, implemented joint projects and regularly visited each other. (Kayumov 2018, 9:40-9:55)

8 Interpretation of Results

This study demonstrates that the CDM was neither a homogenous and cohesive unit, nor had it a uniform ideology or consistent goals. It was a complex phenomenon, an interplay of different forces on the intersection of different tracks of diplomacy. The environmental sector of citizen diplomacy between the USA and the former Soviet Union acted within the spectrum of tracks *two* (non-governmental/professional), *four* (private citizens), *six* (activism), *eight* (funding) and *nine* (media). The core of it constitutes *track four* diplomacy.

8.1 Dramatis Personae: Five Types of Green Citizen Diplomacy Actors

I identified five common types of citizen diplomacy actors, defined by their function in the movement. I derived these categories from (1) the kinds of citizen diplomacy initiatives they participate in, (2) the challenges that they face, (3) the tasks they fulfill, and (4) the impact of their activities and/or the response to them from the government, the media and the general public. I conceptualized this typology in a creative way, using vivid images to capture their essence. Therefore, I apologize to the reader for deviating from the formal and dry language.

Citizen diplomats who engage in typical *track four* projects—such as Interhelp Trips to the USSR, Findhorn Eco-Travels and Citizen Diplomacy Trips by CCI—are the *trailblazers* of the movement. They arrive at a tabula rasa and are the ones, who map out the field and make first contact to the locals. They lay the groundwork for the next wave of diplomats to come. Trust and personal relationships create the base for a long-term commitment and excitement for further cooperation.

Those who participate in initiatives, which are situated on the intersection of *track four* and *track six*—such as American-Soviet Walks—are the *standard-bearers*, or the *bannermen* of the movement. They are the avant-garde of the movement and are the most visible ones to the governments, the media and general public. The Walkers of 1987 filled up streets and boulevards in towns big and small, they camped in villages and protested on the Red Square. This had three immediate effects: (1) they made the governments notice them and respond to their actions, (2) the Walkers' undertaking was so huge and unprecedented in scale that they received wide coverage in the media, and (3) they gave ordinary—otherwise identifying as non-political—people an inspiring example of civil courage and empowerment.

Over time, *track four* initiatives become more and more specific in their focus and therefore attract more professionals. Big events such as Soviet-American Citizens' Summit II, the First US-USSR NGO Conference on the Environment and the EcoForum USA-NIS shifted to the intersection of *track four* and *track two*. Alongside with the leaders of CDMs, experts, scientists, civil society activists come together to connect and to look for possibilities of cooperation. Because their main objective is networking and establishing new channels of cooperation, they can be compared to spiders, weaving their webs

Joint projects become more ambitious and larger in scale. They need funding. This is when *track eight* comes into playfield. Individuals, or more often non-governmental organizations that provide funding for citizen diplomacy projects are like the four-wheel-drive of the movement. It allows citizen diplomats to hit the gas and flourish.

The last but not least is *track nine*: the media. Media coverage of citizen diplomacy initiatives functions like a megaphone. It amplifies the impact of their undertakings and sends more waves into the ocean of information.

Now, it is possible to theorize the life cycle of a CDM. Using the types of citizen diplomacy actors outlined above, I present it in the form of a fable. This genre allows to summarize the history of the US-USSR green CDM through allegories in a short and simple way. At the same time, it elevates the description on a more abstract level and detaches it from concrete names, places, and dates, which brings it closer to the idea of a blueprint that I expressed in the introductory chapter.

8.2 Blueprint: A Tale of a Trailblazer, a Bannerman and a Spider Riding a 4x4 with a Megaphone on its Roof

Once upon a time there lived two trailblazers. They were curious, peaceful, and most of all brave creatures. Their hobby was to draw maps and to talk to strangers. Their dream was to go on an exciting journey into the virgin woods, they had heard many terrifying stories about since they were little. It was told, the woods were inhabited by monsters, who would eat alive anyone who entered the woods. Since it was the most popular story in their land, and because they were trailblazers and liked to draw maps, they wanted to be the first to discover the mysterious woods and find out, if the stories were true.

Even though they were very brave, they were still a little afraid of going into the woods alone. So, they called the bannermen and together they marched a long way to the woods, drawing more maps and talking to more strangers. They were asking the strangers, if they knew anything about the monsters and where they lived, but no one knew exactly what they were talking about. The strangers were kind to them and often invited them for a cup of tea or a hot meal. So, the trailblazers, the bannermen and the strangers made friends.

The way was long. The trailblazers and the bannermen were feeling lonely and wanted to find more trailblazers to draw maps together, to talk to more strangers and to make new friends. One of their new friends from the strangers' tribe gave them a megaphone as a gift to remember their encounter. It was much more fun walking through the woods with a megaphone! They were telling stories through the megaphone about their journey in the woods and hoped that other trailblazers, bannermen and strangers would hear and join them.

The megaphone and the fun stories about their adventures in the woods worked. Many more trailblazers, bannermen and strangers joined them. More maps were drawn, more friends were made. But their stories heard other creatures in the woods too. One day they met a very cute and very hairy spider who knew very well his way around the woods. More than anything, the spider liked to weave webs. And weaving webs together with other cute and hairy spiders was even better. His favorite saying was: "It is all about connections". The spider knew that his kind isn't particularly liked by other species. Nevertheless, his dream was to be useful and to help others when they are in trouble. He told the trailblazers that he once saw an abandoned vehicle hidden in the woods and he could show the way to it. "What a brilliant idea!" said the trailblazers. With a vehicle they could go around the woods much faster and thus draw more maps and make more friends.

The vehicle the spider was talking about was very fancy. It had an electric four-wheel-drive, powered by solar panels so that it wouldn't pollute the clean air of the virgin woods. So, the two trailblazers, the bannerman and the spider got in the car, put the megaphone on its roof and drove as far as they could see. On the way, the spider wove his webs, the bannerman told stories about their adventures in the woods through the megaphone, and the trailblazers continued to draw maps and make new friends with strangers. From time to time, the spider took the megaphone and repeated his favorite saying: "It is all about connections".

They drove and drove, until the winter came, and the clouds hid the sun. The vehicle had less and less power to run. The road in the woods was also very bumpy. One after another, the vehicle lost all its wheels. There was nothing they could do about it. It was time to part their ways and go home. In a hurry, they forgot to take the megaphone home. It still lies on top of the roof.

The two trailblazers grew old and wrote a book about their adventures in the woods for their kids, little trailblazers. In their book they wrote that the old stories were lies and that there are no monsters in the woods. Instead, they met there kind and welcoming strangers. They discovered that the strangers were very much like them—they liked to talk to trailblazers and to show them their maps. Some of them became best friends for life. So, the two old trailblazers encouraged all the little trailblazers to go to the woods and to make friends with strangers. After all they now had the book with detailed maps of all the secret trails in the woods. The bannermen grew old too and some folks say, once in a while, they come to the bar and tell stories about their great adventures in the woods over a pint of a vegan smoothie. And the spider? He is still weaving his webs.

The End

9 Conclusion

In the mid-1980s, private citizens from the United States and the Soviet Union challenged the political status-quo and prevailing stereotypes. They began getting to know each other and building bridges on a personal level. However, their commitment to peace went far beyond their initial goals. American and Soviet citizen diplomats left an enduring legacy. They shaped the anti-nuclear movement, fostered the democratization, strengthened the civil society in the former Soviet republics, and started large international projects, which are often taken for granted today.

Below I briefly summarize the findings of this thesis.

1. In this study, I used the MTDS as both a theoretical base and a methodological tool. The time frame of my inquiry was 1895-1995.
2. This thesis analyzed political, societal and environmental circumstances that led to emergence of the US-USSR CDM. These were: (1) the major change in the US-Soviet relations on the official level in 1980s: they shifted from animosity to reconciliation; (2) 1987 was the breakthrough year for the ECDM; (3) environmental deterioration in the USSR; (4) eco-glasnost; (5) simultaneous emergence of various green grassroots groups in the USSR.
3. Further, it studied the history of the ECDM from three different angles: (1) life paths and achievements of individual citizen diplomats, (2) work of citizen diplomacy organizations, and (3) major citizen diplomacy projects which took place from 1987 to 1995. This project is herewith the first holistic documentation of the US-USSR ECDM.
4. The leaders of the ECDM were Francis Underhill Macy, Enid Schreibman, Alexey Yablokov and Lydia Popova.
5. The NGOs that brought ECDM forward were CCI, ISAR, CSAD and CSE.
6. Major projects that facilitated that development of the ECDM were: (1) American-Soviet Walks in 1987 and 1988, (2) Interhelp Trips to the USSR, (3) Findhorn-Soviet EcoTrips; (4) Soviet-American Citizens' Summit II, (5) First US-USSR conference on the Environment, and (6) EcoForum 1995.
7. The analysis of these initiatives showed that (1) cooperation on even very specific issues need not to be carried out by professional and experts in a formal setting and (2) brainstorming for solutions can be conducted in creative ways.

8. The interview with Askhat Kayumov, prominent Russian expert on environmental protection and citizen diplomat, showed the following: (1) citizen diplomats do not necessarily identify as such; (2) for a CDM to succeed there needs to be at least two self-organized, strong partners; (3) citizen diplomacy brings concrete results; (4) the prominent citizen diplomats of the ECDM that I identified were indeed the leaders of the movement; (5) beware idealistic enthusiasm: for a CDM to succeed there needs to be long-term commitment on both sides.
9. Interpretation of the results of the study can be summarized as follows: (1) the five types of CDM movement are (i) trailblazers, (ii) bannermen, (iii) spiders, (iv) 4x4; (v) megaphone; (2) a CDM has a life cycle; (3) my model of a CDM life cycle allows for a simple allegorical analogy, which is easy to apply to other scenarios; (4) this model can be also used to conceptualize a similar CDM and to plan for its development.

As of now, it is impossible to affirm that the US-USSR citizen diplomacy on anti-nuclear and environmental issues has a tangible potential of becoming a blueprint for preventing certain types of international crises. My blueprint still looks like a fairytale. But the first steps were made. It might as well become a viable idea.

I would like to finish on a personal note. There is a song that has consistently managed to put me into a trance-like state on the verge of tears. It is called *The Sorrow of Humanity* and it has always been especially dear to my heart, because it is by a band from my home-city Nizhny Novgorod, *Neverending War*. The song cites the famous monologue by Howard Beale from the Academy Award winning film *Network* (1976):

We know the air is unfit to breathe and our food is unfit to eat, and we sit watching our TV's while some local newscaster tells us that today we had fifteen homicides and sixty-three violent crimes, as if that's the way it's supposed to be.

We know things are bad—worse than bad. They're crazy. It's like everything everywhere is going crazy, so we don't go out anymore. We sit in the house, and slowly the world we are living in is getting smaller, and all we say is, "Please, at least leave us alone in our living rooms. Let me have my toaster and my TV and my steel-belted radials and I won't say anything. Just leave us alone."

I have been working on the topic of citizen diplomacy, because I, like Howard Beale, want us to get up out of our chairs and do something about the things, which are worse than bad. And we have someone to look up to: citizen diplomats. They turned off the TV, which had been telling them for decades that communists are evil, or that capitalists are evil—depending on which part

of the world they were watching in—and reached out to each other. And the first thing that happened when they did—the Iron Curtain, which existed in their heads, fell. The issues that humanity faces today might be different, and instead of turning off TV we might need to close YouTube and Instagram, but the solution to them is still the same—we have not found another one. We need to stand up for ourselves and our planet. Because if we don't, no one will.

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Eidesstattliche Erklärung

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Verfasserin

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