

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. list	re: Guest List for May 10 Lunch [partial] (1 page)	05/10	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 20051

FOLDER TITLE:

Russia [Folder 7] [3]

2013-0534-S

rc1685

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
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RUSSIA

Moscow Children's
Hospital

Moscow Art Theatre

Lunch with Prominent
Women

Tour of Tretyakov Gallery

VISIT OF THE FIRST LADY

TO

MOSCOW, RUSSIA

EVENT: Visit to "American Studio" Project

DATE: May 10, 1995

TIME: 10:00 am - 11:00 am

LOCATION: Moscow Art Theater School

ATTENDEES: The First Lady
Naina Yeltsin
Alice Pickering
xxxxxxxxxx (friend of Mrs. Yeltsin)
Oleg Tabakov, Director, Moscow Art Theater
Elisabeth Orion, Director, Carnegie Mellon
University Drama Department

PRESS:

SCENARIO: Mrs. Clinton and Mrs. Yeltsin arrive and are greeted curbside by Liz Bowyer. Mrs. Clinton and Mrs. Yeltsin will proceed up the stairs to the Moscow Art Theater studio, and will be greeted inside the doorway by Oleg Tabakov (tah-BAH-kov), Director of the Moscow Art Theater, and Elisabeth Orion, Director of the Carnegie Mellon University Drama Department. The group will proceed down the hallway and turns left into theater.

NOTE: Mrs. Clinton's staff, Mrs. Pickering, and Mrs. xxxx will enter a short time after the principals, but from a doorway immediately to the left of the entrance.

Mr. Tabakov and Ms. Orion will lead Mrs. Clinton and Mrs. Yeltsin to their seats in the fourth row with the seating (left to right): Ms. Orion, Mrs. Yeltsin, Mrs. Clinton, and Mr. Tabakov respectively. An interpretor will be seated directly behind Mrs. Clinton and Mrs. Yeltsin.

(Melanne Verveer, Mrs. Pickering, Mrs. xxxx will be seated in the sixth row. Remaining White House staff, Kremlin, and theater staff will be seated behind sixth row. Press is pre-seated in last two rows.)

NOTE: Mrs. Clinton, Mrs. Yeltsin, and two greeters will enter theater through front entrance. All others will enter theater from the rear.

The program will commence with Oleg Tabakov giving a brief overview of the "American Studio" project, the Moscow Art Theater and the Carnegie Mellon University Drama Department. Mr. Tabakov will then explain "The Three Sisters" by Anton Chekhov, leading up to the excerpt which will be performed. Following his explanation, the actors will perform Act II of "The Three Sisters" (30 minutes).

Following the performance, the actors will assemble on stage for a group bow. The actors will then wait for Mrs. Clinton and Mrs. Yeltsin to proceed up a short flight of stairs (right of stage) to meet & greet the actors.

Mrs. Clinton and Mrs. Yeltsin, escorted by Mr. Tabakov and Ms. Orion, proceed back down the stairs, and down the hallway to the studio's front door. Mrs. Clinton and Mrs. Yeltsin depart en route Spaso House.

MOSCOW ART THEATRE

Nineteen students, ages 21 to 48, from Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh are in Moscow studying acting at the Moscow Art Theatre (MKhAT) School. MKhAT is the home of the Stanislavsky Method. The new joint-degree program is a product of the Stanislavsky Summer School in Boston. The CMU students started their studies last summer in Pittsburgh with teachers from CMU and MKhAT. After studying and acting for six months in Moscow, the students will receive their MFA from the MKhat School. Besides courses in acting, voice, etc., the curriculum includes intensive courses in Russian language and culture.

Currently the group is presenting two plays at the MKhAT School-Studio: Steinbeck's The Grapes of Wrath (adapted for the stage by Frank Galati), directed by Anthony McKay of CMU; and Anton Chekhov's Three Sisters, directed by Adolf Shapiro of MKhAT.

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Moscow Children's
Hospital

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GUEST LIST FOR MAY 10 LUNCH

The following are bios of the guests attending the May 10 lunch:

1. Dr. Natalya Rimashevskaya
 - Academician, Russian Academy of Science
 - Institute for Socio-Economic Population Studies
 - The Institute is responsible for the Center for Gender Studies, which has been on the cutting edge of women's and children's reform issues. They also provide some support for the Women's Crisis Center and Battered Women's Hot Line.
 - Understands English.
2. Martina Vandenberg
 - Coordinator, Winrock International
 - Winrock is a USAID grant recipient. Ms. Vandenberg is a co-founder of the Women's Crisis Center. She is a one-woman support net for women-led NGO's throughout the NIS and is currently helping organize a Russian delegation to the Beijing Conference.
 - Speaks English.
3. Nina Belyaeva
 - Director, Interlegal
 - Develops legal guidelines for public policy and private sector advocacy, particularly involving women's and children's issues.
 - Interlegal has received a USAID sub-grant.
 - Speaks English.
4. Dr. Natalya Soboleva
 - Director, Physicon Scientific Center
 - Physicon is a company which develops and markets educational software.
 - Ms. Soboleva participated in the USIA-sponsored "Business for Russia" program last May and had a one-month internship at FIT Software in San Jose. She has negotiated a deal with Addison-Wesley publishers to work together on educational software. She hopes to market her software, which graphically demonstrates principles of physics, in the U.S.
 - Speaks English.

5. Rachel Mays
 - Coordinator, Magee Women's Hospital-Saviours Hospital #70 project
 - Mrs. Yeltsin asked that Ms. Mays be included in the luncheon since she helped arrange the First Lady's visit to Hospital #70 in January 1994.
 - Magee Women's Hospital in Pittsburgh is one of the largest private obstetrical hospitals in the U.S.
 - She is an American citizen.

6. Raisa Aleksandrovna Litvinova
 - Deputy Director
 - Tretyakov Gallery
 - Ms. Litvinova is arranging the First Lady's Tretyakov Gallery tour.

7. Lidiya Yovleva
 - Curator
 - Tretyakov Gallery

8. Anastasia Posadskaya
 - Director, Moscow Center for Gender Studies
 - The Center for Gender Studies is not an NGO since it falls under the auspices of the Academy of Science's Socio-Economic Population Studies Institute. However, the Center and its staff operate fairly independently and have been on the cutting edge of women's and children's reform issues and have supported many NGO's in these fields, particularly the Women's Crisis Center, and the battered women's hot line. Ms. Posadskaya returns this month from a 4-month research trip to Princeton. She is one of the most dynamic women in Russia and a leading feminist. She won a seat in the 1993 Duma elections on the democratic "Yabloko" party list, but turned it down to continue to work on existing projects.
 - Speaks English.

9. Elena Nemirovskaya
 - Director
 - The Moscow School of Political Studies
 - Ms. Nemirovskaya conducts workshops/seminars on reform and democratization for reform-minded Duma deputies. She has inaugurated a similar program on the regional level as well.
 - Speaks English.

10. Galina Klimantova
 - Chairman of the Committee for Women, Family, and Youth Affairs in the Duma
 - Duma Deputy representing the centrist "Women of Russia" faction
 - Ms. Klimantova participated in a USIA-sponsored parliamentary exchange program last year. According to Ms. Klimantova, the trip provided information and contacts helpful to her committee in drafting laws on alimony, adoption and family violence. She graduated from Urals State University and then attended the Higher Party School of the Soviet Communist Party. She was formerly the Chief of Staff of the Council of Ministers of the Udmurt Republic.

11. Yekaterina Geniyeva
 - Director
 - Library of Foreign Literature
 - Ms. Geniyeva is one of Russia's most sophisticated library and information specialists and a leader in developing political support for the free flow of information and ideas. She has established a number of cooperative programs with Librarian of Congress James Billington and helped establish the American Center in Moscow, the first of its kind. She is also active in the Russian Orthodox Church.
 - Speaks English.

12. Larisa Mikhaylova
 - English Professor
 - Moscow State University
 - Responsible for developing the first Women's Studies faculty in Russia.
 - Speaks English.

13. Lyudmila Zavadskaya
 - Duma Deputy representing the "Women of Russia" party
 - Deputy Chair of the Legislation Committee which deals with legal reform
 - One of the best lawyers in Russia, Ms. Zavadskaya helped draft the Russian Constitution and numerous bills advancing the rights of women and children.
 - Speaks English.

14. Galina Bodrenkova
 - President
 - Moscow Charity House, a Russian Social Sector NGO with an AID grant
 - Speaks English.

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15. Alla Gerber
 - Duma Deputy representing "Russia's Choice" Party
 - Member, Committee on Science, Culture, Education
 - Writer and journalist
 - Very active in Jewish community affairs and in Anti-Fascism Movement
 - Speaks English.
16. Bella Denisenko
 - Duma Deputy and one of five co-chairmen of the Russia's Choice Movement
 - Head of the Duma Health Committee
 - While Ms. Denisenko was involved in passing legislation requiring AIDS testing of foreigners residing in Russia, many people feel she is reform-minded.
 - She has recently returned from a trip to the U.S.
17. Tatyana Kholodze
 - Art Dealer and Collector
 - Ms. Kholodze has one of the best modern art collections in Russia and actively promotes Russian art in the West.
 - Speaks English.
18. Irina Khakamada
 - President, Liberal Women's Foundation and independent Duma Deputy Chairwoman of the recently founded Advertising Council
 - Recipient of Alliance of American/Russian Women's "Druzhba Award" given to outstanding role-models for Russian women
 - Speaks English.
19. Chana Winer
 - Psychologist, Family Therapist, Teacher
 - Member, U.S. Embassy Mental Health Committee
 - Teaches classes in theory and application of family therapy to Russian clinicians
 - Mrs. Winer, who was born in Israel, is now a U.S. citizen. She and her husband attended the last Renaissance Conference in South Carolina.
20. Yekaterina Kim
 - Director, CONTACTS I
 - Support group for families with members who are learning or physically disabled. (b)(6) [001]
 - Speaks English.

RUSSIA

Moscow Children's
Hospital

Moscow Art Theatre

Lunch with Prominent
Women

Tour of Tretyakov Gallery

VISIT OF THE FIRST LADY

TO

MOSCOW, RUSSIA

EVENT: Tour of the Tretyakov Museum/Private Tea with Mrs. Yeltsin

DATE: May 10, 1995

TIME: 2:00 pm - 3:20 pm

LOCATION: Tretyakov Gallery

ATTENDEES: Mrs. Clinton
Naina Yeltsin
Alice Pickering
XXXXX, Friend of Mrs. Yeltsin
approximately xxx Spaso Luncheon guests
Valentin Rodionov, Director of the Tretyakov
Marina XX, Museum tour guide

PRESS:

SCENARIO: Mrs. Clinton and Mrs. Yeltsin arrive and are greeted curbside by Liz Bowyer (Spaso Guests will hold briefly in minibus). Mrs. Clinton and Mrs. Yeltsin will walk across a small courtyard in front of the museum where a press pool will be assembled. There will be an "X" in front of the Museum marking the place where Mrs. Clinton and Mrs. Yeltsin can pause for a brief photo opportunity.

Mrs. Clinton and Mrs. Yeltsin will proceed to the center doors of the Museum, where they will be greeted by Valentin Rodionov, Director of the Tretyakov. Rodionov will escort the First Ladies up a long flight of stairs, where they will engage in conversation until joined by the Spaso guests. NOTE: One of the guests, Raisa Litvinova (rah-EE-sa lit-VIN-oh-vah) is the deputy director of the Tretyakov.

After the group is assembled, Rodionov will give a brief overview of Tretyakov, and introduce Marina XX, a museum tour guide. The tour will be conducted in Russian; an interpreter will translate simultaneously for Mrs. Clinton, Mrs. Pickering, and Melanne Verveer.

NOTE: Three other tour guides will accompany the tour to assist in answering Spaso Guests' questions. The museum will have limited, independent tourists within it during Mrs. Clinton's tour.

Mr. Rodionov will depart after Marina XX begins the tour. The tour will begin with a room of 18th Century Secular Art paintings. Followed by three rooms filled with 19th century paintings which exemplify the Russia's Romantic era. Next, the group will be escorted to a room filled with paintings of XX Kramskoy, Russia's most important 19th century painter. Then, the group is escorted down the hall toward a wall-length panel by Vrubel entitled "The Dream Princess" (Press pool will be positioned for a photo).

The group will proceed through several more rooms, and then view a mural by XX Vasnetosov entitled "Three Soldiers (???)." Finally, the group will proceed to the last room to view a collection of murals. The tour guide will then lead the group back through the museum to a staircase, which the group will descend two flights to the ground floor, and then up a few steps to the left to exit onto the Museum Courtyard. Mrs. Clinton and Mrs. Yeltsin will bid farewell upon complete assembly of the guests, and the guests will proceed to the minibuses parked outside the Tretyakov gate, and travel back to Spaso House.

Mrs. Clinton, Mrs. Yeltsin, Mrs. Pickering, Mrs. XXX, and Melanne Verveer will continue walking across the courtyard to a door leading to the museum restaurant. The group will proceed down a flight of stairs and directly into a small dining room.

After a 30 minute informal tea, the group will exit the restaurant, and be joined again by Mr Rodionov. Rodionov will present Mrs. Clinton and Mrs. Yeltsin with books on Tretyakov and medals (???), and then escort the group back up the stairs to the center of the courtyard where Mrs. Clinton's And Mrs. Yeltsin's motorcade will be parked.

After exchanging farewells, Mrs. Clinton will depart for Radio Nadezdha.

TRETYAKOV GALLERY

After ten years of renovations, the State Tretyakov Gallery has been reopened to the public. Moscow's most famous gallery, the Tretyakov houses the country's greatest collection of Russian art. Since the renovations included the addition of hanging space, some paintings never before seen are now available for viewing.

Founded in 1856, the gallery was first located in the home of Pavel Tretyakov. When the collection became too large, Tretyakov built a special building for it. In 1892 he donated the gallery, already housing 2,000 items, to the city of Moscow.

Today the collection includes more than 100,000 pieces: paintings, sculptures, drawings, engravings. There are about 5,000 early Russian icons, and jewelry, embroidery, glassware and china. In addition, the library numbers over 150,000 volumes.

Improvements include air-conditioning and modern lighting. Once again, the Tretyakov Gallery has assumed its place as the world's greatest collection of Russian art.

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April 06, 1995, Thursday, Final Edition

SECTION: STYLE; Pg. B01

LENGTH: 771 words

HEADLINE: Mother Russia's Mother Lode of Art; Famed Tretyakov
Gallery Reopens After a Decade of Renovations

BYLINE: Fred Hiatt, Washington Post Foreign Service

DATELINE: MOSCOW, April 5

BODY:

With the pealing of church bells and a blessing from the Orthodox patriarch, the world's greatest repository of Russian art, the State Tretyakov Gallery, reopened today after a decade-long renovation.

The dignitaries who assembled for the long-awaited opening, including Russia's prime minister, made much of the day's significance to the Russian soul. Moscow Mayor Yuri Luzhkov, who prodded the renovation to completion after years of delay and near-disaster, declared "a holiday of our culture, a holiday of our spirituality."

But secular and apolitical art lovers also were delighted by the opportunity to see Russia's greatest masterpieces, from medieval icons to modern Kandinskys, displayed in well-lighted, airy halls.

"Herein is the best part of Russian culture," said Mikhail Piotrovsky, chief of the Hermitage museum in St. Petersburg and a guest at today's ceremony. "And two generations of our children have grown up without seeing it."

The Hermitage, a splendid czarist palace, houses Russia's best collection of Western art, overflowing with everything from Leonardo to Matisse. The treasure is appropriate for a city that has always looked west toward Europe.

But the Tretyakov is the quintessential Moscow museum, the legacy of 19th-century merchant Pavel Tretyakov, who collected the art of the heartland and donated it to the city in 1892. Today it is home to 96,000 works, including the nation's holiest icons and its best-loved paintings, some as well-known to Russian children as "The Mona Lisa" is to Americans. Some, in fact -- such as Shishkin's 1889 rendition of bear cubs in a pine forest -- have been reproduced so often that one television reporter tonight rejoiced that Russians would see paintings on canvas, and

not only "on candy wrappers and cigarette packs."

But the reborn Tretyakov today also displayed art that had languished in the cellars for decades, in some cases because there was no room to display it and in some cases because it did not suit the ideology of the Soviet regime. The minister of culture today promised "everything from avant-garde of the '20s to underground of the '60s."

Roomfuls of Soviet-era art have been moved out to a nearby annex. What remains is a vast and moving chronicle of a millennium of Russia's development.

"The opening of the Tretyakov Gallery is truly the greatest cultural event, and not only for Moscow and Russia," gushed Mayor Luzhkov. "The Tretyakov is ranked among the six greatest buildings of culture in the world."

Authorities shut the Tretyakov in 1985 when decades of decline could no longer be ignored. Sewage had flooded the basement, water leaked through roofs, floorboards were so rotten that some rooms could accommodate only a few people at a time.

The renovation was expected to last two years, maybe three. But initial work only revealed the dimensions of the challenge. And as the Soviet Union spun toward collapse, the government ran out of money to pay its contractors, most of them from Finland, Germany and elsewhere outside the country. Between 1990 and 1992, work virtually stopped.

But Luzhkov, the powerful city boss who has dedicated himself to sprucing up Moscow's faded facade, took a personal interest in the Tretyakov. Asked today how often he had visited to inspect the renovations, he said simply, "All the time."

He made sure that not only the galleries themselves, but a 17th-century cathedral attached to the museum also was renewed. An entirely new pedestrian walk was built, with a new footbridge across a canal, so that tourists now can walk to the Tretyakov from another of Moscow's well-known sights -- the Kremlin.

Inside, thanks to the prodding of Yuri Korolyov, the museum's late director, space has been found for many "monumental" works that simply did not fit before, said Tatiana Karpova, curator for paintings from the second half of the 19th century. For example, a giant 1896 work by Mikhail Vrubel, "The Dream Princess," which once served as a curtain for the private opera house of collector Savva Mamontov, now hangs majestically in a bright room devoted entirely to Vrubel, the first symbolist in Russian art.

Altogether, the museum has expanded from 51 halls to 61 by converting inner courtyards into exhibition space. They are floored in marble or parquet, with skylights providing brightness even on a cloudy day.

Like many museum workers, Karpova expressed great delight today in the museum's rebirth. Although only 34, she laughed that she could now "retire and raise my grandchildren."

"I feel as though my duty is fulfilled," she said.

GRAPHIC: Photo, ap, A woman and child tour the newly reopened State Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow as Alexander Ivanov's "The Appearance of Christ to the People" looms behind them. The gallery, closed for a decade due to renovations, has what is considered to be the world's finest collection of Russian art.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE-MDC: April 06, 1995

THE STATE TRETYAKOV GALLERY



History and Culture

Published by decision of
the Academic Board of the State Tretyakov Gallery

Director-General Valentin Rodionov



A little more than one hundred years ago, on August 31 (by the old calendar), 1892, the well-known Moscow collector, merchant and industrialist Pavel Mikhailovich Tretyakov met with the Moscow City Duma and offered to donate his already renowned picture gallery. It included 1,287 paintings, 518 drawings and 9 sculptures by Russian artists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and also 75 paintings, 8 drawings and 5 statuettes by Western European masters which had belonged to Tretyakov's brother, Sergey Mikhailovich, former mayor and likewise a collector of artworks, who had died not long before. The Moscow City duma was delighted and grateful to accept the priceless gift. From that day began the history of the public museum — the State Tretyakov Gallery — which is generally recognised and beloved as no other museum of Russian art.

The year 1856 is accepted as the founding date of the Tretyakov Gallery. It was then that young Pavel Mikhailovich Tretyakov obtained his first works by tempo-

rary artists, having set himself the goal of creating a collection which, in future, would grow into a museum of national art. At the time, there was no such museum in Russia. The overwhelming majority of paintings by Russian painters were scattered throughout various private collections, while the more famous and official canvases resided in the Imperial Hermitage or the Museum of the St. Petersburg Academy of Arts. Among private collections in Moscow and St. Petersburg in the 1840s and 1850s there were some which could have become muse-



ums of national art (those of P. Svinin, F. Pryanishnikov and others), but did not. Their life-span was short and they all disintegrated with the death or, more often, with the bankruptcy of their owners. Only Tretyakov succeeded in turning his private collection into a true museum of national and historical significance, a museum accessible to everyone. This amazing achievement proved possible largely due to Tretyakov's active and goal-oriented efforts, and also as a result of an unprecedented upsurge of national consciousness in the 1850s and 1860s.

Pavel Tretyakov was born in 1832 in Moscow. He was raised at home, and his education was not so much systematic as practical. But the future collector early on cultivated a passion for reading, especially Russian tra-

ture, which at the time was on a steady "ascent" of world recognition. This proved to be the main "university" of the Tretyakov brothers, and it shaped their high moral and ethical ideals. Pavel Tretyakov was a business-like person, and his business was booming. But as a typical "man of the sixties," that is, a representative of that generation of Russians who had matured during the rise of democratic sentiment in the 1860s, he firmly believed that "a fortune made at the expense of 'society' (the people) must necessarily be returned to 'society' (the people,



in the form of some useful institutions." Although formulated only in 1893, this ideal had been on Tretyakov's mind at the very beginning of his activity as a collector. In 1860 he wrote in his first will: "I leave capital in the amount of one hundred and fifty thousand silver rubles for the establishment in Moscow of an art museum or public picture gallery... For me, truly and fervently loving painting, there can be no greater desire than to lay the foundation of a public repository for the fine arts, open to all, beneficial and pleasing to all... I would like to leave behind a national gallery, that is, one comprising paintings by Russian artists".

By the early 1860s, Tretyakov's collection had swelled to several dozen paintings not only by contemporary artists, but also by those of the preceding decades.

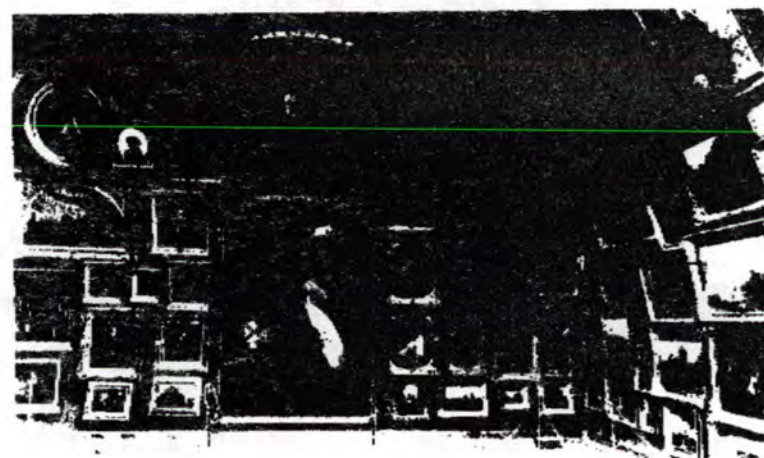
The collector paid special attention to the then burgeoning movement of Russian realism. "I don't need the wealth of nature, nor excellent composition, not effective lighting, no miracles," he wrote in the late 1850s, "...just give me a murky puddle, but let there be truth in it, and poetry; poetry can be anywhere, that is the artist's job."

It was only natural that such aesthetic views brought Tretyakov in the late 1860s into contact with a large group of realist artists who later formed the Society for Circulating Art Exhibitions, the largest artistic association in the entire pre-revolutionary history of Russian art. Beginning with the first exhibit in 1871, Tretyakov became the main buyer of works by the Itinerants (as the Society members came to be called), and in this way rendered an invaluable service to the artists themselves and, for that matter, to Russian art as a whole. Later Ilya Repin, one of the foremost Itinerants, would say: "Pavel Tretyakov carried on his own shoulders, alone, the question of the existence of an entire Russian school of painting." But the support in this case was mutual. Sympathizing with Tretyakov's noble goals, the artists quite often refused to sell their paintings until Tretyakov had seen them and offered his opinion.

The scope of Tretyakov's collecting activity and the range of his interests were truly amazing. Each year he bought a few dozen, and sometimes hundreds of works at exhibitions and from the artists' studios without stopping, even in all of his prudence, at very large expenditures if his plans demanded it. Tretyakov bought paintings without paying attention to the roar of the critics and the displeasure of the censors, as was the case, for example, with Vasily Perov's *Religious Procession in a Village at Easter* or with *Ivan the Terrible and His Son Ivan* by Ilya Repin. He would buy a picture even if it did not fully correspond to his personal views, but was in accord with the spirit of the time, as was the case with Repin's *Religious Procession in the Kursk District* whose social message did not quite appeal to Tretyakov. He would buy even if very powerful and respected authorities,

Leo Tolstoy, disapproved (as was the case with Victor Vasnetsov's religious painting). Tretyakov clearly realised that the museum he was creating should suit not so much his own personal (or anyone's, for that matter) tastes and sympathies, as reflect an objective picture of the development of Russian art. And in many ways he succeeded.

When choosing works, Tretyakov looked for typical features of an artistic movement or time as well as high artistic merits. Perhaps for this reason, Tretyakov more



than any other collector was able to avoid narrowness of taste and other subjective limitations. Each new decade brought to his gallery new names and trends. The tastes of the museum's creator developed and evolved along with art itself.

Art first, everything obtained by Tretyakov was hung on the walls of his home on Lavrushinsky Lane in the quiet Zamoskvorechye district. But already by the end of the 1860s there were so many pictures that it was no longer possible to house them all. In 1872 he decided that a special building for the gallery should be erected adjoining the house. In the spring of 1874 the paintings were moved to the new, two-storey building consisting of two large halls. However, the rapid growth of the collection soon required expansion through special construc-

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MOSCOW STAFF ADV OFFICE
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tions. By the end of the 1880s the gallery occupied more than twenty rooms. With the construction of a special building for the gallery, Tretyakov's collection was accorded the status of a true museum, privately owned but public in character; it was a museum free and open almost every day of the week for all-comers regardless of rank or calling. In 1892, as mentioned above, Tretyakov donated his museum to the city of Moscow. The Moscow City Duma, now the legal owner of the gallery, decided to appoint Pavel Tretyakov its Trustee for life. Tretyakov died on December 16(4), 1898. During the last six years of his life he, just as before, worked untiringly on maintaining and enriching the museum he had created. As before, he had the almost exclusive right to select works from exhibitions and artists' studios. He obtained new works both with funds allocated by the City Duma and with his own money, donating such purchases now to the P.M. and S.M. Tretyakov Moscow City Art Gallery. Beginning in 1893, under Tretyakov's direct sponsorship the museum began to publish a yearly catalog with a list of all of the pictures in the main collection as well as new acquisitions.

Following Tretyakov's death, a board appointed by the Duma began to administrate the gallery. Among its members were well-known Moscow artists and collectors such as Valentin Serov, Ilya Ostroukhov, Ivan Tsvetkov and Igor Grabar. Over the course of almost 15 years (from 1899 up until 1913) Tretyakov's daughter, Alexandra Pavlovna Botkina, was a permanent member of the Board. She later wrote a book of memoirs about her father and his founding of the famous gallery.

In 1899—1900 the now empty Tretyakov home on Lavrushinsky Lane to which the gallery was attached was reconstructed and fitted for the gallery's needs. In 1901—02 the entire complex was united by a new facade built according to the plans of the artist Victor Vasnetsov. This facade imparted to the gallery an original architectural aspect which to this day distinguishes it from other Moscow sights.

In the early twentieth century the Tretyakov Gallery

became one of the largest museums not only in Russia, but also in Europe. It was steadily enriched with works of both contemporary and older Russian art. From year to year the number of visitors increased, and in 1913 reached more than 250 thousand (by the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s it reached almost two million). Between 1913 and 1918 on the initiative of the artist and art historian Igor Grabar, at that time the Trustee (for all intents and purposes, director) of the Tretyakov Gallery, the exposition was reorganised. If before the new acquisitions were exhibited separately from the main collection of Pavel Tretyakov, now the hanging of all works was brought in line with a historico-chronological principle which is followed to this day.

A new period in the history of the Tretyakov Gallery began in the late 1910s and early 1920s. It was characterised first of all by the rapid growth of the collection. Following the nationalisation of private collections and centralisation of museum collections, the number of the gallery's exhibits increased more than fivefold in the first post-revolutionary decade. Several small Moscow museums such as the Tsvetkov Gallery, the Ostroukhov Museum of Icons and Paintings, and the Picture Gallery of the Rumyantsev Public Museum merged with the Tretyakov Gallery. At the same time, a group of Western European works from the collections of Sergey Tretyakov, Mikhail Morozov and other benefactors was transferred to other museums. Now these works are kept in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, in part in the Hermitage Museum and in other Russian and foreign museums. All this served to reaffirm the gallery's status as a major museum of Russian art, reflecting its past and present, which was in tune with the original concept laid at its foundation by Pavel Tretyakov.

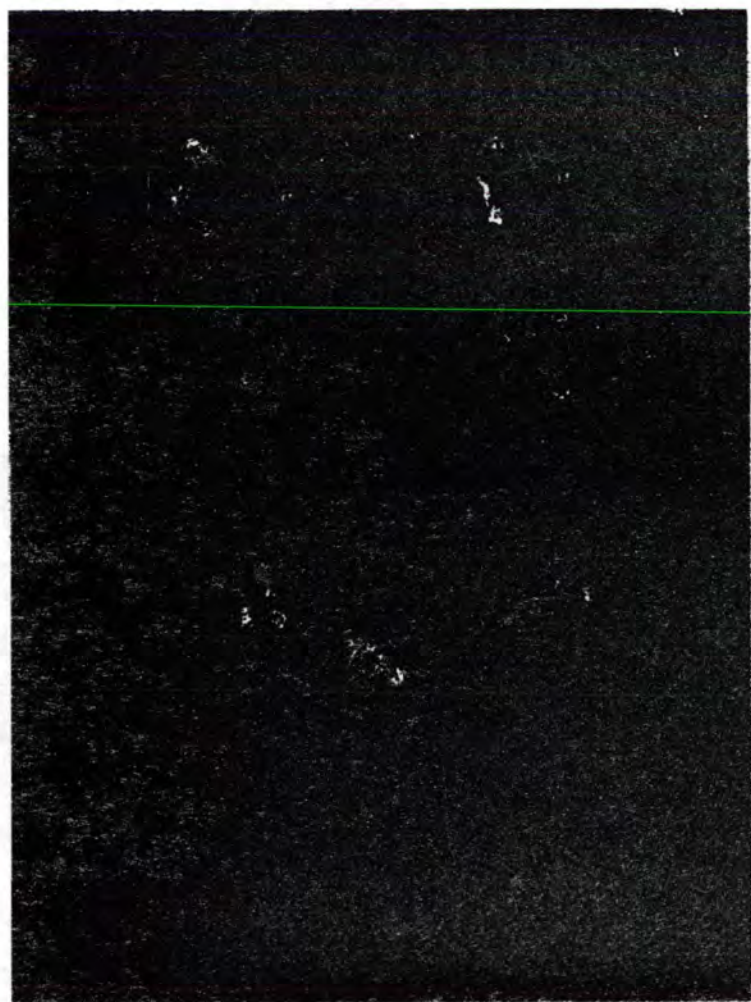
During the past half-century the Tretyakov Gallery has become not only an enormous, world famous museum, but a huge academic center occupied with conserving and restoring, studying and publicizing the museum's treasures. The gallery's academic associates actively participate in developing questions of the history and theory

of Russian art, arrange various exhibitions of old and new art both at home and abroad, give lectures, conduct tours, carry out restoration and expertise work, and introduce new forms of computerised museum information. The Tretyakov Gallery possesses one of the richest specialised libraries in Russia, containing more than 200 thousand books on art, as well as a unique photo and transparency collection and large restoration workshops equipped with modern technical facilities.

The rapid growth of the Tretyakov Gallery's collection in the 1930s posed the question of urgently increasing available space. New buildings were constructed, and already existing houses adjacent to the Tretyakov mansion were added to the complex. By the end of the 1930s the exhibition and working areas of the gallery had been increased almost twofold. But even this was insufficient for the rapidly growing and developing museum. A plan was created according to which all of the buildings neighbouring the Gallery would be destroyed and new construction would take place, stopping only at the Obvodny Canal embankment (architects A. Shchusev and L. Rudnev). Another plan envisaged the construction of a new building in a new location, after which the entire collection would be transferred to its new home (the building on the Crimea embankment, architects N. Sukayan et al., 1950s-60s). After much discussion it was decided that the Tretyakov Gallery's historical home on Lavrushkinsky Lane should be preserved. Reconstruction and expansion began in the 1980s (architect G. Astafiev). In 1985 the first new wing was built: a depository including spacious storerooms for various kinds of art, and restoration workshops. In 1989 the second new building, the so-called Engineer's Wing, was complete and now houses exhibition halls, lecture and conference halls, a children's studio as well as a computer and engineering service. The reconstruction of the main building began in 1986 and was completed in 1994. During these years the new concept of the gallery as a single museum existing on two main territories arose. In the original building on Lavrushinsky Lane are concentrated expositions a

rooms of old art, beginning with ancient times and ending with the pre-revolutionary period. In the new annex on the Crimea embankment the exhibition halls are allotted to twentieth century art. Separate exhibitions of both old and new art will be organised on both territories. Reconstruction of the gallery on Lavrushinsky Lane gave neighbouring architectural and historical monuments a new lease on life. These include the church of St. Nicholas-on-Tolmachi (16th-19th centuries), which received the status of museum chapel, and city structures from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries on Lavrushinsky Lane, where additional museum exhibitions will also be located.

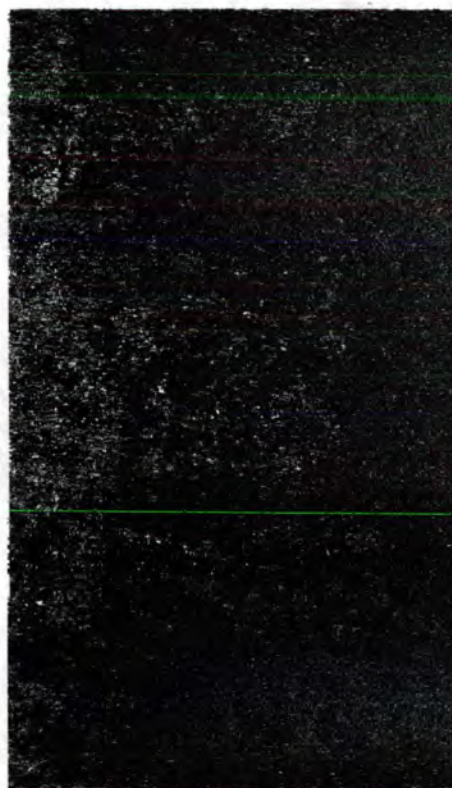
The Tretyakov Gallery collection now boasts more than 100 thousand works and is divided into several historical sections: old Russian art of the 11th to 17th centuries which includes icons, sculptures, minor and applied arts (about 5 thousand works); painting of the 18th and first half of the 19th centuries, second half of the 19th and turn of the 20th centuries (about 7 thousand works); Russian graphic art of the 18th to early 20th centuries, including drawings, watercolors, pastels and engravings (more than 30 thousand works); Russian sculpture (about 1,000 pieces); a collection of old frames, furniture, applied arts, and a huge section of post-revolutionary painting, sculpture and graphic arts located in the Crimea embankment annex.



The collection of old Russian art in the Tretyakov Gallery is one of the most unique in the world in terms of the quality and quantity of pieces preserved.

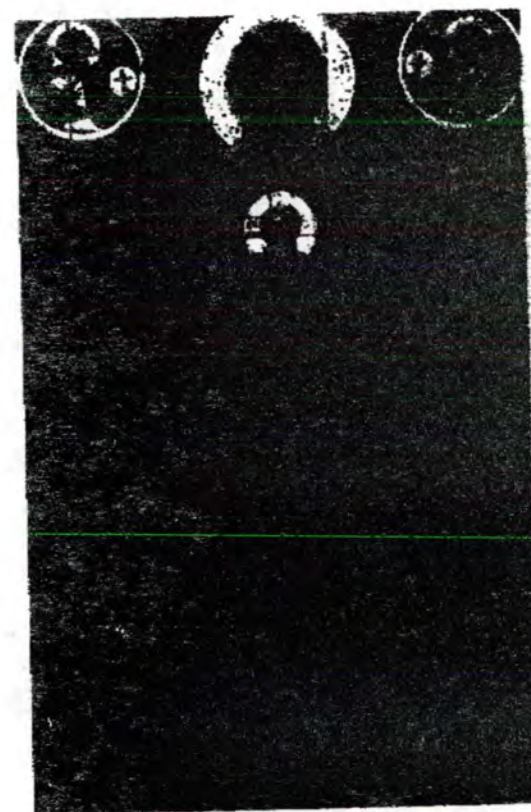
The groundwork for this collection was laid by Pavel Tretyakov, who owned 62 icons from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. After the death of its founder, the collection was put up on permanent display. However, for the majority of collectors and researchers in Tretyakov's time, the old icon presented an historical or archaeological rather than artistic interest. Recognition of the artistic value of old Russian painting came only in the early twentieth century, and this provoked a true "boom" in icon-collecting. In a short time large first-class collections were formed by S. Ryabushinsky, A. Morozov, K. Soldatenkov, and others. Most of these found their way to the Tretyakov Gallery. In the late 1910s and early 1920s a Commission for the Uncovering of old Russian Painting worked in the country. Many of the oldest and most valuable works of old Russian art were placed under state protection, cleared of later layers of paint and, in effect, preserved for posterity in that period of revolutionary confusion. A large number of these ended up in the Tretyakov Gallery. The collection continues to be enriched today thanks to the acquisition of more valuable works from private individuals. Although one may believe that the extant examples of old Russian art have been discovered, some unexpected and lucky finds are made even now.

The most precious part of the collection of old Russian art is made up of icons from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, the oldest, pre-Mongol period in the history of Russian culture: *The Virgin of Vladimir*, *The Usting Annunciation*, *The Virgin Great Panagia (Orans)*, *The Virgin of the Tolg*, *St. Demetrius of Thessalonica* and others. Some of them were brought to Rus by Byzantine



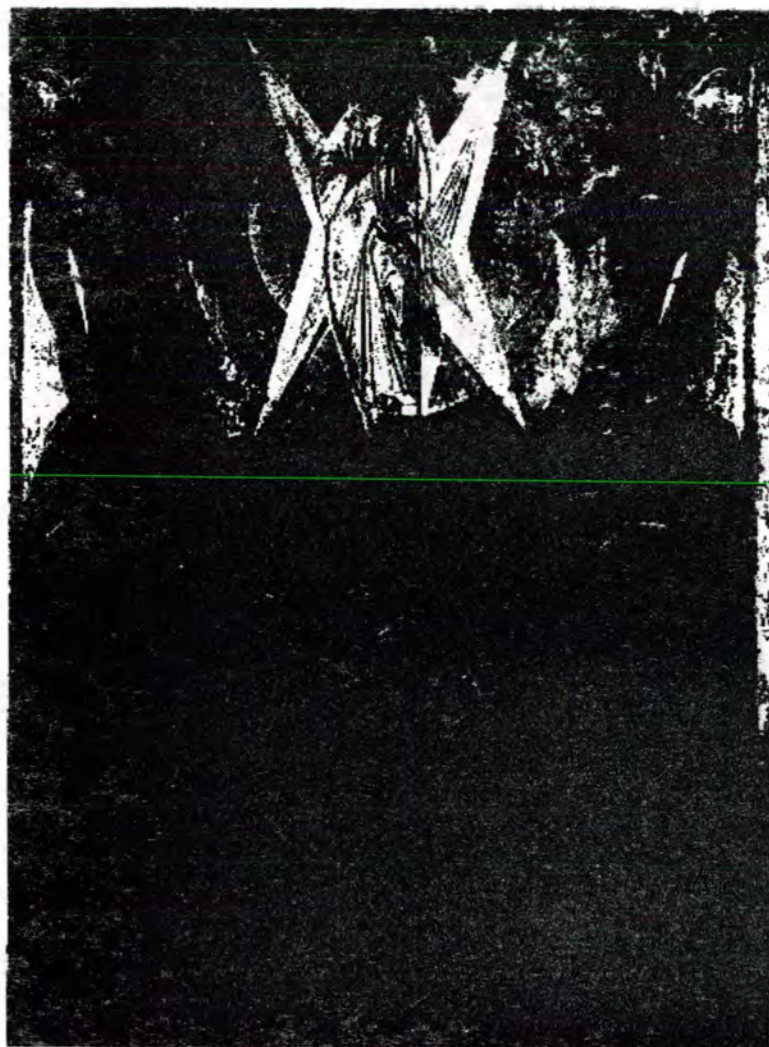
tium (*The Virgin of Vladimir*), and researchers trace the origin of others to the development of purely Russian artistic schools in Kiev, Novgorod, Yaroslavl, and Suzdal. Although each icon shows features characteristic of one or another period or school, all are painted in keeping with the lofty traditions of Byzantine art of the eleventh and twelfth centuries which lie at the foundation of the artistic culture of the entire Christian world. It can be considered a miracle that these divinely inspired, but at the same time extremely fragile creations of human genius have survived through the tragic ups and downs of history to our day.

During the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries schools remarkable for their original idiom began to emerge in Novgorod, and then in Pskov. Reflecting the



tastes of the merchant-craftsman class which played a primary role in these distinctive city-republics, the Novgorod and Pskov icon-painters managed to essentially reinterpret the Kievan-Byzantine tradition. Their icons, a rule, are smaller in size since they were intended mainly for home altars and parish churches. The paints are predominantly bright and saturated with color, and decorative combinations of vermillion and ochre-yellow tones are frequently used. These icons have a tendency to be narrative, to "tell a story" while treating traditional religious subjects and images. Icons depicting episodes from the saints' lives were also widespread.

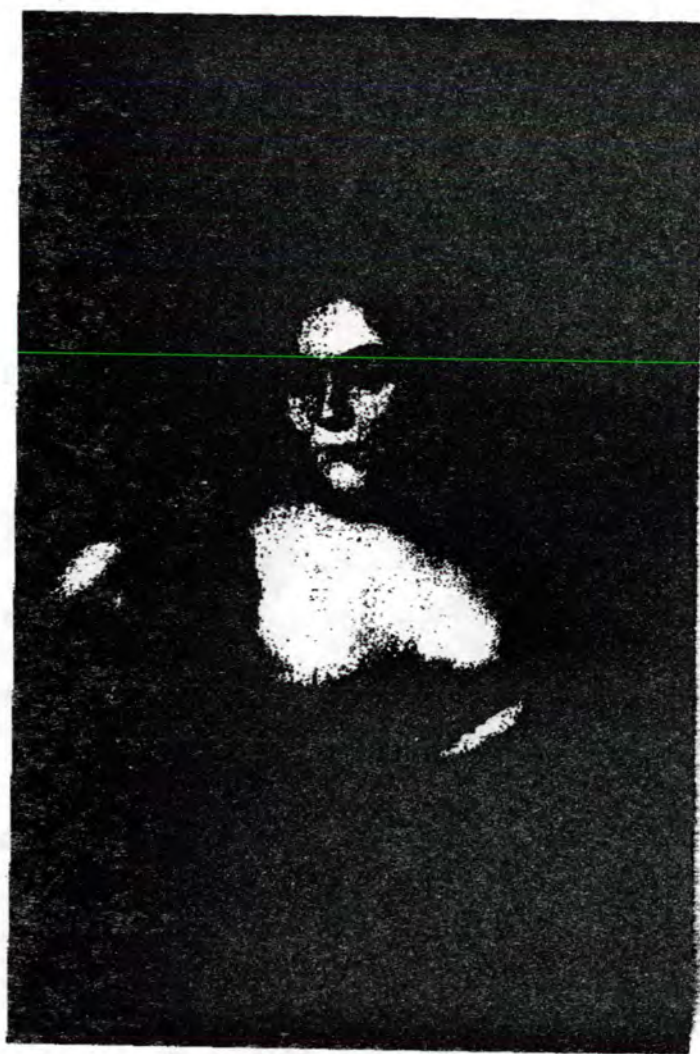
Muscovy became the largest center of old Russian art in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Its golden age was linked with the activity of such prominent painters



as Theophanes the Greek (originally from Byzantium), Andrei Rublev, and Dionysius. Their names, which have since become legendary, were preserved by history. Without exaggeration, Andrei Rublev can be called the most renowned painter of old Russia. His name is mentioned often in the chronicles; his manner of icon-painting was highly esteemed and considered to be the best already in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.



As any great artist, Andrei Rublev succeeded in not only achieving a high degree of perfection and spirituality in his art, but also in expressing the most important ideals of life contemporary to him. His famous *Trinity*, dedicated to the memory of the great champion of Russian unity, St. Sergius of Radonezh, is the embodied symbol of the ideals of spiritual unity, all-encompassing love and self-sacrifice.



From the early eighteenth century, during Peter the Great's era, Russian art gradually loses its former almost exclusive religious orientation, and takes on a distinct secular character. The style of Russian painting changes dramatically. The medieval flatness and distortion of figures makes way for a striving to produce a three-dimensional image of the visible world, shown in precise proportional correspondence and in a concrete spatial environment. Painting technique also changes: paintings are now executed primarily in oil colors on canvas, while the main materials of old Russian icons were wood panels and egg tempera. It is amazing how quickly the Russian artists were able to master a completely new painting system and technique. Already in works by Ivan Nikitin, one of the first representatives of the new trend in Russian art, and a personal pensioner of Peter I abroad (i.e. supported by a grant for study and work abroad), there remain almost no traces of former artistic traditions. His followers went even further.

The greatest achievements of eighteenth-century Russian painting are connected with the portrait genre. This can be explained not only by the general tendencies for all of European art which signalled the golden age of the portrait in France and England in the eighteenth century, but also by the special attraction of this genre for Russian masters who were always keenly interested in the individuality and character of their contemporaries. The portrait painters Fyodor Rokotov, Dmitry Levitsky and Vladimir Borovikovsky constitute the glory of Russian eighteenth-century art. The customary stylistic categories of Baroque, Rococo and Classicism do not really apply to their paintings, although elements of these styles can be found in the work of each of these masters. Their portraits are pervaded by a general poetic mood, an admiration for the beauty of the human

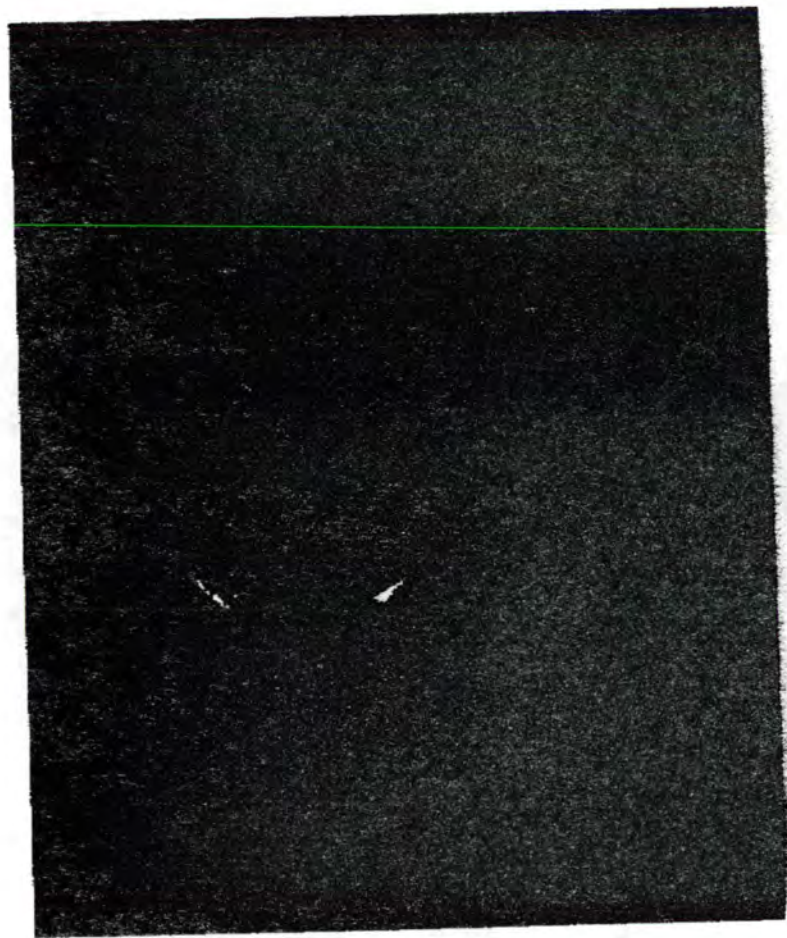


face and heartfelt emotions.

The first works of the Russian portrait painters of the eighteenth century appeared in the gallery under Pavel Tretyakov and his successors, but the collection as it exists today was formed basically during the post-revo-



lutionary years when aristocratic estates were destroyed and inherited treasures flooded the art market. Although it yields in quantity to the Russian Museum in St. Petersburg, the collection of eighteenth-century paintings in the Tretyakov Gallery is one of the best of its kind in terms of quality.



By the beginning of the nineteenth century the Russian artistic school had substantially gained in strength and had developed traditions all its own. As before, its best representatives paid much attention to the portrait genre. The first half of the nineteenth century produced a number of excellent portrait painters. In the works of Orest Kiprensky, Karl Bryullov, and Vasily Tropinin, the traditionally realistic approach to depicting man is combined with romantic overtones and exalted treatment of nature.

This same period saw the emergence and flourishing of a national landscape school. Stylistically it was rooted in Western European landscape painting, but such artists as Fyodor Alekseev, Sylvester Shchedrin and others derived inspiration from the native scenery, constantly leaning toward a typically Russian, lyrical interpretation of the landscape image.

Against the background of Russian art in the first half of the nineteenth century two first-rate figures can be distinguished: Karl Bryullov and Alexander Ivanov. Both graduates of the St. Petersburg Academy of Arts — and the best at that — they entered into the history of art as reformers of the academic system from which they emerged. The most famous creations of these artists are the grandiose compositions *The Last Day of Pompeii* by Karl Bryullov (1833, Russian Museum, St. Petersburg) and *The Appearance of Christ to the People* by Alexander Ivanov (1837—57, Tretyakov Gallery). Both artists strove to depict an historical event in a way that would enable them to pose and solve fundamental problems of human existence. Bryullov shared the romantic interest in historical catastrophes, which he interpreted as the main moving forces of the historical process. Ivanov, on the other hand, sought these moving forces in the moral foundations of each individual, and human society as



a whole. His *Appearance of Christ to the People* is an image not so much of the miracle of Christ's appearance as the miracle of the moral transformation of people on different social levels and degrees of spiritual development, from the slave with a rope around his neck who is barely conscious of his human calling, to the prophet John the Baptist, elevated to the heights of spirituality. This picture, on which Ivanov worked for more than twenty years, was the true achievement of this great artist, the meaning and justification of his entire, difficult



life. The painting came to the Tretyakov Gallery in 1925 after the Rumyantsev Museum in Moscow was reorganised.

During the first three decades of the nineteenth century a new trend was taking shape in Russian painting, and it showed an ever-growing leaning toward the depiction of events from contemporary life and to the creation of images of representatives of the "lower classes" — artisans and peasants. The pioneers of this trend were Alexey Venetsianov, the first Russian art



to sing the poetry of peasant labor and daily life, and Vasily Tropinin, who produced a series of poetic, though somewhat sentimental images.

Their younger contemporary Pavel Fedotov introduced critical intonations into Russian realistic painting. A born genre painter, he superbly understood the specifics of this kind of painting. His paintings are always entertaining and sharp-witted in subject matter, extremely dramatic in composition, very lifelike in convey-



mimicry, gestures and poses of characters, and precise in depicting everyday details. Fedotov saw the goal and purpose of his work in correcting social morals and psychological "warps."



The next stage in the history of Russian art — the second half of the nineteenth century — is represented in the Tretyakov Gallery especially fully by the best examples, composing the nucleus of the collection. Created under Pavel Tretyakov, this section reflects the phenomenal breadth of his activity as a collector. Here can be found the names of all the remarkable masters of the time, and almost all of their more significant works. After Tretyakov, this section was enriched either by separate pictures not purchased by the collector himself (often due to chance or other reasons beyond his control), or by studies and sketches which did not interest him generally.

The second half of the nineteenth century in Russian art passed under the banner of realism, which paid particular attention to the social aspects of Russian life. Striving to "comply with the needs of the people," the progressive-minded artists saw these "needs" in abolishing the "darkness of medieval ignorance," in exposing the dark, ugly sides of Russian reality.

One of the chief exponents of Russian critical realism during its initial stage, the 1860s, was Vasily Perov. In his pictures Russian reality is shown with such sincere sympathy for the simple man that the artist can be compared to his great contemporaries, the poet Nikolay Nekrasov, the dramatist Alexander Ostrovsky, and the writer Fyodor Dostoevsky. In the words of Ivan Kramskoy Perov's chief concern was the wrathful "condemnation of evil." This was reflected both in his choice of subjects and in the way he interpreted them — the laconic drawing and restrained color scheme almost always give his paintings a sorrowful ring.

The highest achievements of Russian painting in the 1870s are connected with the activity of artists who belonged to the Society for Circulating Art Exhibitions. The founding of this society was an event of great histori-



cal significance for Russian art as it ushered in a new era in Russia's artistic development. It was an era of rigorous democratisation in art, its emancipation from the control exercised by the autocratic and bureaucratic state through the Imperial Academy of Arts. The society's main goal, as recorded in its Charter, was to "cultivate love for art among the people". The Itinerants significantly increased interest in Russian art by reaching out to people in the provinces, and in this way earned nationwide respect.

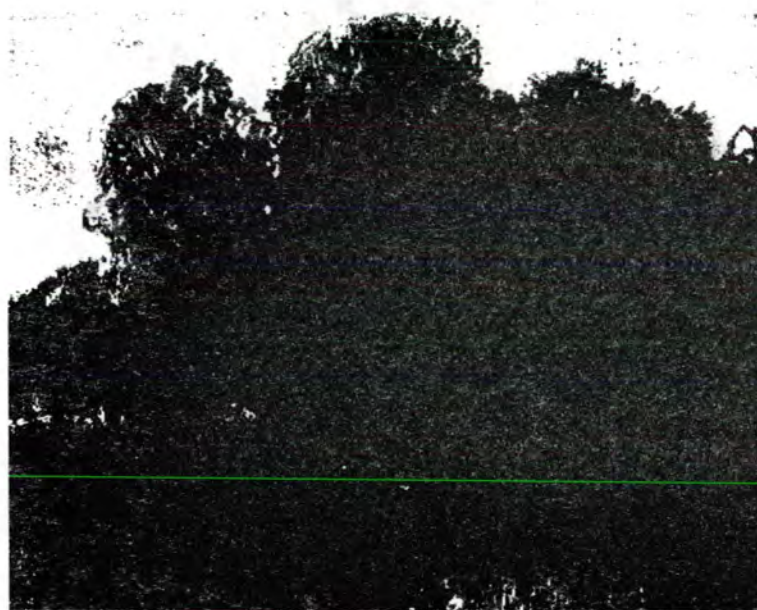
One of the founders of the society, its ideological leader and moving spirit, was the prominent Russian portrait painter Ivan Kramskoy. He, like most of the Itinerants, considered that the portrait must characterise a person first of all from the point of view of moral convictions.

Lofty ethical problems and meditations on the correlation between the personal and the public in human life became the subject of his *Christ in the Wilderness*, which is not so much a historical or religious work as a moral and philosophical one.



The realistic principles of the Itinerants penetrated all the other genres of Russian art, but first and foremost they led to the unprecedented rise of the everyday picture which most directly solved the problem of bringing life close to art.

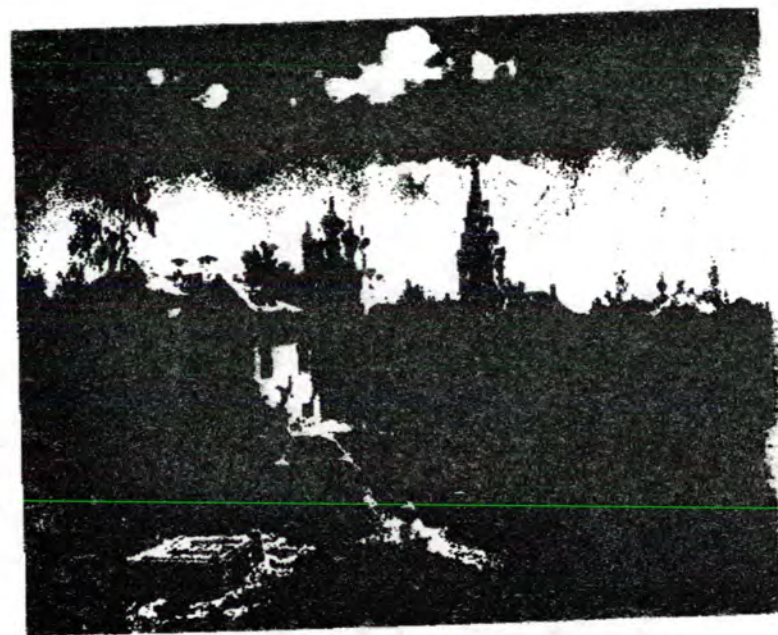
Landscape painting developed very intensively during the second half of the nineteenth century. It can be said that the landscape was the true passion of artists of the time, especially of such well-known painters as Alexey



Savrasov, Fyodor Vasilev, Ivan Shishkin, Vasily Polenov, Arkhip Kuindzhi, Isaac Levitan and others. In their portrayal of Russian nature these artists pondered the life of the people, an approach characteristic for all of Russian culture.

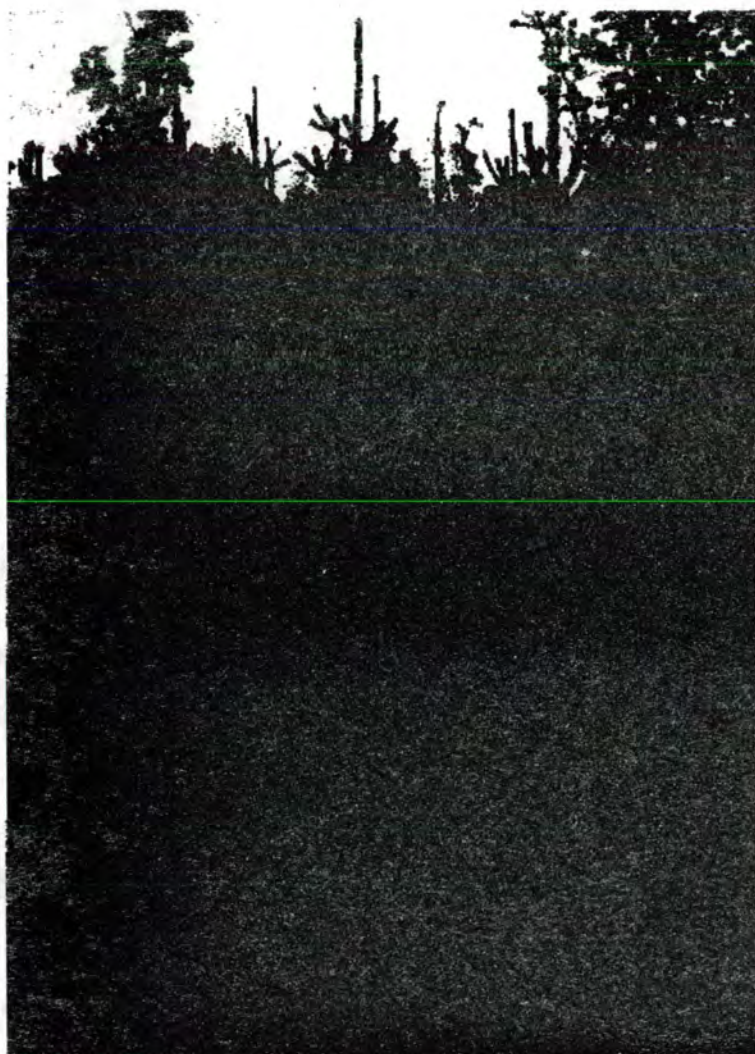
The powerful development of democratic and realistic tendencies in Russian painting of the 1860s and 70s paved the way for the blossoming of the Itinerants' art in the 1880s. In the work of the greatest masters of the time, Ilya Repin and Vasily Surikov, the Itinerants' realism achieved the long-desired harmony of "truth" and "beauty."

Ilya Repin, a painter possessing an enormous gift, was, perhaps, the most talented of the Itinerants. Keenly sensitive to the life around him, he created his best works on the themes of contemporary Russian reality, among these such truly social epics as *The Volga Boatmen* and *Religious Procession in the Kursk Guberniya*. A number of Repin's genre pieces are dedicated to the

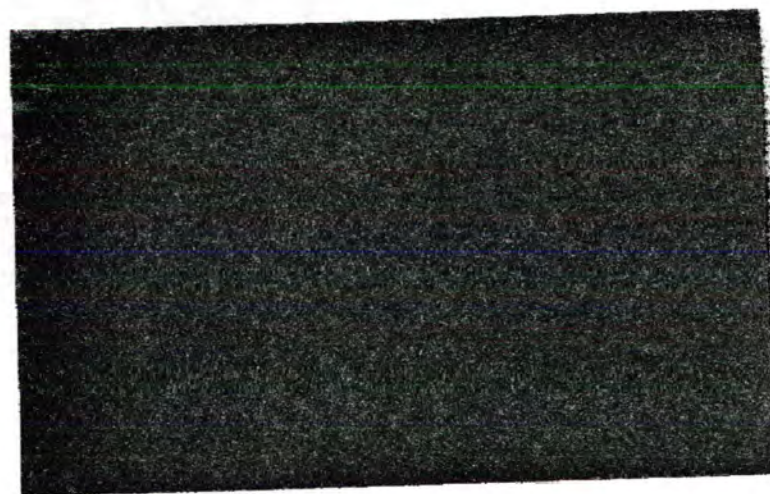


populist intelligentsia (*They Did Not Expect Him*), to their revolutionary struggle, with which the artist sincerely sympathised. Repin painted a few large historical compositions in which he sought either to reveal the dramatic aspects of history (*Ivan the Terrible and his Son Ivan*) or to show the Russians' love for freedom as a basic national trait (*The Zaporozhye Cossacks Writing a Mocking Letter to the Turkish Sultan*). But quite possibly, Repin's favorite genre was the portrait. It was in portraiture that the distinctive features of Repin's gift made themselves most clearly evident: an irrepressible love and avid curiosity for life, interest and attention to man, an almost Tolstoyan ability to sense the uniqueness of the inner world of each individual, and ability to find ever new artistic devices for revealing this world.

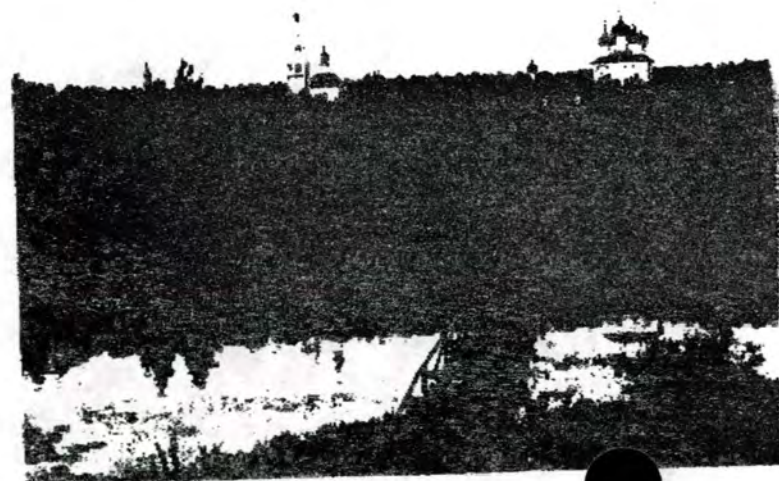
Unlike Repin, an artist inexorably linked with contemporary reality, Vasily Surikov was first and foremost a "historian," the greatest of all Russian historical painters who possessed the gift of presenting even the most long



past as if he himself were a witness and participant. Surikov relied not on "archaeology," but on his own powerful artistic imagination, his acute and spontaneous sense of the past. He was especially interested in the turning points of Russian history. His best canvases are devoted to events of the seventeenth century — a time of numerous revolts and broad popular movements. Sur



loved brilliant and strong characters, but viewed history not through the eyes of an individual, no matter how significant, but through the eyes of the people, always the main and true hero of his paintings.

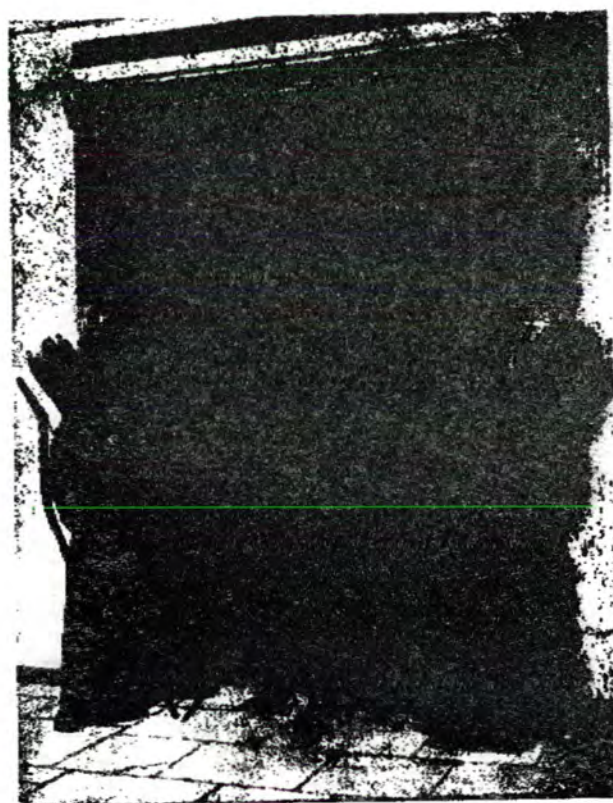




Among the masters of Russian painting of the last three decades of the nineteenth century, along with Repin and Surikov, the names of Victor Vasnetsov and Nikolay Gay should also be noted.

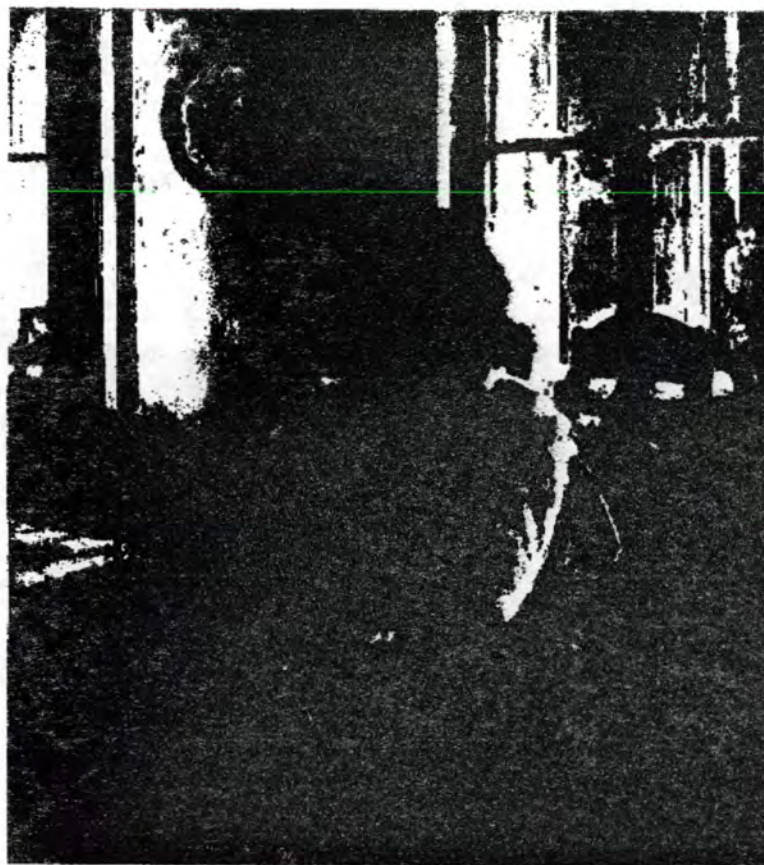
Victor Vasnetsov made his artistic debut in the late 1870s and early 1880s. His pictures raised interest in Russian folklore by creating images from folk tales and heroic legends (*Alyonushka*, *Bogatyr*s). Historic events and characters appear in Vasnetsov's works as they were preserved in the memory of the people. Vasnetsov's artistic quest coincided by and large with the aspirations of young Moscow artists who sought to revive folk forms in art and revitalise the Russian folk crafts (the Abramtsevo Art Circle).

Nikolay Gay entered into the history of Russian art as one of the founders of the Itinerants' historical painting. His approach to depicting historical events was strictly realistic (*Peter I Interrogating Tsarveich Alexey Petrovich in Peterhof*). In the 1880s, greatly impressed by Leo Tolstoy's moral and philosophical teachings,



decided to create his own "Gospel in paints" as had his friend and teacher in writing. In his pictures on gospel themes the artist strove above all to show the collision of good and evil in human life and history.

The work of Vasily Vereshchagin, a painter of battle scenes, has a special niche in the history of Russian art of the second half of the nineteenth century. He was, perhaps, the only great master not belonging to the Society for Circulating Art Exhibitions but, just as they, he was moved by a general interest in the life of the masses. He saw his task in revealing the truth of war to his viewers "by means of paint," to show them what a "disgusting, dismal and colossal evil" the battlefield was. He depicted war as a display of barbarism, as a threat to civilisation (*The Doors of Tamerlane's Mausoleum*).



In the late 1880s and early 1890s a large group of talented young painters emerged on the Russian art scene. These included Abram Arkhipov, Mikhail Vrubel, Konstantin Korovin, Sergey Korovin, Mikhail Nesterov, Andrey Ryabushkin, and Valentin Serov. All or nearly all of them were pupils of their senior masters, the Itinerants, and seemed to be the direct successors of their realistic tendencies. But at the same time, the aesthetic aspects of their work began to prevail over social tasks that had so profoundly inspired Russian artists of the previous generation. The most important of this group of artists were Konstantin Korovin, Valentin Serov, and Mikhail Vrubel. They are known as untiring "seekers" of "untrodden" paths in art.

Korovin's artistic development was marked by greater simplicity and clarity than that of the others. From the very beginning he was drawn — in many ways spontaneously — to Impressionism. Later, the Impressionistic system came to underlie Korovin's entire creative method, bringing him recognition as the best Russian Impressionist.

Like Korovin, Valentin Serov began with devices close to Impressionism. His famous *Girl with Peaches* and *Girl in Sunlight* reflected the original aspirations of the young artist who sought the meaning and poetry of life in a harmonious fusion of man and nature, who wanted to express the feeling of "joie de vivre." Serov's further successes were connected with portrait painting, on which he left his mark. The portrait genre gave Serov the opportunity to implement different and sometimes quite novel ideas and stylistic experiments which distinguished his short but intense artistic career.

Perhaps the most original Russian master at the turn of the century was Mikhail Vrubel. Like the majority of the European Symbolists of the late nineteenth century,



he expressed his Symbolist ideas in stylistic forms which in Russian came to be called "modern," and represented a Russian version of the European Sezsion. Vrubel often treated fantastic themes in his art: he was fascinated by the proud spirit of the evil Demon, the mysterious wood sprite Pan, and other mythical figures. Embodied in purely concrete forms, Vrubel's images, no matter how fantastic they might be, never left the realm of the real, and expressed the artist's romantic dream of the Beautiful and the Exalted.

Radical changes began to occur in Russian art in the early twentieth century. A crisis hit the Itinerant movement, and along with it a crisis of Russian classical realism as a whole. Russian social life changed drastically too. The former social ideals which had fed art exhausted themselves. The exposing, analytic approach to reality was no longer adequate to handle new problems. In the rapid and awesome development of life the task of art was not only to analyze, but to foretell the future. The structure of Russian artistic life became more complex and lost its former unity. If before, over the course

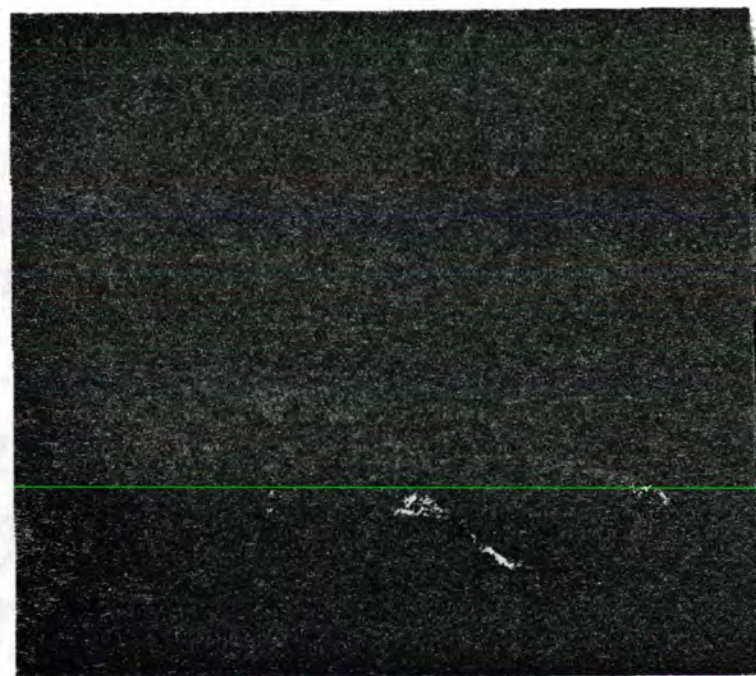


of two and a half decades, the Society for Circulating Art Exhibitions not only preserved its vitality, but also its attraction for each new generation, then beginning with the late 1890s various new artistic groups appeared, either coexisting with or directly opposing one another. The closer we come to the 1910s, the more dynamic and diverse the picture of Russian artistic life becomes. Thus began the era of individualism in Russian art.



second half of the nineteenth century each artist revealed his individuality "within" one common method, without challenging it in principle, now each group of artists emerged not only with its own ideological slogan, but united quite different and sometimes diametrically opposed individualities, methods and stylistic devices.

The art of this period is represented fairly fully in the Tretyakov Gallery. Here one can find the most characteristic paintings and graphic works by a very influential group of artists that had united around the *World of Art* magazine: Alexander Benois, Konstantin Somov, Mstislav Dobuzhinsky, Evgeny Lanceray, Zinaida Serebryakova, Igor Grabar, Nikolay Roerich and others, with their refined stylistics and retrospective interest in European and Russian culture of the eighteenth century. There was the Blue Rose group and a related association, The Golden Fleece, which included Pavel Kuznetsov, Martiros Saryan, Nikolay Krylov, Kuzma Petrov-Vodkin

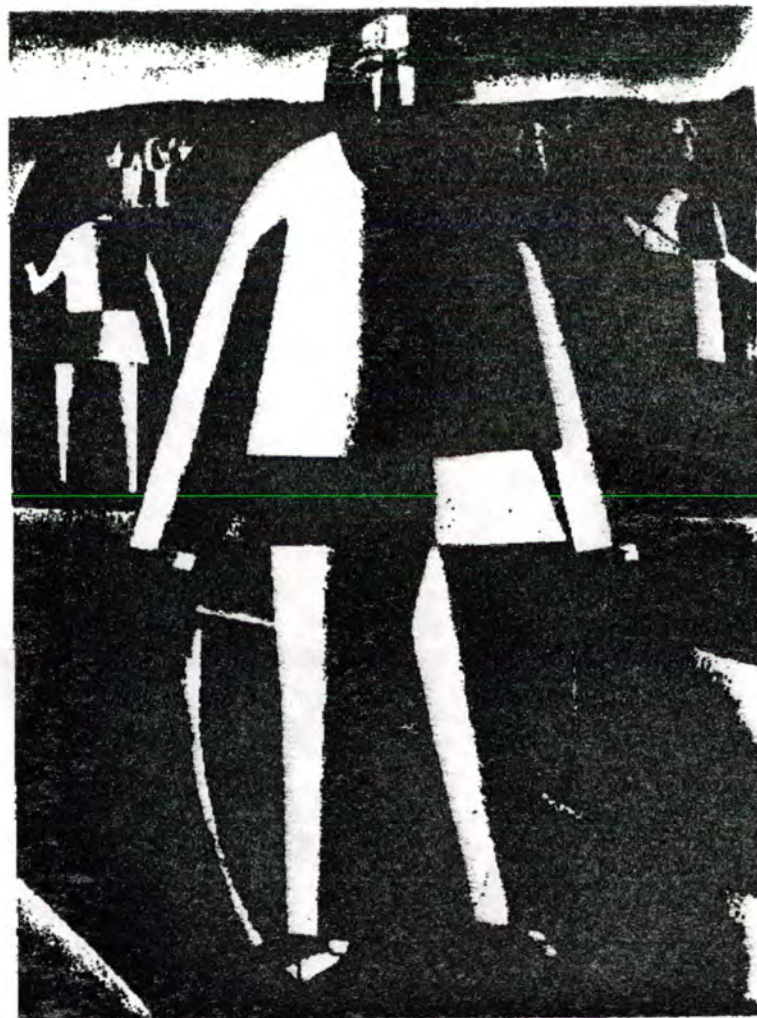


and others who preached, at least in their early works, principles of poetic Symbolism introduced in Russian art by Victor Borisov-Musatov. The art of the young Russian avant-garde of the 1910s is also well represented at the Tretyakov Gallery, especially the most popular Jack of Diamonds group — Pyotr Konchalovsky, Ilya Mashkov, Aristarkh Lentulov, Robert Falk, Alexander Kuprin — as well as artists who had initially participated, then gone their own way: Mikhail Larionov, Natalia Goncharova, Marc Chagall, Vasily Kandinsky and Kasimir Malevich. The aesthetic program of this circle contained elements of quite different Post-Impressionist trends from Cezannism to analytical Cubism, decorative primitivism and other experiments in non-objective art.

The formation of the section of early twentieth-century art at the Tretyakov Gallery began in the pre-revolutionary period. Continuing Tretyakov's precepts, the gallery's leaders (Ostroukhov, Serov, Botkina, and Igor Gra-



bar) carefully followed the course of development in Russian art, acquiring the first works of the young modernists Petrov-Vodkin, Kuznetsov, Larionov, Goncharova, Konchalovsky, Mashkov, Saryan and others. But the overwhelming majority of their works and those by even younger representatives of the Russian avant-garde — Kandinsky, Malevich, Chagall and others — entered the Tretyakov Gallery only after 1918 from the State Museum Fund, from exhibitions, studios and private collections. The largest donation of avant-garde art was made by George Kostakis in 1977.



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Russian sculpture and graphic art developed simultaneously with painting. The artistic principles guiding sculpture and the graphic arts were common to all art forms. For this reason, the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century in drawing, sculpture and painting were dominated by the portrait genre, academic landscape and historical compositions (in sculpture, classical tombstones). It was a time in which styles and trends succeeded one another: Baroque, Classicism, Sentimentalism and Romanticism — a tendency that sometimes manifested itself in sculpture and drawing more palpably than in painting. Yet the successes of Russian watercolourists of the first half of the nineteenth century should be especially noted (Bryullov, Ivanov, Tolstoy, Sokolov and others). In this delicate and difficult medium they painted not only exquisite portraits, landscapes and still lifes, but also created works containing serious and profound ideas (Ivanov's series of biblical sketches, for example).

Since painting was the leading genre in the second half of the nineteenth century, it was only natural that the pencil drawing, which is often closely connected to work in oils, became more widespread too. Among the most prominent realist-draughtsmen first mention should rightly go to Ilya Repin, an artist with multiple talents. Genre motifs predominated not only in painting of the time, but also in the graphic arts, and even in sculpture. The major sculptor of the period was Mark Antokolsky, who created a number of interesting monuments and historical compositions.

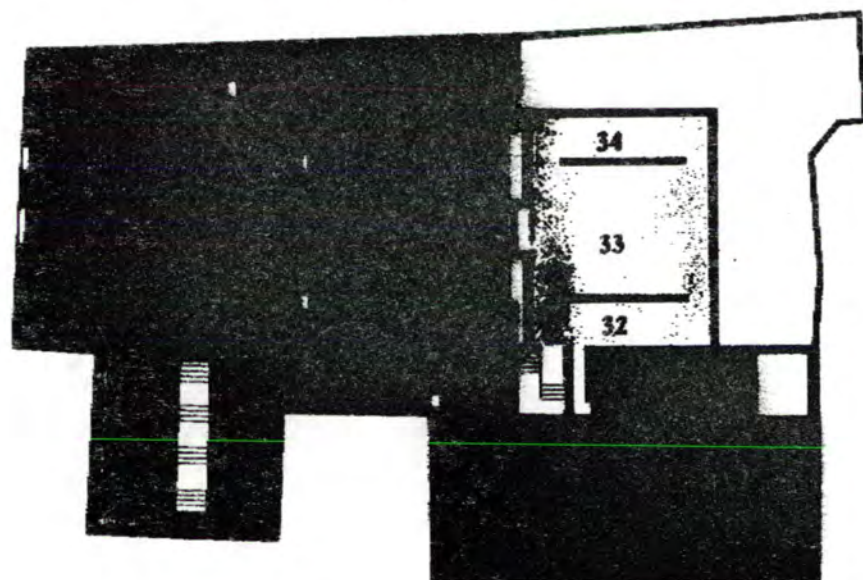
As has already been mentioned, the early twentieth century was marked by new stylistic quests in all art forms. A noticeable complexity of technique and blurring of once strict barriers occurred in both painting and the graphic arts. Some works by Benois, Somov and

Dobuzhinsky, for example, which were executed in a mixed media of tempera, watercolour, gouache and pastel, may be equally placed in the category of painting. The beginning of the twentieth century also saw the development of book and stage design.

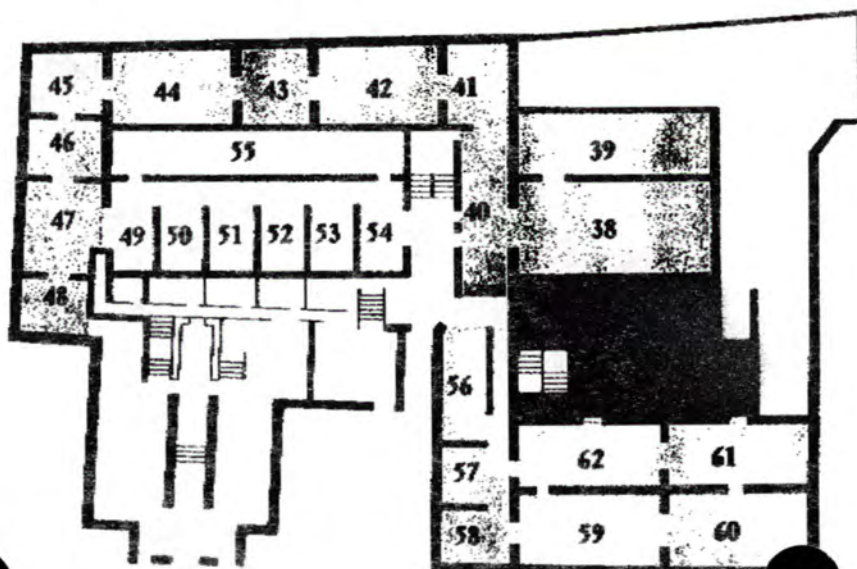
In the Tretyakov Gallery as it was established in the nineteenth century there were comparatively few works of sculpture and the graphic arts: Pavel Tretyakov concentrated on collecting paintings. The largest influx in these sections occurred only after 1917. Thus, the present section of old graphic art was organised during the second half of the 1920s after large graphic collections were transferred from the Tsvetkov Gallery and the Ostroukhov Museum of Icons and Paintings. The collection of Russian sculptures was formed even later, at the end of the 1930s. Today both sections continue to receive new acquisitions.

It may seem that our short overview of the history and character of the Tretyakov Gallery's collections is breaking off in the middle. We will not touch on a large part of the collection here since our goal was to describe the contents of the old wing. The exhibition in the new annex of the Tretyakov Gallery on the Crimea embankment starts with art of the "developed" avant-garde of the 1920s and continues with art from the era of the rise and development of socialist realism (1930s-50s and ensuing years), art of the post-war period with the emergence within socialist realism of official and unofficial art, and the new avant-garde, modernism and post-modernism. Both exhibitions are closely interrelated, providing an extremely full and broad picture of the evolution of Russian art from its roots to our day.

Plan of the Second Floor



Plan of the First Floor



Rooms 1—15

Painting and Sculpture of the 18th and First Half of the 19th Centuries



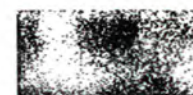
Rooms 16—31, 35—37

Painting and Sculpture of the Second Half of the 19th Century



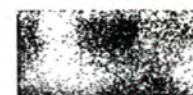
Rooms 32—34, 38—48

Painting and Sculpture of the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries



Rooms 49—54

Drawings and Watercolours of the 18th to Early 20th Centuries



Rooms 55—62

Old Russian Icon-Painting of the 12th through 17th Centuries

Tea with Mrs. Yeltsin

Radio Nadezhda

Russia Background

Bios

Remarks

TEA WITH NAINA IOSIFOVNA YELTSINA

CONTEXT OF MEETING

You will be attending a tea with Mrs. Yeltsin following your tour of the Tretyakov Gallery. You met her in Naples last July and in Washington last September. Naina Iosifovna is frequently ill at ease about addressing foreigners correctly. Reviewing at the very beginning of your conversation how you like to be addressed will help reassure her. She is known to be extremely shy and will go to great lengths not to burden people. However, if she senses that her interlocutor is friendly and the conversation turns to a subject of interest to her, she quickly forgets her shyness and begins to ask questions. She has been described as "astoundingly honest and curious about everything."

Naina Iosifovna's only consistent type of "First Lady" pursuit arises from her life-long commitment to improving health care for children. During the past few years, she has focused on pediatric dental care, an area she believes the Russian medical system badly neglects. She stresses children cannot be healthy if they do not have healthy teeth and gums. Her goal is to create a modern fully-equipped dental training center and clinic for children, where care can be given and dentists can learn the latest techniques in preventive care and orthodontics. Mrs. Yeltsin raised her interest in dental programs for children during her Naples meeting with you.

She is also active in improving children's hospitals and OB/GYN facilities. In the January summit in Moscow, you visited a children's hospital together. You will visit the Moscow Sechenov Medical Academy and Children's Hospital during this summit.

OBJECTIVES

- o To thank Mrs. Yeltsin for the hospitality shown to you and the President during the summit.
- o To express support for Mrs. Yeltsin's efforts to improve children's health care in Russia, especially in the areas of dental care and children's hospitals, and OB/GYN facilities.

TALKING POINTS

- I am very pleased to have the opportunity to return to Moscow and to renew our friendship and common interests in children and health care.
- I appreciate your efforts to highlight pediatric dental care needs of Russian children. Early prevention of dental problems will pay dividends later in life.
- Health services are of special concern for many Americans and Russians. U.S.-sponsored health programs aim to help Russia restructure health care finance and health service delivery. Our programs focus on preventative health care and improvement of health services.
- The health of mothers and children is important for the future well being of a nation. I hope that our family planning programs in Russia will help decrease infant and maternal mortality rates and increase the quality of life for Russian children.
- I look forward to seeing first hand the Moscow Sechenov Medical Academy and Children's Hospital. I hope that we can continue our work together on children's health issues.

Toasts remain an important tradition at Russian meals and Russians pride themselves on them. They may be elaborate and are often heartfelt. The host usually proposes the first toast, often with vodka, followed by the guests throughout the meal. Even a simple toast by a foreigner is appreciated. One should avoid drinking alcohol until after the first toast is made.

Russians are very hospitable people and they want their guests to feel at home. They take pride in and love to show visitors examples of their culture.

Greetings: According to Russian rules, it is considered bad luck to greet one another or shake hands across a threshold, or offer a gift through a doorway. A person should enter the room first. Hand shaking between a man and a woman, which is now normal in a business situation, was not customary until recent times. Russian etiquette allows men to shake a lady's hand only if she extends it first. A Russian man may kiss a woman's hand offered in handshake.

Welcoming Tradition: There is an old Russian tradition to welcome a guest with bread and salt. The bread and salt are usually served on a tray covered with an embroidered towel. The guest pulls a small piece of bread from the loaf, dips it into the salt, and consumes it. This is a sign of respect that has been part of Slavic customs for centuries.

Religious Customs: Women who visit a Russian Orthodox Church should wear modest clothing (usually a skirt) and cover their heads with a hat or scarf. Men should remove their hats.

Tea with Mrs. Yeltsin

Radio Nadezhda

Russia Background

Bios

Remarks

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS FOR RADIO NADEZHDA
MOSCOW, RUSSIA
MAY 10, 1995**

It is a privilege for me to be here at Radio Nadezhda. I want to thank all of you at the station for your efforts to raise awareness about issues of special concern to women. Not only do you provide hope, you give voice to the aspirations of women throughout Russia and the world.

You also give voice to the democratic aspirations of the Russian people. Nothing is as important to building, strengthening, and sustaining democratic institutions than a healthy, vibrant news media. Although those of us in public life do not always agree with everything we read in the newspaper or see on television, we respect the role that journalists and commentators play in informing the public about the critical issues in their lives. I know that the media here in Russia has been an invaluable source of information for the Russian people as they sort out their opinions on many difficult issues -- economic reform, crime, corruption and so on.

Radio Nadezhda also plays a very special role for women and families. Around the world, it is common for issues of concern to women, such as health care, education, and children, to be dismissed as marginal or unrelated to larger questions about economic growth. But I believe that so-called women's issues are central to the economic and political challenges that every nation faces today.

First, women make up more than half the world's population. Throughout the world -- including the United States and Russia -- women represent a disproportionate number of the poor and vulnerable. They are most adversely affected by crises in the health care system. And they have the fewest avenues available to bring about social change.

Until women have the opportunities to be full participants in their societies -- until they have access to education, health care, credit, political participation and legal protections -- the nation they live in cannot truly prosper.

I have been privileged over the past two years to travel to many different countries. And nearly everywhere I have gone, I have been gratified to see women coming together -- as they have at this radio station -- to pool their wisdom, experience, and ideas so that they can play a more active role in civic life.

Beyond giving women a voice, Radio Nadezhda also conveys the

Russian people's commitment to democracy. To make democracy work, citizens must be informed, and they must participate. And they must rely on a responsible news media to educate them as voters, decision-makers, and opinion-makers.

As we all know, democracy is a system that takes time to perfect. In my country, we have been working at it for 200 years. Even with that amount of practice, we still fail at times to uphold our ideals of social justice and civil society. Yet we have learned that the struggle is worth it, because living in a free society is the best way to ensure that all people -- men, women, rich, poor, and people of all creeds and races -- can fulfill their potential and live together in peace.

In Russia, you have been at the work of democracy for less than five years. You have made enormous strides under very difficult circumstances. I want you to know how much the American people admire your hard work, determination, and willingness to sacrifice for a larger good. And I want you to know that we support you. And as we work to renew and strengthen our own democratic ideals, we find inspiration in your efforts here.

Thank you so much for allowing me to join you and your listeners on this program.

[Q & A]

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[Q & A]

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NAINA IOSIFOVNA YELTSINA: ACTIVITIES AND INTERESTS

First Lady: Mrs. Yeltsin has adapted slowly to the demands and the attention of being the wife of a major political figure. She does not like to be called "First Lady." (She has been described in the Russian press as "unobtrusive and unquestioning.") For a long time, she detested the publicity that came with her husband's high political standing. She now has become accustomed to dealing with the press, although she rarely gives interviews, as she feels that any attention paid to her could give fuel to her husband's enemies.

Until 1988, Naina Iosifovna worked as a hydrologist at the Institute of Water Drainage in Yekaterinburg (formerly Sverdlovsk), where she supervised over 30 people. The daughter of a farmer, Mrs. Yeltsin relishes gardening. She especially enjoyed her tour through the Blair House greenhouse with Marilyn Quayle, where she was particularly fascinated by the different types of plants in the vegetable patch.

In addition to her genuine commitment for health care and her love of gardening, Mrs. Yeltsin enjoys pre-modern Russian art. Although she has never had the time to be an art scholar, she is concerned that Russian art is virtually unknown in the West. Her favorite school of art is Moscow's "Mir Iskusstva" (World of Art) from the turn of the century, which was sponsored by the Moscow merchant Sava Mamontov and includes Vrubel, Levitan, Serov, and many other artists renowned in Russia.

Naina, Boris and Family: The Yeltsin family is very close. Naina Iosifovna and Yeltsin have a strong relationship. While Mrs. Yeltsin does all she can to stay away from politics, Yeltsin often uses her as a sounding board and values her opinions and analytical mindset. In his autobiography, Yeltsin pondered, "Does my wife understand who is my friend, who is my enemy, what is the logic of my decisions; does she try to give advice? It's hard to answer those questions. She advises me without words. She senses everything perfectly, reacts silently with great self-control. But I can tell she's upset." Yeltsin also noted, "In general, it's hard to be a wife. Being my wife is even harder. Then, to be the wife of the president - that's sheer horror."

Naina Iosifovna was an anomaly in the former Soviet nomenklatura for her aversion to privilege. In their small apartment in Moscow, where they lived with their youngest daughter Tanya, her husband, and their cherished grandson Borya, she refused to have staff. Naina Iosifovna is devoted to her two daughters, Lena and Tanya, their husbands, and her three grandchildren, especially Borya, an athletic boy with a sweet disposition.

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The Shy First Lady Who Lives Like the Rest of the Russians

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: Helen Boldyreff Semler, Special to The Washington Post

DATELINE: MOSCOW

BODY:

Naina Yeltsin leans closer, tightening the grip of her hands in her lap. "We live in fear for my husband's life," she says. The softly contoured face with typically Russian high cheekbones, framed by cropped russet hair, is amazingly fresh and unlined. The eyes are serious, but serene. There is no pathos, only a terse statement of fact.

Long after the October storming of the White House, the parliament building in Moscow, by troops loyal to her husband, Naina Yeltsin still finds it hard to talk about the days when Russia stood on the brink of civil war. "It was terrible," she says, worse than anything else she had lived through in a lifetime of political tumult.

At midday on Sunday, Oct. 3, Boris Yeltsin, the first democratically elected president of Russia, left the dacha outside Moscow that the Yeltsins had reluctantly taken over from the Gorbachevs ("Who in the world needs that many bathrooms, TV sets and servants?" asks Naina). She heard from him only once during the 3-day crisis as he worked feverishly in the Kremlin on the strategy for ending the mutiny.

Boris Yeltsin had waited tense weeks in the hope of a peaceful solution, but when the demonstrators attacked the main TV station, and Vice President Alexander Rutskoi, hero of the Afghanistan war, asked his followers to charge the Kremlin, Yeltsin knew that he had to act.

"We did not close our eyes that Sunday night," Elena, the elder of the Yeltsin daughters, says.

But by Monday afternoon, Boris Yeltsin had survived yet

another crisis.

When President and Mrs. Clinton visit Moscow next week, the world may get a rare glimpse of Naina Yeltsin. Throughout the remarkable political odyssey of Boris Yeltsin, his wife has maintained a discreet profile. She has shown no desire to emulate Raisa Gorbachev in garnering publicity and notoriety.

Naina and Boris Yeltsin represent a different Russian world from that of the Gorbachevs, or, for that matter, such Communist luminaries as Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin. They are both engineers, builders eager to complete a project quickly and safely, and they are uninterested in seeking an ideological justification for what they are doing. Boris appears rarely on television and then his pronouncements are terse. Naina shuns the Russian media and scrupulously avoids the ceremonial functions required of an American First Lady. "I am only the president's wife," she says. "I shudder when people call me the First Lady."

Indeed, there is little time in Naina Yeltsin's day for ribbon-cutting. In addition to traveling with her husband and taking part in official entertainment, there is the exhausting shopping, cooking and baby-sitting her grandchildren. "The yoke of everyday living oppresses us," she says. "For Russian women who work, keep house and raise children, the quest for the barest necessities of life is a horrendous experience."

She has other reasons for avoiding public statements. "Everything I do or say as the president's wife is made into an intrigue and is then held against my husband. I don't want to add to his burdens. We made a deal long ago that I would not mix our family life with politics. But I long to do something for children."

Her dream, she confided a year ago, is of a dental clinic for children. "Our dental care is a disaster. There are no proper painkillers, the drills are antiquated and children blanch at the sight of a dentist... But what can I do? I cannot trouble my husband with this. We need so many things in Russia."

Naina Yeltsin's dream was conveyed to Hillary Rodham Clinton, who asked Ambassador Richard Armitage to arrange for dental equipment to be sent from a U.S. Army post in Germany to the Moscow Central Institute of Stomatology. More was to come: 40 containers of medical equipment and supplies worth more than \$ 4 million were en route to Children's Hospital No. 1 in Moscow. This facility is being remodeled through a joint project of Norfolk Children's Hospital and a foundation set up by National Symphony Orchestra conductor Mstislav Rostropovich, who gave a concert in Red Square a week after the storming of the Russian White House. All in all, as part of Operation Provide Hope, nine Russian hospitals will receive \$ 38 million worth of equipment and supplies from hospitals being dismantled by the Army's 7th Medical Command in Germany.

In addition, after the First Ladies meet next week, work may begin on the first private U.S.-Russian hospital in Moscow, under their joint chairmanship.

The two women have met before, during the Tokyo G-7 summit last July. Naina Yeltsin was impressed with Hillary Clinton, whom she describes as an "American woman of the new generation, on top of her job both as the president's wife and as a lawyer... I cannot tell you how much I admire her." Both professionals and both wives of provincial politicians who became heads of state, the women found many common interests during their Tokyo talks. Above all, Naina Yeltsin praised Mrs. Clinton's work on health care.

She is eager to show Mrs. Clinton the new facilities at the Central Institute of Stomatology. She also hopes to introduce her to Russian culture, the art and the music that require no interpretation. She is particularly keen on showing the paintings of late-19th-century Russian masters, virtually unknown to the American public.

And Naina Yeltsin is looking forward to conveying her personal gratitude to the Clintons for the strong stand taken in support of her husband during the fateful days of October.

The upcoming meeting will be Naina Yeltsin's third encounter with a U.S. president and First Lady. The first was with Barbara Bush. She displays proudly a large framed photograph taken of the two women in June 1992 in Washington. "She is terrific," she says of Mrs. Bush.

A high point of that visit was the luncheon at Mount Vernon in Naina Yeltsin's honor. She kept thinking of the parallel between her husband and George Washington, who had said, "I walk on untrodden ground." Just as everything Washington did set the precedent for future U.S. presidents, she thought, Boris Yeltsin was creating precedents for the course of Russian democracy.

'A Family of Technocrats'

Born Anastasia Girina to a family of poor peasants in the southeastern Russian town of Orenburg in 1932, the young Naina knew work, privation and political repression. Her father survived Stalin's brutal collectivization of Russian agriculture, though the family's crucial farm livestock was confiscated. But if Naina's family fared better than that of Boris's, whose father was taken from his farm and shot, tragedy lurked in its future. The father she adored was killed in 1968 as he stood in the way of a drunken motorcyclist to protect her mother.

Naina Girina and Boris Yeltsin met at the Ural Polytechnical

Institute in Sverdlovsk, one of the Soviet Union's leading engineering schools. They received their degrees in construction engineering in 1956. Boris Yeltsin wrote in his memoirs: "I fell in love with her then, tenderhearted and good, for the rest of my life. She accepted me the way I was, stubborn and prickly."

As Boris made his way up the Soviet ladder, Naina concentrated on their family and on supervising large projects for the Institute of Waterways in Sverdlovsk, now rebaptized Ekaterinburg. There were not many free moments for the Yeltsins in Sverdlovsk, especially after their daughters were born, Elena in 1957 and Tanya in 1959. They celebrated Sundays at the Bolshoi Ural restaurant, where they ordered ice cream for all. Holidays were fun-filled escapes of camping, hiking and boating. Elena followed her parents' example and became a construction engineer; Tanya became a computer technician. "We are a family of technocrats," says Naina. The Yeltsins moved to Moscow in 1986, when Gorbachev summoned Yeltsin to the prestigious position of first secretary of Moscow's Communist Party Committee.

Gorbachev made a serious mistake. The "stubborn and prickly" Yeltsin broke all party big-shot rules by taking the Moscow trolleys and letting his wife stand in the long lines at the stores. He wanted to know firsthand the living conditions of the 9 million Muscovites. They in turn appreciated his willingness to share their problems. Soon he became the most popular politician in the Soviet Union.

Moscow Retreat

In a four-room apartment in an unfashionable section of the city, Naina Yeltsin has re-created the family home. The Yeltsins lived there with daughter Tanya and her husband and their only grandson, 12-year-old Boris, until recently, when they were forced for security reasons to spend most of their time at the dacha. Even by Moscow standards, the apartment is nothing special. Seated facing the television, Naina Yeltsin pats the arm of a comfortable red velvet chair.

"It needs reupholstering," she says. "In fact, all of our furniture needs reupholstering. We brought it with us from Sverdlovsk." She surveys the sofa and several more chairs covered in the same fabric. "It's old but homey," she says.

The same simplicity describes Naina Yeltsin. She wears little jewelry and dresses in subdued clothes made locally. Warm and unassuming, she says she dreads causing problems for anyone. But she is always the analytical engineer, wanting to know how things run. Although she is an art lover, when she visited the National Gallery of Art in Washington last year, the innovative architecture of the East Building roof caught her attention as much as the exhibit she saw. When she visited a soup kitchen with Barbara Bush, she was not satisfied until she had mastered all the details -- the caloric content of the food, the number of

people fed each day, the cost of the program.

In her own kitchen she cooks her specialty, the Siberian dumplings called pelemeni, her family's favorite dish. Boris will arrive at 10 p.m. or later, eat, watch the late news and then resume work. Naina sleeps only when he does -- which is about four hours a night.

She worries very much about her husband. Many years ago she watched him climb onto a huge crane careening about in a blinding rainstorm. "Get down," she screamed, "the crane will collapse." But Yeltsin, then working on his first construction project, kept climbing. He brought the huge contraption under control. For years afterward, Naina had nightmares about Boris being crushed by a crane.

He has faced other dangers as well. At the Oct. 21, 1987, Central Committee meeting, Yeltsin complained that Gorbachev's reforms were moving too slowly and that his efforts in Moscow were being sabotaged. He went too far. His colleagues deserted him. On Nov. 9, he collapsed and was rushed to a hospital with severe chest pains, shattered nerves and a splitting headache.

While Naina was in the hospital with Boris, a call came from the Kremlin -- Gorbachev insisted that the sick Yeltsin come to a meeting of the Moscow Communist Party Committee at which he would be dismissed as first secretary. Naina pleaded, saying that she saw no point in Yeltsin being guarded if his guards were going to kill him. But Yeltsin went, pumped full of Valium and carried on a stretcher by four KGB agents. After his dismissal, thousands of letters and telegrams, many from Sverdlovsk, poured in. Yeltsin took heart and recovered.

During the attempted coup against Gorbachev in August 1991, Naina Yeltsin again heard only once in three days from her husband, who was holed up in the parliament building. A radio report falsely said that the hard-line Communist plotters had overrun the White House. "My heart stopped," she says. She told her daughters not to wake the grandchildren. If they were to be shot, she decided, they should die in their sleep.

"I prayed," she says.

The New Russia

For Naina Yeltsin, Moscow is a "suffocating" place full of dirty intrigue against her husband.

"In Moscow," she says, "my husband's hair turned white. In Moscow, I also stopped believing in communism." She soured on the system when she came to know the lifestyle of the country's elite: special stores, limousines, private clinics, all spiced

with venomous backbiting.

Today she is an optimist. She sees her children's generation forging ahead despite the chaos. She worries most about the losers in the difficult transition from state monopoly to private enterprise. These are the pensioners, the old, the sick whose savings have been wiped out by inflation, those who have lost their jobs in unprofitable state industries.

In the long run, she is convinced that Russia, with its human, natural and technological resources and its high level of education, will provide a good future for her grandchildren if not her children. But the transition to democracy, to a system that permits the peoples of Russia to be heard, is absolutely essential in her view.

Many deputies opposed a new constitution, Naina Yeltsin says, because "it is more difficult to govern men in a democratic state than under the old totalitarian rule. In democracy people speak, think, vote, make decisions. The power must be legitimate. This is why my husband wants a new constitution for Russia."

She defends her husband against accusations of "dismembering" the Soviet Union, of being a dictator. "Dictators want power for power's sake," she says. "Yeltsin seeks power to improve the lot of his people."

But she is against his running for president again. "I personally would prefer him to be just an ordinary man," she says.

Helen Boldyreff Semler, a business consultant on Russia and author of the guidebook "Discovering Moscow," served as the State Department interpreter for Mrs. Bush at her meetings with Naina Yeltsin.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, NAINA YELTSIN WITH BARBARA BUSH IN 1992, AND WITH HER GRANDDAUGHTER KATIA: "I AM ONLY THE PRESIDENT'S WIFE. I SHUDDER WHEN PEOPLE CALL ME THE FIRST LADY.", IGOR KALABUKHOV; PHOTO, KEITH JENKINS; PHOTO, DMITRY

DONSKOI

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Michael E. Autera
Executive Vice President

April 27, 1995

First Lady Hillary Rodham-Clinton
The White House
Old Executive Office Building, Room 100
Washington, DC 20500

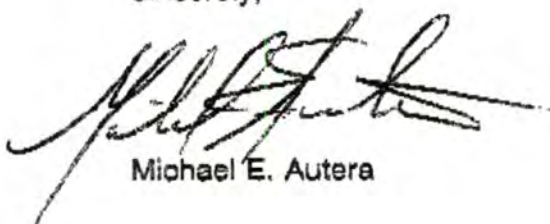
Dear Mrs. Clinton:

Bristol-Myers Squibb is delighted to be working with you and your staff in an effort to help the Russian Government deal with the long-term treatment of Russian children suffering from Phenylketonuria (PKU).

Bristol-Myers Squibb has approved a donation to be made on your behalf of one 20-foot container (16,200 cans) of Phenylfree formula. This will care for approximately 125 children for one year.

Attached is a brief background paper and suggested recommendations on the issue. Bristol-Myers Squibb looks forward to working with you and Mrs. Yeltsin in developing either a long-term supply proposal or an in-country filling project that could reduce the in-market price and increase the overall affordability of our PKU products in Russia. Representatives of our Washington Office will be in contact with your office to coordinate the delivery of this donation.

Sincerely,



Michael E. Autera

MEA/cw
Attachment

Tea with Mrs. Yeltsin

Radio Nadezhda

Russia Background

Bios

Remarks

VISIT OF THE FIRST LADY

TO

MOSCOW, RUSSIA

EVENT: Interview at Radio Nadezhda

DATE: May 10, 1995

TIME: 3:45 pm

LOCATION: Radio Nadezhda Studio, Moscow

ATTENDEES: Mrs. Clinton
Mrs. Pickering
Irina Korolyova, Director General
Tatyana S. Zeleranskaya, Editor-in-Chief
interpreter

PRESS: Pool Press (prior to the beginning of program)

SCENARIO: Mrs. Clinton will arrive at the Radio Station and is greeted by Mrs. Zeleranskaya and Mrs. Korolyova on the fifth floor and is presented with flowers and a gift. Mrs. Clinton is then escorted by the greeters to her holding room, and briefed on the radio station's history (approximately 5 minutes).

After briefing, Mrs. Clinton will proceed to the studio. Press pool will do a brief photo spray prior to the beginning of the program. Mrs. XXXXX will introduce Mrs. Clinton to the listening audience, and Mrs. Clinton will make brief (5 minutes) remarks. Mrs. Korolyova and Mrs. Zeleranskaya to alternate Q & A with Mrs. Clinton (20 minutes).

NOTE: There will be no telephone call-in questions.

Immediately following the program, Mrs. Clinton will depart the Radio Station en route to the Radisson.

RADIO NADEZHDA

Russia's first independent women's radio station opened on July 1, 1992, as an expression of hope (nadezhda) for a better future. The station broadcasts to all of the NIS except Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan. On the air 23 hours a day, it broadcasts to Europe by medium wave in Russian.

Focusing on topics of interest to families: business, economics, culture, etc., but especially women's issues -- women in parliament (with emphasis on the "Women of Russia" party), the station stresses stories about women in business and how women are adapting to the market economy. It also provides special programs for farmers. Fifty percent of the programming is musical.

Regular programming does not include political debates, but during the next presidential campaign, time will be made available to the candidates.

Radio Nadezhda has received technical support through the USAID-funded "Farmer-to-Farmer" program. Winrock International agricultural communication volunteers worked with Radio Nadezhda to create the first agricultural/home gardening radio show, which has become one of the station's most popular programs.

Questions at Radio Nadezhda

1. What does the United States do for Women's Health? What things does the U.S. Government do to help improve women's health?
2. What do people and/or the U.S. Government do to protect children's health? What kinds of initiatives are there in the U.S. with regard to children's health?
3. We know that you have travelled around the world on behalf of women and that you have stressed the importance of education for women as tools for opportunity. In Russia, women are very well educated, but they still do not have rights and have limited economic opportunities. The unemployment of women in Russia is very high. While education can be seen as a primary step, what other steps are important? What are Russian women lacking?

United States Department of State

The Deputy Secretary of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

May 2, 1995

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

Melanne called last week to say that you have agreed to do an interview in Moscow with Radio Nadezhda ("Hope"). It's a terrific idea. Part of the President's purpose in going to Moscow is to reach out to the Russian people.

Not knowing Radio Nadezhda myself, I asked my executive assistant, Victoria Nuland, for her thoughts on the best approach. Before joining me in the Department, Victoria worked as a political officer in our embassy in Moscow. She knows the Russian media in general and Radio Nadezhda in particular. She has stayed in close touch with developments in Russia, and has been an invaluable advisor and reality check for me in my own effort to advise Chris and the President.

The basic point to stress is that Russians are exceedingly -- I'd even say increasingly -- concerned about security and stability (a concern that is not entirely incomprehensible or alien to many Americans). After the initial euphoria of throwing off the dead hand of the past, Russians have come increasingly to identify reform with crime, corruption, hardship and fear of the future. That has made them vulnerable to the most dangerous sorts of demagogue. They also care very much about how they are seen by the rest of the world.

Your message should be that we admire what they have already done, and we support them in what they are trying to do. That can be seen essentially as undergoing a traumatic transition now so that their children can have a better future.

Radio Nadezhda is, as you know, a station founded and run by women. That makes it all the more appropriate for you to touch upon your special concern with women's issues, such as day care for working mothers and reproductive health (abortion is still the birth-control technique of choice -- or perhaps I should say of default).

Mrs. Hillary Clinton,
The White House,
Washington, D.C. 20500.

But Victoria notes that Radio Nadezhda has a remarkably wide listenership, across gender lines as well as across a broad spectrum of social, political, and economic backgrounds and interests. Therefore it would be good if you could develop two broader democracy themes that are germane both to what's happening in Russia and to our policy.

One is the essential role a free media plays in a healthy democracy. You could draw on our own experience in this country with the Fourth Estate and its key role in informing the public, in spurring national debate on major policy initiatives like health care reform and in ensuring transparent election campaigns.

You could then talk about the healthy role the Russian media has played on the toughest issues of the day there: Chechnya, economic reform, crime and corruption, etc. There's not much of a silver lining in the Chechnya debacle, but at least the Russian press and TV have brought vivid, critical reporting into people's homes -- and been left more or less free to do so.

The second theme is the importance of elections in a democracy and the obligation of all responsible citizens to vote. As you know, Russians of all stripes have expressed concern that the December '95 parliamentary elections and/or the June '96 presidential elections will be canceled. President Yeltsin has pledged to hold the elections on time and President Clinton will, both publicly and in their private encounters, remind him of that promise on this trip. You have a chance to make our stand on this issue clear to a wider audience.

Many Russians have become apathetic about politics and elections. Politicians are perceived to be corrupt and in it for themselves. Voter turn-out has been lower than 20 percent in some local elections. This trend is particularly serious because younger voters, new entrepreneurs and other beneficiaries of reform have not been voting in representative numbers. This was clearly a factor in the Zhironovskiy party's landslide in 1993. You can use your radio interview to remind Russians that in a democracy the politicians work for the people -- but the process only works if the people participate. The best way to send a message to government and to protect their children's future is to cast a well-considered vote. This ties into the free media theme because the press can serve to educate voters about candidates.

Another angle to hit is the link between private property and the right to vote. In a democracy, citizens protect their property from government abuse through the good work of their elected representatives. Now that 70 percent of Russian

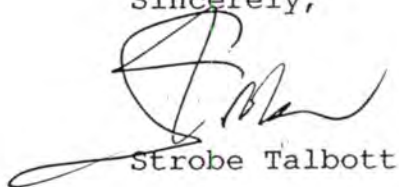
property is in private hands and virtually every Russian owns something (an apartment, a private garden plot, stocks, or a private business), Russians should have more incentive to vote, not less.

Whenever possible, I'd urge that you work in personal experience and observation. It will also help if you can find ways of telling the Russians that, tough as their problems are, they're neither unique nor ignoble. Even though our country has had over two hundred years of practice in trying to perfect the institutions and attitudes of democracy, social justice and civil society, we still haven't gotten any of those entirely right. We regard it as grounds not for condescension but for admiration that after 70-plus years of totalitarianism and only four a half years of freedom, the Russians have made as much progress as they have.

I hope these ideas are helpful as you plan what could be a very helpful reinforcement of the main themes we're striking in our policy as a whole.

I'll look forward to seeing you on the trip.

Sincerely,



Strobe Talbott

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The Ethnic NewsWatch
We/MbI

May 30, 1993

SECTION: Vol. II; No. 10; Pg. 12

LENGTH: 697 words

HEADLINE: Radio Hope speaks to Russian women: Moscow presents the world's only independent women's radio station

BYLINE: Ertugrul, Irene

BODY:

Radio Hope speaks to Russian women: Moscow presents the world's only. independent women's radio station

Radio Nadezhda (Radio Hope), which calls itself the "first and only independent women's radio station in the world," timidly went on the air less than 10 months ago with only three hours of daily programming.

Since that modest start it has steadily expanded its schedule to 24-hour broadcasting, beamed not only to the far corners of the former USSR and Europe but heard even as far as the Philippines. Recently, it at last felt sure enough of itself to receive the press and a host of celebrities at a gala dinner and evening of entertainment.

"The idea of a radio station run by women and geared especially toward women became possible only with perestroika," said the station's editor in chief, Tatiana Zeleranskaya, who launched the station with General Director Irina Korolyova.

"It was only then that women's issues could start being seriously discussed. True, we had always had lots of programs on women just before the Eighth of March (the traditional Soviet Woman's Day holiday) but they were either humorous or maudlin--and then a silence resumed until the next Eighth of March.

"The same was true with newspapers. Women journalists complained that editors would find space in the paper for anything in the world apart from women's issues."

Both women have long experience in radio. Korolyova had worked on broadcasts to the United States and other English-speaking countries and Zeleranskaya had worked on on the nationwide Russian-language service.

When the government's monopoly on the airwaves loosened in the late 1980s, new radio stations appeared.

"But they were all the same: just news and music," Zeleranskaya said. "Irina and I had long thought about a women's radio station and we were glad to see that no one else pushed through the idea before we did."

The new station aims to serve the whole family. "We very much want to raise the prestige of family life in Russia," Korolyova said. "Right now, the status of mothers and especially of fathers has fallen dramatically. Men are just supposed to bring home their pay checks and not participate in anything else. We would like to make it prestigious again to have a family, rather than to be alone, as is the fashion now."

Ironically, 60 percent of Radio Nadezhda's listeners are men and 90 percent of its letters come from men. "We were surprised at these findings and consulted a psychologist," Zeleranskaya said. "He told us that men listen because they are curious about what really goes on in women's lives. And in our staffing, although each day a different woman is in charge of the program, all of our producers happen to be men."

"We carry news but not 'serious' news. Other stations do that very well and we tell our listeners, 'If you want to know what happened today in the Supreme Soviet or in the Constitutional Court, please turn to another channel.' When they hear that, however, most of them decide to stay with us."

Apart from programs on fashion, cosmetics and cooking especially aimed at women, the station carries features on health, family relationships and the arts. In its programs dealing with the market economy it gives women guidance on setting up their own business and on broadening their qualifications to avoid unemployment.

"We've touched on many sensitive issues, including prostitution and the spread of pornographic literature," Zeleranskaya said. "But although we're very frank in what we say we try to phrase things in a delicate way so that even children can listen."

So far the station has avoided the topics of lesbianism and homosexuality. "There is already enough talk about this on other stations and in the literature now widely sold on the streets," Zeleranskaya said. "It's a subject that irritates people but we may tackle it someday."

Radio Nadezhda's next goal is to be awarded one of the few remaining FM channels. "We're facing stiff competition from other stations but we very much hope we'll win," Korolyova said.

Within a few months the station plans to start broadcasting a few hours a day in English to its European listeners.

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The Moscow Times

October 7, 1994

SECTION: No. 564

LENGTH: 840 words

HEADLINE: Farm Radio Gains a Fertile Mind

BYLINE: By Ellen Barry

BODY:

Janet Macy is a long way from the farm.

It is 6 A.M., and Macy is drinking cup after cup of black coffee in a soundbooth at Radio Nadezhda. She hasn't resorted to cigarettes yet, except for a few lapses around sunrise, as she put finishing touches on the morning's script for the show she helps produce, "With the Roosters." On the air, host Marina Skalkina is gurgling optimistically about the weather and the market price of eggs.

Macy, 59, left Minnesota last summer, her knowledge about Russia limited to an acquaintance's insight that "the weather is just like Duluth, and people dress the way they do in downtown Minneapolis." Her project, funded by the non-profit Winrock Corporation, was to produce a radio segment on farming, targeting Russia's 24,000 privatized state farms. After 37 years as a radio and television journalist - a job which has taken her to Mexico and Canada - she gathered up her degrees in journalism and social science in anticipation of the challenges ahead.

As it turned out, she needed to reach further back.

"My brother and I grew up on five acres outside of Omaha. I was a 4-Her for nine years," Macy said, referring to the agricultural program for youth. Advanced degrees notwithstanding, Macy realized that Russian farmers were more interested in small-scale marketing than agribusiness. "What we were drawing upon was what we had done as 8- and 10-year-olds, at roadside stands, out of the back of a truck," she said. "You know what I'm doing now? Digging out my mother's Nebraska State Fair pickle recipes."

So "With the Roosters" began to take shape, adding an hour to Radio Nadezhda's daily air time and extending Macy's segment to a full hour. Although Russian and American farming methods are based on different climates and soil types, local farmers are extremely curious about foreign techniques, especially for organic farming, said Svetlana Bobrova, a producer at the show. From a technological standpoint, Russian farmers "have the knowledge and

wherewithal that we had in the '60s," but even urbanite listeners proved surprisingly knowledgeable about fruit and vegetable farming, Macy said.

Eventually, Macy and her colleagues decided to broaden the show's focus; above and beyond recipes and canning advice, the revised program would tackle issues such as consumer rights, marketing and family counseling.

So Skalkina, the show's host, now supplements her quiz shows and light newsworthy items like a daily price list for market shoppers and advice on food preservation. One segment researched the hazards of buying unrefrigerated meat at city markets under conditions that Macy said she found "horrifying." But the habit of displaying meat on counters is ingrained in Russian salesmanship, and not all of her advice was well taken. "When I suggested that they display plastic models or photographs, they just laughed."

Macy, who had been active in consumer advocacy in the United States, hopes eventually to foster Russian interest in institutionalized quality checking. "Eventually I would like to see them make demands for the kind of protection we have," she said. "You don't have the Environmental Protection Agency here, or the Food and Drug Administration, or the Consumer Product Safety Administration. You don't have the Better Business Bureau. You don't have quality control," Macy added. "You have to know what you're buying."

More broadly, Russian consumers need to feel empowered to demand higher safety standards, a sense that never developed under communism, she said. "They don't believe in the power of the dollar."

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE-MDC: October 28, 1994

Tea with Mrs. Yeltsin

Radio Nadezhda

Russia Background

Bios

Remarks

STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

Equality: Women in Russia are formally entitled to the same rights as men, including the right to participate in all areas of social, economic and political life. The new constitution explicitly asserts that "men and women have equal rights and freedoms and equal opportunities to exercise them." An extensive system of day-care and maternity leave allows women to retain employment after giving birth. However, while women are well represented in many levels of the general economy, they are largely absent from the highest levels of government and senior management positions in the economy. In practice, women do not receive pay equal to men's for equal work.

Women in the Work Place: The current labor code provides women in the labor force with such entitlements as early pension benefits, children's allowances, maternity benefits, restrictions on work hours, required rest periods during pregnancy, and exclusion from certain hazardous jobs (some of which are higher paying, which puts women at a greater disadvantage). The increased costs associated with protective legislation are not offset by the state, however, and may discourage employers from hiring and retaining female workers. Women are often the first to be dismissed as enterprises reduce staff. By 1992, women made up 83 percent of Russia's unemployed and about 70 percent of its pensioners. Both groups are disproportionately affected by the country's economic plight.

Women's Health Issues: Women suffer as a result of the collapse of Russia's health care system, and in particular the neglect of family planning. Abortion is the principal form of birth control; various studies estimate that a Russian woman undergoes, on average, between three to eight abortions during her child-bearing years. Many abortions are still performed without anesthesia and women's hospital wards often lack sanitary conditions. The maternal mortality rate is seven times greater in Russia than in the U.S., in part because of the misuse of abortion and lack of access to family planning services.

Sexual Harassment: Job advertisements for women routinely list marital status, age, weight, and hair color and length as necessary work qualifications. The extent of violence against women has not been measured. Police often show little interest in cases of widespread spousal abuse and other sorts of violent crimes against women.

Growing Activism: Interest in women's issues is growing, though it is overshadowed by concern over Russia's general economic decline and social upheaval, and social attitudes in the country remain stubbornly conservative. A political bloc formed by Russian women activists, the Women of Russia movement, has more than twenty deputies in parliament. Nine women are members of the Federation Council. The women's bloc stresses general social welfare and environmental issues, as well as women's rights. Although one of its leaders, Yekaterina Lakhova, is an adviser to President Yeltsin, the Women of Russia movement has not supported the Chechnya campaign.

HEALTH ISSUES IN THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

Russia is experiencing a public health crisis reflected most dramatically in the decreasing life expectancy of its citizens due to recent sharp increases in mortality from accidents, violence, and heart disease. The immediate causes of the crisis are related to the country's social and economic upheaval. The inadequate health care system inherited from the Soviet era has deteriorated further, leading to a variety of urgent public health problems, including the resurgence of previously controlled diphtheria and an increase in alcohol consumption.

Demographics: The well publicized decrease in life expectancy at birth in Russia is attributed to very recent increases in adult mortality experienced most dramatically among men due to alcohol-related accidents and violence. In 1993, life expectancy at birth for males declined by 3 years from 62 to 59 years and for females from 73.8 to 72 years. The leading causes of death are cardiovascular disease, cancer, accidents and respiratory conditions. The Russian press reports rising suicide rates. In early 1994, 2.5 million patients were reported receiving treatment for alcoholism.

Women's Reproductive Health: The principal method of birth control is abortion, which contributes to a variety of women's health problems including high maternal mortality. An estimated 3 million abortions were performed in 1993. While the growing commercial sector has increased the availability of affordable modern contraceptives, currently only one fifth of Russian women are using these methods. The lack of thorough and accurate information about modern contraceptives, among men, women, and their health care providers, is one of the main reasons for low usage of contraceptive methods.

Infectious diseases: With falling immunization coverage and deteriorating health care, preventable illnesses are on the rise. Beginning in 1990, epidemic diphtheria has reemerged in Russia and is now an international health emergency. Infectious tuberculosis is also on the rise, largely due to drug shortages and reduced health monitoring. Cholera struck in the summer of 1994 and spread throughout parts of southern Russia. Plans are underway to develop domestic production of vaccines as well as other pharmaceuticals. Continuing foreign exchange problems impede purchases of raw materials for domestic production.

Environment: Over 60 million Russians live in areas where concentrations of toxic substances exceed standards set by public health authorities, and half the country's population is served by sub-standard water supplies, according to the Russian press.

Most crops are treated with herbicides, including DDT, although DDT was formally outlawed in the USSR in 1972.

According to a Russian geneticist, the incidence of congenital birth defects has doubled over the past ten years. Pollution levels are extraordinarily high in industrial centers. In the Northern Caucasus city of Vladikavkaz, for example, levels of molybdenum, cobalt, cadmium, and lead in the air are 30 to 100 times the maximum norms. In that city over the past decade as many as 5% of newborns have suffered from congenital developmental defects.

Nutrition: Declining real incomes have negatively affected children's nutrition. Nonetheless, there has not been a corresponding drop in adult and senior nutrition. However, the shifting of the Russian diet--to lesser intake of meat and fat--is considered by many Russians to be detrimental to their well being and is a politically sensitive issue.

Health care system: Health care is severely under-funded at less than 2 percent of GDP, a percentage usually associated with very poor developing countries. At the same time, the health resources that are available are poorly managed. Russia, for instance, has twice as many physicians per capita as the U.S. and the OECD. These inefficiencies are all the more disturbing in light of poor health outcomes and declining health status of the population.

Russia has introduced health insurance to provide supplementary financing for health. Under the insurance scheme, employers contribute through a payroll tax to a central fund, which allocates most revenues to oblast-level fund-holders. In theory, the territorial fund-holder then contracts for services from a variety of providers (thus establishing an incentive to improve quality). The central government still picks up the cost of health services for the unemployed and elderly. In practice, employer compliance with this health insurance scheme varies widely due to continuing economic changes and absence of needed management to implement the system.

Biographical note: Russia's health minister is Colonel-General Eduard Nechayev (pronounced Neh-CHA-yeff). Nechayev is a heart surgeon and a member of the Academy of Medical Sciences, as well as a military man. He served as chief surgeon with Russian forces in Afghanistan, and later directed medical services in the aftermath of the earthquake in Armenia in 1988. Nechayev became minister in early 1993, following the dismissal of his predecessor for failure to promote the new health insurance system.

CHILDREN'S ISSUES IN THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

Status of Children: Russia's children face an uncertain future. The Constitution assigns the government responsibility for safeguarding the rights of children, and Russian people from all walks of life advocate a greater state role. Nevertheless, the government's efforts are woefully inadequate. President Yeltsin has actively promoted the "Children of Russia" program to provide child welfare, but has been unable to find funding.

Child Care: Workplace-based child care, once considered a working mother's right, is disappearing, along with other social benefits linked to employment. For-fee nursery schools and kindergartens are in such demand that they turn away more than twice as many children as they can accept. According to Social Services Minister Bezlepkina, the incidence of violence against children in families is increasing, and crime and drug abuse among minors is growing at a faster pace than adult crime.

Children without Families: The economic situation has had an especially serious effect on orphans. Living conditions in orphanages are deteriorating and adoptions by Russian families are declining. Russians report that orphans are increasingly becoming instruments of organized crime and that many Russian orphans have been convicted and sent to prison as minors.

Children's Health: Attempts by the central government to limit spending have put severe pressure on the health care system for children, including school lunch programs and immunization. Russian infant mortality has increased somewhat in the last two years, which reflects the effects of the larger public health crisis in Russia. In 1993, the Russian infant mortality rate was roughly 20 per 1000 live births. This rate is considerably higher than in most Western nations. USAID surveillance data from 1992 to 1995 indicate a slight increase in chronic malnutrition among young children. While this increase is modest (from 8 to 11 percent), it suggests that young children may be at special risk, reflecting the impact of the economic situation. Russian specialists report that the incidence of congenital birth defects has doubled over the past ten years and that mental and physical development of Russian children has slowed since the 1990's.

Childhood Diseases: World Health Organization estimates indicate that immunization coverage rates have fallen dramatically in Russia since 1980 due to the overall deterioration of the Russian health care system. Common preventable childhood illnesses are on the rise.

EDUCATION IN THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

The Economic Imperative: Education in Russia is faced with the immediate need to produce graduates with the skills appropriate to the new Russian work environment. Teachers are being asked to teach skills which they are learning themselves. While Russians recognize the need to overhaul the educational system, the money to do so is limited. Book shortages and chronically late wage payments haunt educators trying to make do with what they have. Student stipends, minimal during Soviet times, are now totally inadequate for support. As a result, higher education seems less attractive to many talented students, who are entering the ever-swelling mass of "biznesmen."

Literacy and Educational Standards: Russians place a strong emphasis on education. The pressure for education comes not only from the government, but also from the people themselves. School begins at age six. A standard secondary education lasts ten years. Secondary education is mandatory in Russia through the eighth grade. Afterwards, students go on to attend two years of technical, vocational, or trade schools. The literacy rate is nearly 100 per cent, although is likely lower in rural areas where child labor is more common.

Higher Education: Traditionally, students have gone on to attain higher education at either a university, which offers a broad spectrum of subjects in the sciences and humanities, or an institute, which specializes in two or three aspects of one subject. Entry is competitive. Student apply for entrance to a specific department at a university. Each university gives its own entrance exams on campus. Once enrolled, a student has very few electives and is required to complete a fixed course of study for graduation. Generally, a student receives a diploma after five years of studies.

Education and the Workforce: Russia has a highly educated workforce, and is especially strong in technical skills. Science, mathematics, and engineering, highly esteemed and encouraged during the Soviet era, are in overabundance in the workforce. The result is substantial underemployment. Subsequently, highly educated Russians have sought to emigrate abroad to find employment in their field of study. The Russian scientific and defense establishments are particularly concerned about this "brain-drain" of scientists and the potential impact on future Russian research and development capability.

FAMILY PLANNING/POPULATION IN THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

USAID has initiated a four-year, \$7.5 million program to address the reproductive health needs of Russian women.

Background: High rates of maternal morbidity and mortality among Russian women have been linked to a lack of access to family planning information and modern contraceptive technology. Abortion is the primary means of preventing unwanted births among approximately 80 percent of Russian women. Multiple abortions have been associated with infertility, premature births, and maternal morbidity and mortality. The growing commercial sector has produced an increased availability of generally affordable modern contraceptives, but currently only 22 percent of Russian women are using these methods. Lack of thorough and accurate information about modern contraceptives -- among men, women, and their health care providers -- is one of the main reasons for the low usage of contraceptive methods.

Decentralization of the Russian health care system means that city and oblast level officials have new responsibilities in the planning and financing of health and family planning programs. These responsibilities require a strengthening of the strategic planning capacities of policy makers. In addition, reliable statistics about reproductive health are generally not available in Russia; therefore, officials lack the information necessary for making informed decisions.

Objectives:

- o To decrease current high rates of abortion and maternal mortality and morbidity by increasing Russian women's access to and knowledge of modern contraceptive methods;
- o To improve the medical community's awareness of and attitudes about modern contraceptives, as well as to increase provider's skills in using contraceptive technology;
- o To reduce the burden on the health care system caused by the costly complications of unwanted pregnancies;
- o To increase the social and psychological well-being of Russian women by expanding their reproductive choices and increasing their access to client-centered health care; and

- o To implement a sustainable program by creating linkages with the local medical community, medical education institutions, NGOs, and federal and local government officials.

Interventions:

- o an extensive information/education/communication program to provide the general public with information about the safety, efficacy, and health benefits of modern contraceptives. Materials will be distributed through Russian NGOs, women's groups, and the existing health care system. Educational efforts through the media may be undertaken.
- o Discussions with Russian medical institutions will be initiated in order to identify interest in enhancing existing reproductive health/family planning curricula and other professional education programs.
- o Working closely with local government officials and NGOs, a model family planning center will be established in each of six selected oblast. These centers will provide high-quality family planning services to local communities, while training health care providers in the use of modern contraceptive technology and client counseling. Linkages will be established with local medical institutions in order to ensure that the training program's impacts are felt region-wide.
- o Nationally representative data relevant to the development and implementation of family planning programs will be collected and made available to Russian policy makers and others so that informed program choices can be made.
- o Dialogues will be established with policy makers to build commitment to family planning as an effective reproductive health intervention and sound economic investment. Strategic planning will be promoted as a tool to strengthen the public sector's capacity to plan, manage, and evaluate family planning programs.

USAID PROGRAMS IN THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

U.S. Assistance Strategy: Throughout the NIS, the U.S. assistance approach is to support reform and reformers wherever we find them. The key strategic areas are threefold: economic, political, and social sector change. USAID programs are supporting Russia's transformation to a competitive, market-oriented economy and a democratic system of transparent and accountable governance based on citizen participation and the rule of law. The third objective is to help Russia manage the human dimension of the economic and political changes.

Economic Reform and Private Sector Development: USAID programs support Russian reformers in the transition from central planning to a market economy based on private property, free enterprise, and competition. These changes are critical for sustainable growth, increased employment, and higher living standards, and for integrating Russia into the global economy. In short, USAID is helping to create an environment for prosperity.

Initial reforms focused on price liberalization and mass privatization of Russian enterprises. USAID experts helped Russia transfer over 100,000 state-owned businesses to private owners, including over 40 million shareholders by mid-1994. Ongoing reform efforts focus on creating a legal and regulatory climate in which private business can thrive, assisting privatized enterprises to restructure, fostering the creation and growth of new business, promoting fiscal reform and a modern financial system, and improving the use of natural resources. Examples:

- U.S. legal and policy advisors are supporting Russian drafters of new civil and commercial laws aimed at privatization of enterprises and land, de-monopolization of key sectors (such as energy), tax and fiscal reform, and regulation of banking and capital markets.
- Privatized industries are receiving restructuring help from American consultants and volunteers working with Local Privatization Centers in eight key cities. USAID is also assisting in the auction sales of remaining state-owned firms and state-held shares in privatized companies. Other initiatives support improved energy efficiency and environmental controls in industry.
- Trading in private company stock is being facilitated and modernized by development of the key capital-markets

institutions, including an independent securities and exchange commission, independent share registries and brokers' associations. USAID-sponsored experts are playing key roles.

Democratic Institutions: USAID is helping Russians to strengthen their basic democratic institutions -- including electoral systems and political parties, independent media, and grassroots non-government. Examples:

- Political parties representing a wide spectrum have been trained by the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the International Republican Institute (IRI) in techniques for building grassroots support, mobilizing voters and developing platforms. IRI has developed a successful Women in Politics Program, which seeks to integrate women into parties as activists and candidates in the next election cycle.
- USAID grants to non-governmental organizations support the development of free labor unions and citizen organizations advocating public participation in areas such as environmental quality and human rights.
- Independent broadcast and print media are delivering news throughout Russia (including objective reporting on Chechnya) with support from USAID trainers.
- USAID is helping strengthen local government operations and financial management, a critical need as many social services and other public functions are decentralized.
- Legal reform is supported through workshops and training. One highlight is the area of jury trials for certain felony offenses. With USAID help, over 225 jury trials have been held in nine regions of Russia since early 1994.

Quality of Life/Social Sector Restructuring: Russia's management of the difficult human dimensions of political and economic change will have a major impact on the speed and durability of reforms. Housing and health care services are critical social concerns for many Russians, and are the focus of USAID efforts. Examples:

- To support private housing markets and ownership, USAID has helped establish condominium associations and private building maintenance, introduced market-based mortgage lending, trained real estate professionals, and developed systems for titling land property.
- USAID health programs aim to help Russia restructure health care finance and service delivery with a focus on preventive care

and quality improvement. A special initiative on women's reproductive health aims to reduce abortion and increase access to modern family planning.

ETIQUETTE AND SOCIAL CUSTOMS IN THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

Russians, like Americans, are a warm and friendly people who value human relationships. A favorite pastime is to spend hours in conversation around the kitchen table, telling stories, arguing politics or philosophy, and laughing -- often through the tears. They are extremely proud of their cultural and scientific achievements, and their hardiness in adversity, yet at the same time curious about the outside world, especially America, in whom they sense a kindred spirit despite a vastly different history.

Forms of Address: Russians address one another in various ways. A commonly used/formal way to address someone is to use his/her first name and patronymic. The patronymic for both men and women comes from the father's name. For instance, if your first name is Anna and your father's name is Ivan, you would be addressed as Anna Ivanovna (meaning Anna, daughter of Ivan); if your first name is Ivan and your father's name is Mikhail, you would be addressed as Ivan Mikhailovich (meaning Ivan, son of Mikhail). The familiar form of address involves the diminutive of the first name, for example, Misha for Mikhail, Vanya for Ivan, Yuriy for Georgiy.

Non-Russian speakers can safely use "Mr., Mrs., or Ms." with last names in formal situations. If a Russian introduces himself by his/her first name, you may use that name. When you become more friendly, he/she may invite you to use the familiar form.

Relatively recently, Russians started using a pre-revolutionary form of formal address "gospodin" (equivalent to Mr.), or "gospozha" (equivalent to Mrs. or Ms.), with the last name. This form is now commonly used in business circles. This is the most appropriate way for a foreigner to address a Russian in a formal situation, and vice versa.

Russian Meals: A Russian meal is a lengthy experience, and it is wise to pace oneself. The highlight of most meals is the appetizers, known as "zakuski." Appetizers play a far greater role in Russian meals than in American ones. They may seem like meals in themselves. However, they are generally followed by a second course, a main course, and dessert. The second course is often soup (beet soup "borshch" or cabbage soup "shchi"), or a meat or vegetable-filled pastry. Wine, champagne, beer, vodka, and cognac are frequently consumed at meals, although most Russians will not be offended if a foreigner declines or nurses his/her drink.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

THE USHERS OFFICE 202 456 6255
Jun-01-2000 08:01am From-PATRICOF & CO

06/03 '00 19:53 NO.611 02/09

+2123186155

T-432 P.002/008 F-028

File Russia

Patricof & Co. Ventures, Inc.

Memo

To: The Honorable Hillary Clinton
From: Pat Cloherty
Patricof & Co. Ventures, Inc.
Date: May 31, 2000
Re: The U. S. Russia Investment Fund ("TUSRIF")

Yesterday, Alan Patricof told me of his conversation with you regarding TUSRIF and the administration's inability to cleave off some additional funds for it because of the Republicans' insistence on keeping the Expanded Threat Reduction Programs intact. There must be some mistake.

On April 12, Sonny Callahan (R), Chairman of the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, of the House Appropriations Committee, along with Nancy Pelosi, ranking Democrat, sent President Clinton a letter recommending that such a reallocation be made, implicitly to our program as well as to others. Our Board has worked with Mr. Callahan and his staff over the months.

A copy of that letter is enclosed. (I understand that Mr. Callahan shared it with Secretary Albright also over the last two weeks.)

I also have attached my own anguished handwritten note to President Clinton describing the precarious state to which government failure to fund has led. It would be ironic indeed if this unfortunate state of affairs resulted primarily from a classic "breakdown of communications."

You're so busy. I hate to impose, except that survival has become the issue.

Thank you for any intervention you might offer.

Pat

Pat Cloherty

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202 456 6255

06/03 '00 19:55 NO.611 05/09

Jun-01-2000 08:02am From-PATRICOF & CO

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T-432 P.005/009 F-928

Sunday, May 28

Hon. Bill Clinton
President of the United States

Re: The U.S.-Russia
Investment Fund (TUSRI/F)

Dear President Clinton:

I'm writing to you, from my
home, in a spirit of despair, having
spent most of yesterday on the phone to
Russia, trying to urge key employees
of TUSRI/F not to "jump ship". The
absence of funding from the U.S.
Government this year has demoralized
the organization profoundly and has
rendered the Board of Directors, all
appointed by your White House, unable
to assure staff throughout Russia that

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06/03 '00 19:56 NO.611 06/09

Jun-01-2000 08:02am From-PATRICOF & CO

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T-432 P.006/009 F-928

(3)

we have a going concern.

The Board's agreement with USAID was that "when you need the money, you have it." Board and staff have worked diligently over years in a difficult economic / financial environment to create a solid portfolio of direct investments, business loans and mortgage loans. Now, post-August 1998 "meltdown" and with a new political regime, the Fund's business is strong, reflecting for the first time ^{in Russia} a large critical mass of effective demand for capital.

And we have no support

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Jun-01-2000 08:02am From-PATRICOP & CO

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T-432 P.007/009 F-928

(3)

from our sponsor. The Board's deal
clearly was bogus. Of the nearly
\$50 million the Fund requested for
this fiscal year (which ends in
four months), we have seen
allocated \$5 million, not yet received.

The Board, mainly myself, Jeff
Hirschberg, Bob Hornbats, and Frank
Caulfield, have spoken with and
occasionally harangued, a series of
nice people in various departments
of the Executive and Legislative
branches of government to get
this resolved, to no avail.

Now, for obvious reasons, the

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202 456 6255

06/03 '00 19:57 NO.611 08/09

Jun-01-2000 08:03am From-PATRICOF & CO

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T-432 P.008/008 F-928

(4)

organization is starting to unravel. Just as in private business, employees need to know that they have a financial future.

It should note, also, that the Board consists of group-ups: we are mindful of politics and priorities. But this state of irresolution puts us in the untenable position of not being able to discharge our responsibilities to any of the parties at interest.

We implore you either to allocate some portion of our pared-back request of \$25 million for this fiscal year, or to put us out

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06/03 '00 19:57 NO.611 09/09

Jun-01-2000 06:03am From-PATRICOF & CO

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T-432 P.009/006 F-026

(5)

of our misery.

We do not like being nuisances.

No Board member stands to gain
anything other than the satisfaction
of having given our time and brains
to worthy economic development in
Russia, if we do our jobs right.

I will be spending today, as
yesterday, trying to retain key people
at TUSRIF. I beg you to advise if
there is reason to continue the effort.

I can be reached on Sunday 5/28
and Monday, 5/29, at my home, 914-424-3387.

Gratefully,

Pat Cloherty, Chair

cc: Sandy Berger

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06/03 '00 19:54 NO.611 03/09

Jun-01-2000 08:01am From-PATRICOP & CO

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T-432 P.003/008 F-928

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VICTOR K. GOODE, JR., VIRGINIA

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives
Committee on Appropriations
Washington, DC 20515-6015

April 12, 2000

MINOR LAY SHAW, ILLINOIS
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VAUGHN D. HINCHLY, NEW YORK
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CAROLYN C. KEMP, TEXAS
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CLERK AND STAFF DIRECTOR
JAMES W. BYER
TELEPHONE
(202) 555-6771

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President,

The Committee has been informed that \$175 million of the \$839 million provided for the Independent States account in the fiscal year 2000 Foreign Operations bill (P.L. 106-113, Appendix B, H.R. 3422) has been tentatively allocated for Expanded Threat Reduction Programs. This allocation, if upheld, will result in drastic reductions to other assistance programs in Russia, Ukraine, and other Republics. Programs run by the Agency for International Development will have to be cut by one-third from their current levels. In addition both the US-Russia Investment Fund and the Central Asia Investment Fund have been given allocations that may force them to cancel commitments to new investments.

While we strongly support the Expanded Threat Reduction (ETR) programs, and support increasing funding for those programs in fiscal year 2000, the proposed allocation of \$175 million will severely harm many other effective assistance programs.

Our recommendation is that the allocation for ETR programs be reduced by \$25 million to \$95 million, and that those funds be reallocated broadly to those programs whose allocations have been reduced. ETR programs would still enjoy a 150% increase above the 1999 level.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

THE USHERS OFFICE

202 456 6255

06/03 '00 19:55 NO.611 04/09

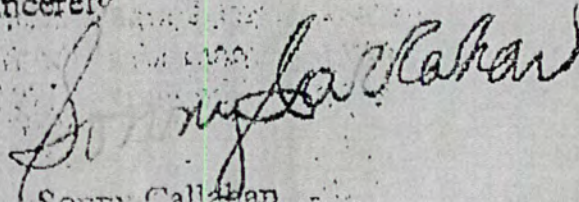
Jun-01-2000 08:01am From-PATRICOF & CO

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T-432 P.004/008 F-928

Despite the evident difficulties the House Appropriations Committee has been able to maintain a bipartisan approach to assistance programs for the New Independent States since their inception in the early 1990's. It is in that spirit that we make this recommendation to you.

Sincerely,



Nancy Pelosi
Ranking Democratic Member

Sonny Callahan

Chairman

Subcommittee on Foreign Operations,
Export Financing, and Related Programs

MINISTRY OF JUSTICE OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

CERTIFICATE OF REGISTRATION
OF PUBLIC SOCIETY

Moscow

MAJOR GOALS OF ACTIVITY

Facilitate legal, social and economic developments necessary for raising living standards in rural areas of the Russian Federation.

Protect the rights and interests of female farmers, assist in improvement of labor and living conditions, protect maternity and childhood.

MINISTRY OF JUSTICE OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

CERTIFICATE
OF REGISTRATION OF PUBLIC SOCIETY

April 24, 1998

№ 3508

Name: ALL-RUSSIAN PUBLIC MOVEMENT OF FEMALE FARMERS OF RUSSIA

Territory of activity: THROUGHOUT RUSSIA

Legal form: PUBLIC MOVEMENT

Date of creation: MAY 27, 1996

Permanent executive body and its location: COORDINATION COUNCIL, 107802, MOSCOW, ORLIKOV PER. 3.

/signed/

E. SIDORENKO

Deputy Minister

for Renia

ALL-RUSSIAN PUBLIC MOVEMENT OF FEMALE FARMERS OF RUSSIA

January 20, 2000

#1

To Mrs. Hillary Clinton,
First Lady of the United States of America

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

Thank you for the possibility to work jointly with you during the "Women and Democracy" International Conference in Reykjavik, held October 8 through 10, 1999.

From the very beginning of democratic reforms in this country our organization took active part in this process. Nowadays the organization incorporates 59 regions of Russia with more than 300.000 members. The organization is an independent, non-governmental and voluntary union of female farmers, including members of farming cooperatives, private landowners, horticulturists and rural intellectuals.

Our Movement enjoys a federal status as it was registered in the Ministry of Justice of the Russian Federation on April 24, 1998. The scale of our activity embraces both the local and national levels. Our main goal is to promote the solution of legal, social and economic problems that influence the living conditions of Russian farmers through involving the female farmers in public and political activities and nominating female farmers to the bodies of federal and local authorities.

Members of our Movement have engaged themselves in the solution of the following issues:

- adopting orphans by farmer families;
- taking care of the elderly people by providing them with fuel, helping to plough their kitchen gardens, etc.;
- raising issues of an alternative military service;
- supplying farm products free to family asylums.

Unfortunately, the Movement receives no governmental support as the state has drowned in wars and corruption.

Our women have won many civil rights and now we have to use those rights to improve our life. We have to set up a network uniting the leaders of the female movement with the aim of promoting democracy.

Recently we hosted Linda Reinhard, Chairperson of Female Committee of the American Farmers' Bureau. She attended our annual meeting. On her request, American specialists came here and arranged joint seminars on female leadership, on how to work out a business plan, and on other topics. The seminars were organized under the auspices of the American organization "Citizen Network". Unfortunately, this organization ceased its activity in Moscow.

Still, women encounter different problems, like no access to mini-credits for the development of small businesses, no promotion of women into decision-making positions in the state power system.

Dear Hillary, in spite of your being very busy you taught a lesson to all of us in Reykjavik how to work hard. During nighttime you managed to study the materials of all the groups and in your speeches you mentioned all the major problems, including the problems of the Russian female farmers. As I was the only representative of Russian farmers at the conference, I want to thank you again for your interest in our affairs. In particular, you expressed readiness to assist us in solving some of our problems, namely, the problem of acquisition of office equipment. You also stressed the importance of consolidation of the leaders of female movement for the purpose of promoting democracy.

You do actually know Russia. We have large distances and no office or communication equipment but an old style telephone set. Therefore, we suffer from an extensive informational hunger.

Upon returning from Reykjavik, I disseminated the conference information and convened an annual meeting where we discussed our future steps. We decided to consolidate and further strengthen our regional bodies. For this purpose we would like to appeal for your assistance in acquisition of some office equipment, which is essential for the solution of our tasks:

Computer R-P-400\32\6, 4\4 + Multimedia + Modem
HP-LaserJet 6L Printer
Scanner + Software
Panasonic KX E-700 Telephone-Fax
Xerox 5009
"Notebook-1" Portable Computer
E-mail Software
Power Surge Protection Unit
Dictaphone
Video Tape Recorder

Sincerely yours,

/signed/

R.M. KLEMENTYEVA

Chairperson, All-Russian Public Movement of Female Farmers of Russia

FROM : RUSSIAN EMBASSY (Bilateral Gr) PHONE NO. : +1 202 298 5751

Jul. 05 2000 03:35PM P01



EMBASSY OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

2650 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007Fax (202) 298-5735
Tel (202) 298-5701

TELEFAX MESSAGE

To: Gladys Boluda
Special Adviser on Consular Policy Issues
for the New Independent States, Department of State
Phone: (202) 647-8956
Fax: (202) 647-3506

From: Sergei Gritsai
Phone: (202) 298-5711
Fax: (202) 298-5751

Date: 06/05/00

Pages including this cover page: 3

Comments:

Dear Gladys,

As agreed, forwarding to you the information about Russian organization designated to be a permanent partner of the State Department for the implementation of US government sponsored projects to improve the conditions for women in Russia.

Sincerely,

Sergei Gritsai

Copies to

- R
- MV/WH- Return to
ABMelony
Versee

FAX #

FROM : RUSSIAN EMBASSY (Bilateral Gr) PHONE NO. : +1 202 298 5751

Jul. 05 2000 03:35PM P02

Настоящим сообщаем американской стороне, что в качестве партнера от российской стороны для сотрудничества с госдепартаментом США в реализации проектов, направленных на улучшение положения женщин в России и спонсируемых правительством США, определено Министерство труда и социального развития Российской Федерации.

FROM : RUSSIAN EMBASSY (Bilateral Gr) PHONE NO. : +1 202 298 5751

Jul. 05 2000 03:35PM P03

We would like to inform the American side that the Ministry of Labor and Social development of the Russian Federation has been designated as a permanent partner of the US State Department on the Russian side for the implementation of US government sponsored projects to improve the conditions for women in Russia.

*for Russia.
The Voices*

MINISTRY OF JUSTICE OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

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OF PUBLIC SOCIETY

Moscow

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Deputy Minister

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Scanner + Software
Panasonic KX E-700 Telephone-Fax
Xerox 5009
"Notebook-1" Portable Computer
E-mail Software
Power Surge Protection Unit
Dictaphone
Video Tape Recorder

Sincerely yours,

/signed/

R.M. KLEMENTYEVA

Chairperson, All-Russian Public Movement of Female Farmers of Russia

By Hand



6/1/00

14521F

Dear Hilary,

Just in case Pat Cloherly's memos have not reached you, copies are attached.

As you may know, the Board's worst fears are coming true. We all appreciate your efforts.

While I am sorry for not being able to attend this evening, Brown is better company.

Thanks once again for your efforts.

Best regards,

P.S. Pat & I will be in Russia at the end of next week in an attempt to Q&A things together.

Patricof & Co. Ventures, Inc.

Memo

To: The Honorable Hillary Clinton
From: Pat Cloherty
Patricof & Co. Ventures, Inc.
Date: May 31, 2000
Re: The U. S. Russia Investment Fund ("TUSRIF")

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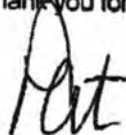
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You're so busy. I hate to impose, except that survival has become the issue.

Thank you for any intervention you might offer.



Pat Cloherty

Jun-01-2000 08:23am From-PATRICOF & CO

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 RAY BRANDELL, TEXAS
 JOHN E. PETERSON, PENNSYLVANIA
 WIGGIE H. GORDON, JR., VIRGINIA

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Committee on Appropriations

Washington, DC 20515-8015

April 12, 2000

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 ALAN B. MELLOMAN, WEST VIRGINIA
 NANCY KAPLAN, OHIO
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CLERK AND STAFF DIRECTOR
 JAMES W. BYER
 TELEPHONE:
 (202) 225-2771

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
 President of the United States
 The White House
 Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President,

The Committee has been informed that \$175 million of the \$839 million provided for the Independent States account in the fiscal year 2000 Foreign Operations bill (P.L. 106-113, Appendix B, H.R. 3422) has been tentatively allocated for Expanded Threat Reduction Programs. This allocation, if upheld, will result in drastic reductions to other assistance programs in Russia, Ukraine, and other Republics. Programs run by the Agency for International Development will have to be cut by one-third from their current levels. In addition both the US-Russia Investment Fund and the Central Asia Investment Fund have been given allocations that may force them to cancel commitments to new investments.

While we strongly support the Expanded Threat Reduction (ETR) programs, and support increasing funding for those programs in fiscal year 2000, the proposed allocation of \$175 million will severely harm many other effective assistance programs.

Our recommendation is that the allocation for ETR programs be reduced by \$25 million to \$35 million, and that those funds be reallocated broadly to those programs whose allocations have been reduced. ETR programs would still enjoy a 150% increase above the 1999 level.

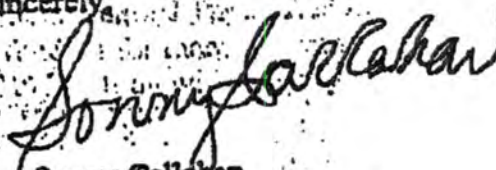
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T-032 P.004/009 F-288

Despite the evident difficulties the House Appropriations Committee has been able to maintain a bipartisan approach to assistance programs for the New Independent States since their inception in the early 1990's. It is in that spirit that we make this recommendation to you.

Sincerely,



Nancy Pelosi
Ranking Democratic Member

Sonny Callahan
Chairman

Subcommittee on Foreign Operations,
Export Financing, and Related Programs

TOTAL P.03

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T-032 P.005/008 F-288

Sunday, May 28

Hon. Bill Clinton
President of the United States

Re: The U.S.-Russia
Investment Fund (TUSRI/F)

Dear President Clinton:

I'm writing to you, from my
home, in a spirit of despair, having
spent most of yesterday on the phone to
Russia, trying to urge key employees
of TUSRI/F not to "jump ship". The
absence of funding from the U.S.
Government this year has demoralized
the organization profoundly and has
rendered the Board of Directors, all
appointed by your White House, unable
to assure staff throughout Russia that

(2)

we have a going concern.

The Board's agreement with USAID was that "when you need the money, you have it." Board and staff have worked diligently over years in a difficult economic/financial environment to create a solid portfolio of direct investments, business loans and mortgage loans. Now, post-August 1998 "meltdown" and with a new political regime, the Fund's business is strong, reflecting for the first time ^{in Russia} a large critical mass of effective demand for capital.

And we have no support

(3)

from our sponsor. The Board's deal
charly was bogus. Of the nearly
\$50 million the Fund requested for
this fiscal year (which ends in
four months), we have seen
allocated \$5 million, not yet received.

The Board, mainly myself, Jeff
Hirschberg, Bob Hornbats, and Frank
Caulfield, have spoken with and
occasionally harangued, a series of
nice people in various departments
of the Executive and legislative
branches of government to get
this resolved, to no avail.

Now, for obvious reasons, the

(4)

organization is starting to unravel. Just as in private business, employees need to know that they have a financial future.

I should note, also, that the Board consists of grown-ups: we are mindful of politics and priorities. But this state of irresolution puts us in the untenable position of not being able to discharge our responsibilities to any of the parties at interest.

We implore you either to allocate some portion of our pared-back request of \$25 million for this fiscal year, or to put us out

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of our misery.

We do not like being nuisances.

No Board member stands to gain
anything other than the satisfaction

of having given our time and brains
to worthy economic development in
Russia, if we do our jobs right.

I will be spending today, as
yesterday, trying to retain key people
at TUSRIE. I beg you to advise if
there is reason to continue the effort.

I can be reached on Sunday 5/28
and Monday 5/29, at my home, 914-424-3387.

Gratefully,

Pat Cloherity, Chair

cc: Sandy Berger