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The Fletcher Vladivostok Seminar
June 1990

Reported and compiled by Mark A. Stroup
Photo captions by Mark A. Stroup
Writing and editorial assistance by Theresa Moran and Kathleen Cooke Ryan

FOREWORD

I would like to pay tribute to the generosity, imagination, and courage of our hosts, members of the Soviet Peace Committee in Moscow and the Primorie. In spite of the fact that Vladivostok is still a restricted city, they persevered in their efforts to bring us there for the sixth Fletcher North Pacific summer seminar, the first such seminar to be held in the Soviet Union. We owe them our profound thanks. I would like to single out for our special gratitude Yuri Drozdov and Boris Makarenko from Moscow, and Larissa K. Fedotova and Raisa Gagazova from Vladivostok, but there are many others to whom we are much indebted.

The seminar was a collective effort to build in ten days together an essentially abstract structure of ideas and human relationships. Our ideal was to unite work with play, to fuse ritual acts like lectures and reports, eating and drinking, with impromptu song and dance. Does this sound frivolous? It is rooted in the tradition of Confucius as well as in the spirit of nineteenth-century American pedagogy. Our variant is to choose egalitarianism over hierarchy. We were a classless society, all of us, students and faculty alike, learning together. We left as changed persons, with new information lodged in our minds, new perceptions to ponder, new questions to worry and to chew over. The following pages are our attempt to share our experience as best we can.

*John Curtis Perry
Director, North Pacific Program
The Fletcher School*

SEMINAR THEME

John Curtis Perry is a graduate of Yale (B.A., 1952; M.A., 1953) and Harvard universities (Ph.D., 1962) and has been teaching at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy since 1980. He is the Henry Willard Denison Professor of History and director of the North Pacific Program, which he founded in 1984. He writes about American-East Asian relations and is currently studying changing American perspectives of the Pacific.

This seminar is founded upon an idiosyncratic intellectual notion that the North Pacific region deserves special examination. The North Pacific and its rimlands describe a great arc stretching from San Diego to Shanghai, embracing all or parts of seven nations: the United States of America, Canada, the Soviet Union, Japan, China, and the two Koreas. Much of it long a frontier, the region has within the last generation become part of the vital center of world affairs, due largely to the creative convergence of two highly competitive but mutually dependent energy systems — the American and the Japanese. From the core formed by a California-Honshu axis, waves of influence are radiating throughout and beyond the North Pacific region.

Cities are the key determinants of the rhythms and pulses of the region. Most North Pacific cities are relatively new. One looks in vain for the majestic imperial city like Rome or Leningrad/St. Petersburg. Perhaps only Beijing historically belongs in that category. In the nineteenth century, Shanghai emerges as a new international city, the Far Eastern capital of a British-dominated trade diaspora stretching down the Pacific coast to Singapore and across the Indian Ocean. Shanghai became the largest of a type, the treaty port.

The trans-Pacific Japan-America trading diaspora of our own time may come to be more Japanese than American, but that remains to be seen. Neither Los Angeles nor Tokyo has yet become a North Pacific metropole, a truly cosmopolitan city where all in the region can feel at home. Within the North Pacific one finds a great variety of cities: fortresses like Vladivostok, trading centers like Vancouver, cities with sacred power like classical Beijing or perhaps contemporary Pyongyang. In all cases cities serve as symbols and carriers of culture; and our joined purpose in this seminar is to look for the commonalities and differences within the new world of the North Pacific.

LECTURES

The following are synopses of lectures delivered during the course of the seminar.

VLADIVOSTOK: HOPES AND REALITIES

Amir A. Khisamutdinov was born in 1952 in northern Siberia. He graduated from Vladivostok Marine College in 1972 and from the Far Eastern State University in 1985. Earlier he worked as a navigator and then as a ship captain in the fishing industry. In 1985 he was elected Secretary for Science at the Primorski branch of the Geographical Society (Vladivostok.) Since 1988 he has lectured at the Far Eastern State University. He has written five hundred articles and three books about the history of the Soviet Far East and the Soviet Union's relations with its neighboring countries. Professor Khisamutdinov was awarded the Vladivostok Literary Prize in 1985 and is now finishing a book on the history and development of Vladivostok.

The name Vladivostok is made up of two words that together mean "to possess the East," an accurate expression, for Vladivostok has long been the largest and most powerful city in the Russian Far East. In 1878 a local newspaper wrote, "If Peter the Great made a window to the West with St. Petersburg, Vladivostok is the window to the East . . . it leads not into the narrow Baltic Sea but into the enormous Pacific Ocean."

Vladivostok was founded in 1860. A group of thirty-one men landed there to set up a military post so they could claim Russia's rights to that territory. It was officially named in November of the same year, after the conclusion of the Aigun Treaty with China. In its first years, Vladivostok functioned as both a military port and a supply depot. Nourishing the Russian navy with food, fuel, and services led to the building of shops, storehouses, and a hospital.

But there was not much public life in Vladivostok then. The young city provided its people with little amusement or entertainment except alcohol and cards. However, growth in the city's population led to a rise in public culture. In 1879, ten years after Vladivostok was founded, the first city official was elected. The new city authorities began to make Vladivostok a more appealing place to live. Increased civic activity led to the establishment in 1884 of the first public scientific organization — the Society of Amur Region Studies. This organization later changed its name to the Geographical Society. Its aim was to study the nature and history of the Primorie Territory and to gather materials for a new museum.

The military, however, maintained a strong presence. On August 30, 1889, Vladivostok was declared a fortress and the military started building the fortification system one can still see today around the city. The following year marked the visit of the future emperor, Nicholas II, and the beginnings of the Ussuri railway. Railroad construction spurred the city's growth. As many as ten thousand workers would gather there during the summers to work on the project.

The importance of Vladivostok in the Asian Pacific region also grew. In the early 1890s, naval squadrons from China, Japan, France, Great Britain, and the USA visited the city. The building of a new commercial port was begun, and this construction attracted workers from abroad, mostly from China, Korea, and Japan. The foreign workers lived in a special quarter of the city called the Korean District. There, the different nationalities were self-governing. Chinese and Korean theaters could be found in Vladivostok along with schools and churches for other foreign nationals.

Foreign and Russian capital developed the city. But the status of Vladivostok suffered after the decision to build large ports farther south such as Port Arthur and Dalny (Dairen) in China. Many considered Port Dalny unnecessary, so far was it from Russia; but the desire for a warm-water port was stronger than common sense. The folly of such efforts led to defeat in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5.

In spite of the nation's defeat, Vladivostok prospered. Its position as a leader in the Russian Far East was beyond doubt, and its relations with other countries expanded with every year. Ships from all over the world dropped anchor in Golden Horn Bay. After the war, public life returned; new schools, libraries, cinemas, and theaters flourished. Many newspapers circulated throughout the city. New firms and other concerns were established and plans for further development were drawn up. All this activity was the result of substantial new sums allocated by the state treasury.

The Russian civil war, following the Bolshevik Revolution, on the other hand, is the darkest and most complicated page in the history of Vladivostok. In January 1918 a Japanese warship came to defend Japan's interests in the Far East. Later on, other countries, including the United States, sent their troops here. Finally, the Russian government decided to create a special Far Eastern republic, of which the Primorie formed a part.

After Soviet power came to the Pacific in 1922, many firms and companies continued to function as before. But within two years, the government's attitude to private property had radically changed. All enterprises and buildings were nationalized. Many of those people who lost everything, including foreign businessmen, left for Japan and China. Since that time Vladivostok has remained, as it was founded, a naval base. The city continues today in this capacity. But we hope that soon Vladivostok will be able to take advantage of its

place in the Asian Pacific region, developing closer ties to its neighboring countries. This seminar is a good sign that we and the city will do so.

"After lectures and seminars in the morning, we usually headed into town, visiting places like the Maritime Geographical Society, with its impressive library of North Pacific literature housed in mahogany and glass bookcases, and the desk at which Anton Chekhov wrote ..."

OPPORTUNITIES FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION BETWEEN THE SOVIET FAR EAST AND THE AMERICAN FAR WEST

Alexander B. Parkansky graduated from the Moscow Institute of International Relations with a degree in international economic relations, and received the Ph.D. degree in 1974 from the Institute of USA and Canada Studies, where he has worked since 1973 as a researcher. A specialist on technical cooperation among the nations of the North Pacific, he has written many books on the subject. A forthcoming book studies the United States in the world economic integration process.

Much unused potential lies within the sphere of economic cooperation that encompasses the USA and the USSR. The Soviet Union accounts for less than one percent of the American West's imports. The USA counts for only five percent of the Soviet Far East's trade.

A more successful trade relationship between the two areas

existed in the past. By the beginning of this century, there was an American consulate in Vladivostok and Russian consulates stood in Seattle and San Francisco. Everything seemed to promise that trade would flourish. Imports to Russia included machinery, automobiles, and railroad cars. Fish and timber, as well as the traditional furs, were exported to the United States.

The Bolshevik revolution and Russian civil war interrupted the development of our relations, but in 1934, with the resumption of diplomatic ties, trade expanded again up until World War II. In the 1960's, steps were again taken to resume trade. At present, the most promising areas for the development of Soviet exports are fisheries, tourism, cold weather construction (including prefabrication and transportation of prefabricated modules) energy-related materials, timber products and native arts. Markets for American imports include cold weather clothing, survival suits and general consumer products.

The lack of trade at present can be attributed to many obstacles, both large and small. For many years these were of a political nature for which both sides were to blame. Now, the most important obstacles facing Soviet exports are ruble conversion, restrictions on profits of foreign investors, the absence of serious guarantees for American investors, and the centralization of the Soviet economy. Most trade and economic decisions are still made in Moscow.

At a recent conference attended by Americans and Soviets, many business proposals were made and much interest was expressed on the part of American businessmen. But by the end of the meeting, it came out that any final negotiations would have to be made by Moscow agencies. And if an American goes to Moscow to negotiate a contract, the Moscow agent grabs the contract and the profits.

Another obstacle for the Soviet Union on the macroeconomic level is the lack of most-favored-nation status. New American studies of the problem show that once most-favored-nation status is granted, Soviet exports will grow thirty, eighty, even three hundred times.

Obstacles on the microeconomic level include the lack of information. Since most of the Primorie has been closed to outsiders much information about the region is classified. When one tries to find justification for this practice, there is none other than the tradition of the Cold War years.

At the 1987 Fletcher seminar in Hokkaido, we met Ginna Brelsford, a Fletcher student from Alaska, who had the idea of forming a Soviet-American North Pacific Business Council, which met in February 1988 in Portland, Oregon. Now Ginna, with people from the cities of Portland and Seattle and the support of national and regional governments, including the heads of the Primorie region, is working to further the council's work. Such projects can be considered the off-

spring of the Fletcher North Pacific Program. Maybe these will be the useful first steps in cooperation between our Pacific coasts.

**THE SOVIET FAR EAST:
ECONOMIC PROGRESS,
URBANIZATION, AND
LABOR DEVELOPMENT**

Vladislav Semenov has been a professor at the Higher Trade Union School in Moscow since 1977. Born in 1934, he graduated from the Moscow Aviation Institute. He was a postgraduate student at the Institute of World Economy and International Affairs of the USSR Academy of Sciences (1964-67) and subsequently a research fellow there. He has written books and articles on the economic and social aspects of the technological revolution, the migration of manpower (the "brain drain") and the transfer of technology. His recent interests include the human factor of socioeconomic progress.

Perestroika and the dynamism of the Pacific give the Soviet Far East a robust topicality. This region of the USSR, extremely rich in natural resources, is ripe for a new role. The Soviet Far East can help invigorate the stagnant Soviet economy by facilitating its integration into the world economy through the North Pacific.

However, this new role is feasible only if the regional economy begins to revitalize itself. Ever since Russian colonization, the Russian Far East has been mainly regarded by the center of the country as a fortress, an instrument of its political presence in the Pacific. It has not been viewed as an economic and social entity with its own needs and aspirations.

Traditionally, the economic underdevelopment of the Far East was explained by the shortage of labor. This reason was valid at the early stage of regional development because the population was scarce and scattered. Today, however, the population of the Soviet Far East exceeds the critical minimum necessary for normal economic development. The weakness of the regional economy, its regimentation and narrow specialization of production, is caused by central Russia's industrial dictatorship.

The key problem is how to use regional human resources with maximum efficiency. There are, however, certain prerequisites for such efficiency. For example, the present administrative-command system must give way to a modern market economy. Radical improvement in the lives of people of the region is also needed. Education and professional training are essential, as is the enrichment of the social and cultural environment. Through improvements like these, the quality of the workforce will be enhanced.

The demilitarization of the Far East and the North Pacific is

also essential. As this occurs, human and material resources can be shifted away from the military-industrial complex. These resources can then serve the economic, social and cultural needs of this region.

A market economy, improved living conditions, and demilitarization will transform the Soviet Far East. It can then act as a conduit to stimulate the greater national economy, fulfilling the promise of its robust topicality.

PSYCHOLOGICAL STRESS FACTORS IN THE SOVIET FAR EAST

A Japanese Scholar: "I witnessed through participating in this particular seminar the truly historical shift from the age of nationalism and centralization to that of regionalism and decentralization. I am also struck by the fact that multi-ethnicity has strong potential for international cooperation and the development of the North Pacific region in years to come."

Ekaterina V. Egorova finished Moscow University with a degree from the Department of Psychology and obtained the Ph.D. degree in 1981. The subject of her thesis was "Foreign Policy Decision-Making in International Crisis Situations: Analysis of American Theories and Practice." She works in the Institute of the USA and Canada Studies as a senior researcher, where she studies the following problems: the psychological aspects of foreign policy and Soviet-American relations; personality factors in the foreign policy process; the psychological aspects of political leadership; and cognitive and perceptive factors in international relations.

The desire for security is a basic psychological need. Deprivation of security leads to a high stress level in humans. Stress distorts all kinds of socio-psychological structures of behavior and dangerously influences health, mental activity and psychic processes. The Soviet Far East is a region posed at the juncture of four stress factors.

Natural disasters cause psychological stress and represent the first group of factors. Earthquakes, typhoons, volcanoes, and floods are examples of stress-inducing events. The instance of any one of these can evolve into an archetype, influencing citizens' perceptions of probable future events. These archetypes heighten the population's fear and stress.

The next group of factors are identified with the choice of profession. Nearly half the male population on the Far East coast work on the sea as sailors, fishermen, and ship's pilots. Their work involves many dangers. Therefore, as they daily risk their lives, the wives and

"We were given a sightseeing tour of Vladivostok, including a view of the Golden Horn from high above the funicular station. The many warships moored below reminded us of Vladivostok's chief function . . ."

children of these men are subject to a lack of much needed security.

A third group of stress-inducing elements converge on what we may call "military" factors. A population such as that of the Soviet Far East, living in the vicinity of nuclear weapons and other armaments can suffer much stress. Research has also shown that Soviets in the region especially fear nuclear power plant accidents. Chernobyl is a powerful archetype for such fears. The potential for radiation leakage or explosions caused by the nuclear submarines of the Soviet Navy represents another example of stress. Even more than these fears is the knowledge that citizens could become victims of a nuclear conflict.

The image of the "enemy" provides the fourth group of stress factors. Propaganda and ideology form the basis of such images. The perceptions and thoughts of the population are influenced by propaganda. Vladivostok has been a closed city and a large percentage of the working population are employed in defense-related activities. The very nature of defense is predicated upon the concept of the enemy. Thus, military information and propaganda in cities such as Vladivostok focus on external threats. Anxiety and fear then increase in the population.

Studies of the implications of stress must not be confined to the field of psychology. The toll such problems can assume needs to be addressed by physicists and specialists in history, political science, and geography.

COOPERATION OF THE NORTH PACIFIC RIM COUNTRIES: THE CULTURAL DIMENSION

Boris S. Erasov is research coordinator of the Institute of Oriental Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow. Previously, he was affiliated with the Institute of Philosophy, where he received candidate's and doctoral degrees. In addition to being a consultant to official organizations on problems of culture in developing countries, he has taught for fifteen years at Moscow University, where he has specialized in cultural, social, and civilizational problems of Oriental countries. He has over one hundred publications, including many articles in scientific journals and books.

The evident upsurge of the Pacific Rim region is a major change in the economic and cultural structure of the global civilization system. The change can be compared to the transfer of the central flow of commerce and culture from the Mediterranean to Northern Europe in the Middle Ages, or to the later leap of Europe across the North Atlantic to the New World.

The North Pacific emerges as a new arrival in the system of global relations. The region has radically modified the familiar formula of West and East. What are the consequences of this new intercultural formation?

Now, after some delay, the Soviet Union appreciates the manifest destiny of the North Pacific Rim. Our country is opening its doors in an overall effort to modernize and to dismantle its backward state-party system. However, the degree of participation in this process is not the same throughout the whole of the Soviet Union. There is reason enough to regard the Soviet Far East as a sub-region, distinct from the rest of the Soviet Union, whose further development might proceed differently.

In the near future, the region will develop more direct contacts with Japan. Paradoxically, Japanese culture has traditionally enjoyed wider recognition in Moscow, our country's European capital. Greater contact with Japan and other countries of the region will help to restore to the Soviet Far East its heritage of cultural interaction.

To encourage such contact we must do away with the accumulated prejudices and stereotypes that have amounted to mutual demonizing. More intercultural communication is needed. We must develop skills that promote better relations between cultures, break down barriers, and create conditions for wider visions.

Almost in the center of the Pacific, in Hawaii, the East-West Center is concentrating its work on the promotion of intercultural

relations between the United States and the nations of Asia and the Pacific through research, study, and training. The experience and methods of this center can undoubtedly be used by other countries to encourage inter-Pacific cultural communication.

The North Pacific has a favorable combination of features which can lend themselves to the rapid development of an intercultural network. The quickly modernizing, future-oriented societies of the American Far West, Japan, and the Soviet Far East share the potential for converting the region into a global leader. But this transformation can be achieved only through concerted action based on understanding, dialogue, and cultural exchanges.

A Soviet Scholar: "In two years a celebration of the five-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the American continent by Columbus will be celebrated. But I have the feeling that my discovery of America happened this week. I thank all of the participants of the seminar who helped me to make this discovery."

LITERARY IMAGES OF FAR EASTERN COLONIALISM

Boris I. Makarenko was born in 1959 and is a 1981 graduate of the College of Afro-Asian Studies of Moscow State University. He majored in contemporary history of the Middle East, but views the problems of relations and mutual influences between East and West as his basic area of research. He has worked full-time for the Soviet Peace Committee for the last nine years. He has been an advisor on regional conflicts in the Third World, and Asian-Pacific cooperation. In this capacity, he has visited a number of Asian countries to promote "people-to-people" diplomacy in the region.

Colonialism inexorably shaped mutual images of colonizer and colonized in the Far East. Colonialism is a complicated historical phenomenon, affecting even countries not subjected to direct invasion or enslavement. For nineteenth-century Russia, the drive to the Pacific was

a terrific force. Simultaneously, Russian literature was entering its golden age and several works of the time were devoted to the North Pacific.

Three books of the early nineteenth century typify pre-colonial and colonial attitudes: the *Diaries* of Golovnin, the *Philosophical Letters* of Petr Chaadayev, and Ivan Goncharov's *The Frigate Pallada*. These books were popular at a very significant time when the country was questioning its place in time and space. Russia felt with its own hands the borders of the world by its participation in the Napoleonic Wars, by the first Russian global circumnavigation in 1808, and by the establishment of a colonial trading company, the Russian American Company in 1800.

In forming a Russian image of North Pacific nations, these books played no less important a role than the works of Rudyard Kipling performed for the English-speaking world half a century later. It has been said that Kipling was the most vivid representative of England, a nation which embraced the globe with its iron arms and strangled it for the sake of its own glory, wealth, and power. Yet Kipling designed an approach, later named "anthropological," which developed the idea that other people's notions of honor and dignity may be fundamentally different from those to which we adhere, yet worthy of our esteem and respect.

The same tendencies can be seen in all three of the Russian writers I have mentioned. According to Golovnin, "Every land has its own traditions, very different from the others; however, the deeds of virtue deserve the name everywhere." Writing of the Japanese, Goncharov says, "When everything is new for them, they hesitate, consider, pause . . . Are they not right to some extent? They have seen more evil than good from the Europeans."

All these works exhibit a tension between colonial expansion and the colonizers' suppression of colonized people on the one hand, and the danger those processes have for the progress of the nation on the other.

"Contradicting all the laws of coexistence," says Chaadayev, "Russia proceeds to one destination only: that of enslaving itself and its neighbors." Chaadayev finishes his analysis with a gloomy prophecy: "We are one of the nations that don't belong to the human commonwealth, but exist only to teach some important lesson to the world." This quotation from Chaadayev can be found many times on the pages of today's Soviet press.

All three works, although written in the colonial era, evince a humanistic character, a sympathy for the oppressed, which has inspired in Russia a spiritual tradition.

IMAGES OF CITIES

Constantine V. Pleshakov is a graduate of Moscow State University's College of Afro-Asian Studies. A China specialist, he studied for a year in Singapore and has travelled widely in Asia. Since 1985 he has been associated with the Institute of USA and Canada Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow, where he was named a research fellow in 1988. He has written extensively on American China policy and the question of images and stereotypes in foreign affairs.

There is a typically Soviet reason for not developing the Far East: that is, the predominance of the military here. The Soviet Far East is regarded not only as a colony, but as a colony of the Defense Ministry. In the United States, westward movement expressed the exuberant energies of a nation: "Go west and make a fortune." In Russia the attitude was, "If you do not behave, you'll get into trouble and be sent to Siberia." Why did the Russian frontier have such an unfavorable image?

A city is not just walls, markets, and houses. The city in real life is a mirror of an ideal built in people's minds. Different city images, perceptions of the "city idea," influence every culture and every nation. And the development of cities in any culture is determined by these images. Of course there are national images of a city in every culture, but several general types can be found that are common for all. These images coexist and influence each other and result in certain development of cities in a particular culture.

The first image is the rural image, born not necessarily in the countryside, but, ironically, in cities. It implies that the city is an inevitable evil created to produce goods for the village. The border lying between village and city is the border between merit and sin. The society in which the rural image of a city prevails is generally in stagnation, as it was, for instance, in prerevolutionary Russia and China.

The industrial image of a city implies that the city is for the best and the brightest. There all careers start. The city is the center of everything. The priority of industry and commerce goes without saying. For the rural mentality, the world is split: it is the sky over you and the fields around you. For the industrial mentality, the center of the universe is downtown. The society where the industrial image of a city prevails is destined to have success. It implies both qualitative and quantitative progress, the growth of knowledge, skills, and amount of goods.

The sacred city is a place where God dwells; not because a city is central to the universe, but because the city contains a temple of God. The Greeks supposed Delphi to be sacred. Catholics think the

"Evening activities included play readings of Anton Chekhov and Eugene Ionesco, and we found that we all shared a love of the farcical and the absurd . . . The audience appreciated the rough qualities of the American performers . . . as they did the more polished performances of the Japanese, Chinese, and Soviets . . ."

same of Rome. Moscow for many years was a perfect sacred city with a central shrine — the Lenin mausoleum — and a living god — the Communist party.

The military image of a city implies that the city is a fortress, the walls of which protect the country. The people who adhere to such a view suppose that the nation is surrounded by enemies. On the frontier you can build either an industrial city (San Francisco) or a fortress (Vladivostok).

The military presence of the United States in the Pacific region is more substantial than the Soviet. Nevertheless, it is the Soviet Union which is perceived as the major military threat. The reason is evident. Behind the American fleet, one sees the banks of San Francisco, the laboratories of Silicon Valley, and the highways of Los Angeles. Behind the Soviet fleet, one sees only missiles and tanks, empty shelves of stores, and slums.

A merchant harbor or a fortress? This challenge has not been answered by the Soviet Union in the Far East. If a cripple thinks of himself as a soldier, in most cases others will regard him as a soldier. The Soviet Far East is still a cripple.

WORKSHOPS

An American Scholar: "Aware of the diversity of opinions on every issue in the United States, it was most significant for me to see and hear not the monolithic single 'Soviet' point of view which we receive in the American media, but instead to hear different voices agreeing and disagreeing with each other. The agreements and disagreements did not always follow geographical/political divisions—on some occasions there were greater Moscow/Moscow differences than Vladivostok/Moscow differences or Russian/ American differences."

Following the morning formal lecture in the Grand Salon of the Hall of Negotiations, our home during the Seminar, students gathered in smaller meeting rooms for group presentations and group discussions, all conducted and directed by students. Faculty were present as auditors only, free to discuss, enquire, and learn, but not to direct. Students were solely responsible for the content, composition, and progress of their workshops. The workshop cycle lasted two days, meeting for ninety minutes each day. At the end of the two days, students formed different groups to begin again.

It is impossible to re-create the intensity and the warmth of conversations shared among students, colleagues, and friends. The following is an attempt to offer a sample of the diversity of subjects covered, of presentations made, and of views and opinions exchanged.

WINDOWS:

VLADIVOSTOK, SAN FRANCISCO, MOSCOW

This workshop began, appropriately, with the presentation "Vladivostok: Fortress or Window." An American student presented his research on the history and dual images of Vladivostok. The "window" image of Vladivostok is illustrated by the fact that this city is the business and cultural center of the Soviet Far East; Vladivostok, the "fortress," recalls the origin of the city as a military outpost securing territory and symbolizing Russian — later Soviet — power in the North Pacific. Discussions included an examination of the obstacles facing modern Vladivostok as it attempts to look outward and the strong military role still dominating the city today.

Following the American perspective, a local scholar discussed the role of his city in the developing external economic relations of the Primorie region. Vladivostok is not only the headquarters of the biggest Soviet shipping and fishing interests in the Soviet Far East, it is also the largest scientific, commercial, and transportation center in the region. The city enjoys a working relationship with Japanese firms (especially in maritime and fishing projects) as well as with South Korean firms such as Hyundai and Daewoo. The reporter emphasized the importance of the trans-Siberian railroad as a link between Asia and Europe, and expressed his wish for the further expansion of international relations.

Agreeing with his colleagues, a Muscovite offered his impressions of Vladivostok, discussing the role of the bureaucracy, the military, and national monopolies. He spoke of the importance of scientific and oceanographic centers in the city on the one hand, but the lack of a business climate on the other. The scholar noted that with seven thousand foreign workers from Korea, China, and Vietnam working in the Maritime Province, Vladivostok is experiencing problems with foreign labor similar to those of the United States.

The comparison of Soviet and American cities was continued by an American student reporting on the problems facing San Francisco, a city with a large Asian population. The report, beginning with an historical overview of San Francisco's founding, settlement, and growth, analyzed the effect of the discovery of gold and the success of the transcontinental railroad on the development of the city. Discussion spanned the role of San Francisco from the Second World War and the Korean War to the present.

Enriching the previous reports, a scholar from Vladivostok broadened the focus to discuss the importance of the study of human behavior in the context of urban cross-cultural relations. By discussing the changing behavior patterns of Japanese youth, the group considered the application of the economic and political theories of the previous reports on those whom they will most affect — the next generation.

**ECONOMIC SYSTEMS AND CITIES,
ASIAN AND AMERICAN:
DALIEN AND LOS ANGELES**

A comprehensive report given by a scholar from Moscow served as valuable instruction on the problems of the Soviet Union's transition from a command economy to a market economy. Advocating a gradual transformation of different elements of the economy rather than the "shock treatment" of total economic conversion as attempted in Poland, the Soviet economist expressed optimism at the possibility of

a successful "two sector" system as a means of transition. Under such a system, two wholly separate economic systems would coexist; the market system with certain free zones, alongside remnants of a centrally planned economy. After years of simultaneous operation, the scholar predicted, the two models would merge into one market economy.

Central planning pervades not only the economic arena but the scientific sphere as well. Two scientists from Vladivostok spoke of the intrusion of central planning and of military priorities which retard the development of Vladivostok as a center of scientific research. By way of example, they noted that because oceanographic research is centered in Leningrad, it is impossible for scientists of the region to undertake research reflecting characteristics unique to the Primorie region.

Dalien (formerly Dalny and Dairen), now a Chinese city, might be a model for Vladivostok, reported one American student. Dalien is steeped in foreign influences, having been developed by the Russians at the turn of the century. Designed as a commercial port, Dalny, under Russian rule, never lived up to expectations during that period. In 1905, however, under Japanese rule, Dairen, as the Japanese named it, was transformed into one of the leading centers of industry and trade in the Pacific. It endured heavy Stalinist industrialization under a brief Soviet administration after World War Two, and is today developing into an active center of North Pacific trade for China.

Shifting the focus to North America, two American students reported on the importance of the railway system in the development of two thriving North Pacific cities: Vancouver and Los Angeles. Both Vancouver, Canada's "window to Pacific trade," and Los Angeles, a city which at one time was landlocked, relied heavily on the railroad

"Vice President of the Primorie Peace Committee, Larissa Fedotova concurred: 'I'm not in a position to assess the scientific value of the seminar, but in human terms it was a great success. You must come back to Vladivostok . . .'"

in their development. Today, Los Angeles' vitality as a North Pacific city is undisputed, its port being the terminus of the railway. Vancouver is not only terminus of four major railways, it is connected to the Atlantic by the trans-Canada highway. The city is also served by a major international airport, and enjoys a port equipped with twenty-five specialized cargo handling facilities making it North America's volume leader in the movement of dry cargo across the Pacific.

A final presentation praised the economic ties developing between Alaska and the Primorie. Alaska, a natural trading partner for historical and geographic reasons, is now the American leader in establishing links with the Soviet Far East. However, reminded the reporter, although trade is increasing, cooperation between Alaska and the Soviet Far East has been restricted by the Soviet Union's lack of most-favored-nation status and by the inconvertibility of the ruble, two serious obstacles to East-West trade.

**DISPARITIES:
SEATTLE, NOME, TIANJIN, AND VLADIVOSTOK**

The first two presentations by American discussants examined the "boom-bust" cycle of the "instant" city in the United States. Seattle, originating as a modest lumber outpost, grew rapidly into a major metropolis as a result of vigorous trade and industry stemming from its initial lumbering activities. Through expanding contacts with the American West, Canada, Alaska, and finally with Japan, Seattle increased its economic vitality and asserted its independence. Seattle today is a crossroads of North Pacific activity, engaged in business with Asia, the Soviet Union, and Canada.

Unlike the prospering city of Seattle, Nome, Alaska has been unable to sustain the early growth which resulted from the discovery of gold at the end of the 19th century. At its peak during the "gold rush," Nome's population reached forty thousand. Today, with only several thousand inhabitants, Nome faces the challenge of development, even of survival.

In contrast to these two American cities whose life cycles revolved around the fortunes and failures of a capitalist economy, Chinese and Soviet scholars criticized their cities' ties to their respective central governments which, now, as in the past, stifle economic development and independence. Although geographically and demographically dissimilar (Tianjin with a population of ten million is just forty miles from Beijing, while Vladivostok has 700,000 inhabitants and is over 5,000 miles from Moscow), both cities encounter the same dilemma: to face outward, seizing oceanic opportunities, or to turn

"On Monday afternoon we met with volunteers and staff of the Primorie Peace Committee and representatives of the local press. By Monday night we had created our first joint venture — a ruble cash bar set up in a spare room at the Marble Palace . . ."

inward and face the commands and constraints emanating from the center.

One Soviet reported that in order to encourage economic growth in the Soviet Far East, the region will need total economic independence while maintaining close political ties with Moscow. Ideally, this move would occur in concert with the nation's shift to a free market economy. However, another Soviet was pessimistic as he reported on the negative impact of central planning on local problems and issues of his city, Vladivostok. Directives from Moscow adversely

affect many areas of local life including the educational system and vocational training.

The workshop closed with students debating the best way to move from a planned to a market economy and questioning the likelihood of economic independence without political independence.

COMMUNITIES: BOSTON, THE NORTH PACIFIC, CHINA

In this workshop students considered the different elements that combine to make a "North Pacific City." A Soviet reporter suggested that an economic basis for cooperation, while necessary, is insufficient grounds on which to create a true community of nations in the region. A North Pacific city, she said, must have international elements as well as economic appeal. She wondered if Vladivostok might become the first international North Pacific city.

Two Vladivostok students concurred, proposing that Vladivostok might become the transfer point linking East Asia with the rest of the Soviet Union, and, ultimately with Europe, if it is allowed to develop technology and emerge as an information center.

Finally, an American student and a Chinese student compared research as they discussed the impact of the China trade on the development of Boston (a city the American scholar declared to be the first North Pacific city), and across the Pacific, the effects of China's open door policy on urban development. In Boston, as a result of early North Pacific trade, a critical mass of capital accumulated in the hands of individuals who played a significant role in the later industrialization of the United States. In China, cities might serve the same role; the Chinese student argued that unlike the imposed open door policies of the past, current policy is the result of Chinese determination to integrate the country into the world economy and to use coastal cities and special economic zones as mechanisms of growth.

DEVELOPMENT AND POLITICS

Economic development of the Primorie region became the dominant theme of this workshop. Despite the problems of ruble inconvertibility and interference from the central government, extractive industries such as lumbering and mining, and manufacturing industries like shipbuilding, enjoy a comparative advantage in this maritime region. The development of these industries has provoked a competition for international trade between the cities of Vladivostok and Nakhodka. With a portion of its city designated as a free economic zone, one

scholar insisted that Nakhodka has seized the lead in the race to open a window to the outside world. Yet, the entire region enjoys the geographic advantage of proximity to the most rapidly developing part of the globe, and is slowly gaining a share of abundant East Asian capital.

A Japanese scholar who had travelled fifteen hours by train from Khabarovsk to Vladivostok to join the seminar suggested that improvements in transportation links between the Soviet Far East and the rest of Asia will encourage a healthy tourist trade from the prosperous, curious, and crowded countries to the south and east. A Vladivostok scholar enthusiastically agreed, urging the expansion of the railway system and noting that Vladivostok's route to Europe by rail is shorter than the sea route through the Suez Canal by 5,000 miles and is shorter than going around the Cape of Good Hope by 8,000 miles!

The group then considered the great and fearful potential of the Korean peninsula. The direction political events on the Korean peninsula may take will have a direct impact on the Soviet Far East. Korean North-South cooperation will allow Vladivostok greater access to financial resources and more stability in developing a relationship with the Asian tiger, South Korea.

Finally, one American student presented his analysis on the great North Korean capital, Pyongyang, a city which embodies a personal shrine to the Kim family. At the moment, policies emanating from Pyongyang preclude interaction among the North Pacific nations but perhaps as Korean North-South dialogue increases, more receptive policies will follow.

An American Scholar: "This seminar gave me a new perspective on the Soviet Union and the acute difficulties the fracturing nation faces. Until now I must admit I was guilty of a Eurocentrist understanding of the USSR based on experience with Moscow only."

NORTH PACIFIC URBAN CONTRASTS

In this workshop the similarities and differences of North Pacific cities continued to occupy the students' attention as comparisons between Vancouver and Vladivostok were discussed and contrasts between Los Angeles and Shanghai illustrated.

A Fletcher student from the Philippines traced the impact of imported Chinese labor in the early development of Vancouver.

Fifteen thousand Chinese coolie laborers were doubtless crucial to the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Similarly, a Soviet student described the valuable contributions of foreign labor in the development of Vladivostok, including a thousand Chinese workers who serve as seasonal farm workers today. However, the student explained, along with the benefits of foreign labor in Vladivostok come economic, social, and psychological problems, including competition with local citizens for scarce commodities, the appearance of organized crime, and an intensifying of racial and national prejudices.

A Chinese scholar then shared her knowledge of Shanghai. Once the greatest port and industrial center in the Chinese world, Shanghai is now in a state of decline resulting from the constraints of a planned economy. She suggested that in order for this once majestic city to regain its stature it must recapture a measure of local autonomy.

In contrast to the Chinese city, Los Angeles' continuing assertion of its local autonomy not only in Southern California but in all of the United States was artfully illustrated by an American student who sought to "share the experience" of Los Angelenos by showing slides of typical city scenes; all to the accompaniment of "The Beach Boys' Greatest Hits." With intercultural activity spanning over more than a century and a half, Los Angeles has overcome many of the ethnic problems which might face Vladivostok, and has, suggested the American, developed an independence and a culture all its own. Scenes of Spanish adobe haciendas, fast food sushi shops, Mexican restaurants, and the crowded streets of Little Tokyo and Chinatown, celebrated the diversity of ethnic groups that continue to contribute to the economic and urban success that is Los Angeles today.

On the last day of the workshops students were interrupted by a photographer requesting a group photo — lasting proof of the hours spent together debating, discussing, laughing, learning. Not surprisingly, discussions were often dominated by the immediate region, the

Soviet Far East, its future, and North Pacific relations in general.

But, discussions were not narrowly confined. Students were curious about such diverse topics as pollution in the Yellow Sea, Siberian-Alaskan cooperation, the origin of China's riverine civilization, and the unfortunate rise of crime which seems to be shared by all nations. Presentations were carefully researched and reports polished for delivery. Yet as time passed and friendships developed, discussants spoke as much from the heart as they did from their notes and outlines. Students were deeply moved by the frankness of discussions, and were often overwhelmed by the profound opportunity to exchange opinions with colleagues who share common concerns of the North Pacific region.

"Perhaps most memorable [of all excursions] was a day long boat trip and expedition to Popov Island. After threading our way through the harbor, we landed on the island. We took a long hike along the shore to a perfect spot, where blankets were laid and dishes of sardines and chicken and bowls of tomatoes were set . . ."

TRIP LOG

Getting to Vladivostok was the first adventure of the seminar. We in the United States have traditionally looked towards the European face of the Soviet Union. So it was fitting that for the Fletcher group the trip to Pacific Russia began with crossing the Atlantic, flying from Boston to Moscow. After a short stay in that solemn European capital, we headed to just about the furthestmost extremity of the great body of the Soviet Union. Landing in Vladivostok after a nine hour flight, we stretched our legs and inhaled the briny smell of the Pacific while pondering the immensity of our host nation. Not five hundred miles out at sea was Japan. Korea and China too lay even closer by. And of course, out there beyond sight but not imagination was the American West coast. That is what we saw facing the Pacific ocean, looking out from Vladivostok. The Atlantic world and the European heartlands from whence we had flown lay at our backs.

The Soviet Peace Committee warmly greeted us. Fellowship and friendship drew us, American, Japanese, Chinese, and Soviet, together, not only in the workshops and lectures, but just as importantly, over coffee (or Soviet champagne), on the soccer pitch and even in the sauna!

Along with the morning seminar activity, tours of the city, visits to museums and walks on the beach filled our days. Folk dancing and music, superbly performed, entertained us at night. The traditional Russian singing, haunting, rousing, and bittersweet, captivated everyone. We might have been on the Pacific, but the songs, played on balalaikas, alive with the images of birch trees and troikas, reminded us we were still in the Russian Republic. Russian hospitality and generosity too, was very much present in the Far East. From our hosts we received mementos of the city along with gifts from the *taiga* (the Siberian forest) of wild peonies, wood strawberries, and exotic honey.

We were in some way, as the first group of young American scholars convening in Vladivostok, making history. Exhilarating as this was, we could not ignore the poignancy of our time and place. Our stay in the city dramatically underlined not only the country's social and political turmoil but also its forlorn economic condition. The sense of and need for change was palpable. Despite our luxurious accommodations, the disparity between general living standards in our native lands was jarring. The people of Vladivostok, for so long held captive in a closed city, joked about their leaders far to the west as we daily wrestled with what the future held for their city and for the North Pacific as a whole.

The seminar brought our lives together. We found we all shared similar aspirations and concerns for ourselves and for our

nations. Yet, as our plane took us away from the USSR, we couldn't help but think, as we headed home to abundance and stability, of our hosts, fettered for decades by an inflexible system, facing a completely unpredictable future. Rather than being paralyzed by such a prospect, they are seeking plans and ideas for that future. Their enthusiasm and commitment makes hope for change much more than a pipedream.

Vladivostok and its people, while still reined in by the powers that be, 5000 miles to the west, was reaching out to its neighbors. With physical proximity to other Pacific nations, the city looks to bring itself closer to them in ways other than geographic. After our days there, listening to Russian children recite Chinese poetry, students chatting in Japanese and everyone speaking English, it appears logical, almost inevitable, that Vladivostok will leave behind the isolation of past decades. It can grow and develop into a North Pacific city. Such a chrysalis will not break forth overnight. But the dedication and conviction of its people will make it come to pass. It was an honor to have participated in the seminar and to have glimpsed the rebirth of the city. Our visit in Vladivostok sped too quickly past and farewells were hard to make. As at Rome's Fontana di Trevi, we fervently flung kopeks into the sea, praying fortune would again bring us back to the Golden Horn.

— Theresa Moran

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