

DATE: March 19, 1982

TO : Participants in the Conference on the Development  
and Utilization of International Skills, March 11, 1982

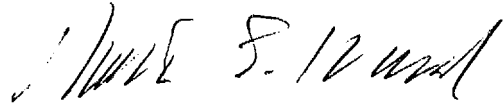
FROM : Robert E. Ward, Conference Organizer

SUBJECT:

I am enclosing for your information a summary of our March 11 proceedings and a list of those who attended. I have been in touch with Dr. Beal at the White House with respect to the convening of the federal-academic task force recommended by the Conference in the near future. Each of the fourteen federal agencies involved will be invited to nominate a representative to this. Dr. Beal's office will call you in this connection. We hope to move forward as rapidly as possible.

With best regards and, again, thanks for your interest and participation.

Cordially,



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Enclosure

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Conference on Development and Utilization of  
International Skills

March 11, 1982

Co-sponsored by the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies  
and the National Council on Foreign Languages and International Studies

Executive Summary

On March 11, 1982 at the International Club building on 1800 K St., N.W., Washington, D.C., under the joint sponsorship of the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies and the National Council on Foreign Language and International Studies, senior officials from fourteen diverse federal agencies with international concerns and responsibilities and eminent academic specialists from 10 major universities met to discuss common concerns and interests in "The Development and Utilization of International Skills."

Dr. Robert E. Ward, Director of the Center for Research in International Studies at Stanford University, chaired the conference which explored two questions: First, were there sufficient common interests between the academic and federal participants concerning the development and utilization of international skills to establish some systematic mode of discourse? Second, if there were shared concerns sufficient to warrant further action on the research front, what form should such action take?

Agreeing upon the common need for continuing such discussions, the conference concluded with a decision to organize a task force to investigate possible institutional frameworks which might accommodate an ongoing dialogue between academic and federal actors with interests and responsibilities involving the need for international skills, e.g. foreign language or foreign area analysis capabilities. The efforts of this task force will be coordinated through the office of Dr. Richard Beal, Special Assistant to the President and Director of the Office of Planning and Evaluation, at the White House. The task force will be composed of three to five academic representatives and one representative from each participating federal agency. In addition, appropriate repre-

representatives from the business community concerned with international skills issues may also be invited to contribute to the group on at least an observer basis.

The task force will explore specific institutional options that would facilitate both the development and utilization of the existing and future pool of international skills in the United States through academic and federal cooperation. The group will consider, but not limit its thinking to, the experience of the National Council for Soviet and East European Research. As soon as its study and recommendations are completed, the task force will report to the larger conference group and others who may wish to be involved. Plans to convene this task force will be completed in the course of the coming month; the group will begin its work shortly thereafter.

The conference opened with greetings by Dr. Amos Jordan, Vice-Chairman and Chief Operating Officer of the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies, and Dr. Rose Hayden, President of the National Council on Foreign Languages and International Studies. As chairman of the conference, Dr. Ward set forth the reasons for convening the conference. From the professional perspective of the academic representatives, he noted three concerns: 1) the decline in interest and financial support for international programs in the universities, the foundations, and the government; 2) the tightening of the job market for those with international skills and the advantages enjoyed by candidates from the disciplines over those from area studies where career advancement is concerned; and 3) the adverse impact of the behavioral revolution in the social sciences on policy-relevant research in the international field. From the perspective of the national interest, Dr. Ward emphasized the need for more cooperative use of scarce human resources in an

era when so many national problems have been internationalized. Manpower studies indicate a potential for serious shortages, caused in part by a curious paradox. On the one hand, the perception of a scarcity of jobs in the international skills field directs people into other professions; on the other hand, by any objective standard the national need for international skills is certain to increase substantially, although for the moment both public and private employers have yet to recognize this.

To underscore the kinds of mid- and long-term policy-relevant research that the universities were or could be engaged in, the morning session was largely devoted to presentations by Robert A. Scalapino on The People's Republic of China, Hugh T. Patrick on United States-Japan Economic Relations, Robert J. Art on NATO, and Richard C. Marston on A New Economic Regime. Zgibniew Brzezinski, the luncheon speaker, noted the impressive ability of the United States to gather hard factual information abroad, but our continuing inability to interpret it accurately and perceptively. In the morning session, Donald Gregg of the National Security Council had emphasized the same point in quoting Henry Kissinger on Anwar Sadat: "He overwhelmed us with facts and we drew the wrong conclusions."

Discussion during the day made clear that, while there was general agreement on the need for further and closer cooperation between federal and academic representatives regarding the development and utilization of international skills, the goals, institutional framework, and other modalities for such interaction have yet to be worked out. How can the needs of certain agencies which foresee an increasing need for personnel with language and analytical ability (on the order of 1/3 to 1/2) be met without a prolonged gap when budgets for the underlying programs of federal support must be devised almost two years

in advance of their effectuation: Will difficulties arise from the interest of the intelligence community as a prime consumer of policy-oriented university research, even if it is research of a mid- to long-term type? If some kind of federal/academic liaison institution were established (perhaps akin to the National Council on Soviet and East European Studies) what safeguards should be provided to prevent undue influence on the more general nature of campus-based international research? It will be the responsibility of the task force to consider these and other areas of concern raised at the conference to make recommendations, and to present these issues (with proposed solutions) to the larger group for further consideration in the near future.

*✓ attended March 11 conference*

✓ DEAN JAMES ALATIS  
School of Languages and  
Linguistics  
Georgetown University (202) 625-4301

✓ DR. ROBERT ART  
Rabb School of Graduate  
Studies  
Brandeis University (617) 647-2057

✓ DR. RICHARD BEAL  
Director, Office of Planning  
and Evaluation  
The White House (202) 456-6690

✓ MR. JOHN BERNARD  
Conference Director  
CSIS (202) 887-0200 Ext. 250

✓ DR. ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI  
Senior Adviser  
CSIS (202) 887-0200 Ext. 218  
*(Luch)*

DR. C.E. BLACK  
Center for International Studies  
Princeton University (609) 452-4851

[Redacted] STATINTL  
Intelligence Community Staff  
Central Intelligence Agency [Redacted]

MR. J.C. CHESTER  
Committee on Foreign Affairs  
U.S. House of Representatives (202) 225-8096

[Redacted]  
Vice Director, Foreign Intelligence  
Defense Intelligence Agency [Redacted]

REVEREND T. BYRON COLLINS, SJ  
Assistant to the President  
Georgetown University (202) 625-3725

[Redacted] STATINTL  
Coordinator for Academic Affairs  
Central Intelligence Agency [Redacted]

[Redacted]  
Office of Assistant Vice Director  
for Research [Redacted]  
Defense Intelligence Agency [Redacted]

✓ DR. LEON D. EPSTEIN  
Dept. of Political Science  
University of Wisconsin (608) 263-2

MR. ROBERT M. GATES  
Deputy Director for  
Intelligence  
Central Intelligence Agency [Redacted] STAT

✓ DR. GERRIT GONG  
Research Associate  
CSIS (202) 887-0200 Ext. 255  
775-3255

✓ MR. DONALD GREGG  
National Security Council  
(202) 395-4682

MR. ROBERT GREY  
Acting Deputy Director  
ACDA (202) 632-8462  
STATINTL

[Redacted]  
National Intelligence Officer  
for East Asia  
Central Intelligence Agency [Redacted] STAT

✓ DR. ROSE HAYDEN  
National Council on Foreign  
Language and International Studies  
(212) 490-3520

✓ DR. SAMUEL P. HUNTINGTON  
Center for International  
Affairs  
Harvard University (617) 495-4432

✓ DR. HAROLD K. JACOBSON  
Dept. of Political Science  
University of Michigan  
(213) 764-6390

✓ DR. AMOS A. JORDAN, JR.  
Vice Chairman  
CSIS (202) 887-0200 Ext. 237

✓ MR. PHILLIP KAPLAN  
Deputy Director, Policy  
Planning  
Department of State (202) 632-8986

✓ DR. ALLEN KASSOF  
International Research and  
Approved For Release 2005/12/14 : CIA-RDP86B00985R000300130013-2 (212) 490-2002

STAT  
STAT  
STAT  
STAT  
STAT

STATINTL

[Redacted]

Director  
Intelligence Community Staff  
Central Intelligence Agency [Redacted]

MR. MARC LELAND  
Assistant Secretary  
International Affairs  
Department of the Treasury (202) 566-5363

✓ DR. TOM LITZENBURG  
Association of American  
Universities (202) 466-5030

[Redacted]

✓ Defense Language and Foreign  
Area Studies Program  
Defense Intelligence Agency [Redacted]

✓ MR. JAMES W. LUCAS  
Principal Deputy to the Assistant  
Secretary of the Air Force for  
Manpower, Reserve Affairs and  
Installations (202) 697-4371

✓ DR. RICHARD C. MARSTON  
Wharton School  
University of Pennsylvania (215) 243-7626

✓ DR. DANIEL MATUSZEWSKI  
International Research and  
Exchange Board (212) 490-2002

[Redacted]

✓ Deputy Director for Research  
and Engineering  
National Security Agency [Redacted]

MR. HUGH MONTGOMERY  
Director  
Bureau of Intelligence and  
Research  
Department of State (202) 632-0342

✓ MR. JAMES MOYER  
Director, International Economic  
Research Division, International  
Trade Administration  
Department of Commerce (202) 377-5097

DR. HENRY NAU  
National Security Council (202) 395-6961

✓ MRS. MARY B. PARK  
Conference Coordinator  
CSIS (202) 887-0200 Ext. 261

✓ DR. HUGH T. PATRICK  
Yale Economic Growth Center  
(203) 436-8418

✓ DR. E. RAYMOND PLATIG  
Director  
Office of Long-Range Assessment  
and Research  
Bureau of Intelligence  
Department of State (202) 632-1342

[Redacted]

✓ Assistant Director for  
Planning  
National Security Agency [Redacted]

STAT

Assistant Deputy Director of  
Operations  
National Security Agency [Redacted]

STAT

✓ DR. RIORDAN ROETT  
School of Advanced International  
Studies  
Johns Hopkins University (202) 785-6

[Redacted]

Chairman  
National Intelligence Council

STAT

[Redacted]  
MR. ED SANDERS  
Staff Director  
Senate Foreign Relations  
Committee (202) 224-3943

STAT

✓ DR. ROBERT A. SCALAPINO  
East Asian Institute  
University of California-Berkeley  
(415) 642-2809

DEAN DONALD SCHWARTZ  
Georgetown University Law Center  
(202) 624-8357

✓ MR. VLADIMIR I. TOUMANOFF  
National Council for Soviet  
and East European Research  
(202) 387-0168

✓ MR. RON TROWBRIDGE  
Acting Associate Director for  
Education and Cultural Affairs  
(202) 724-9933

✓ MR. JAROSLAV VERNER  
Counsellor for Educational  
Agreements, USICA (202) 724-9933

✓ DR. ROBERT W. WARD  
Center for Research in  
International Studies  
Stanford University (415) 497-3347

DR. ALLEN WEINSTEIN  
Executive Editor  
The Washington Quarterly  
CSIS (202) 887-0200 Ext. 288

✓ MR. DON WESTMORE  
Office of Senator William Roth (202) 224-2441

✓ MR. KENNETH D. WHITEHEAD  
Director, Office of International  
Programs  
Department of Education (202) 245-9691

✓ DR. W. HOWARD WRIGGINS  
Columbia University (212) 280-3433

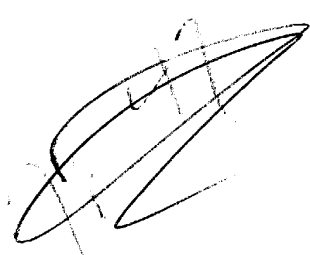
✓ MRS. RUTH ZAGORIN  
Director of Human Resources (202) 235-2240  
AID



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CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN INTERNATIONAL STUDIES  
Room 200, Lou Henry Hoover Building  
STANFORD UNIVERSITY  
STANFORD, CALIFORNIA 94305

CONFIDENTIAL



STATINTL

[Redacted]

Coordinator for Academic Affairs  
Director of Central Intelligence  
Washington, D. C. 20505

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THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR  
SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN RESEARCH

Cathy Frierson  
Paul Josephson  
Herbert Levine  
Vladimir Toumanoff

March 17, 1982

INTRODUCTION

The National Council for Soviet and East European Research, founded in 1978, is a product of the concern shared by many in the Federal Government and the academic community over the national decline affecting Soviet studies since the late 1960s. At the same time that support by universities, foundations, and the Government was dwindling rapidly, the capacity for basic research on the USSR and Eastern Europe within the Government was also shrinking, or at least so it was perceived at very high levels. A variety of steps were advocated in response. What emerged after several years of discussion among Government officials and scholars across the country was the National Council: a federally funded, non-profit, autonomous academic corporation whose purpose is to develop and sustain a long-term program of basic research on a national scale dealing with policy issues and questions of Soviet and East European social, political, economic and historical development. Through the conduct of this research program the Council is also intended to encourage the training of a steady stream of professional personnel capable of sustaining the program. The Council pursues its purpose by providing research funds to independent scholars through competitive research contracts with their universities. It does not itself perform research. The results of the research are delivered to the funding government agencies, but are the property of the individual scholars who retain the right to copyright and publish their research. (see Appendix I).

Early inspiration intended the Council to serve a variety of ends. In recognition that the national interest is served by a capacity to generate and disseminate reliable independent knowledge of the USSR and Eastern Europe, the Council was to be the vehicle for a Government share of funds in support of that national capacity; while the Council's scholarly composition and autonomy of decision were to insure against Government prescription of research and to protect freedom of inquiry and conclusion. The support provided through the Council was intended to encourage existing scholars not to leave the field of Soviet studies, and new scholars to enter it, not just through the actual dollars transmitted, but also by having the long-term commitment of the Government serve as witness that the society recognizes and values their work. On the principle that free toilers in the vineyards of knowledge are the most productive, scholars were to be free to proffer research projects of their own choosing, and the central assumption was made that the overlap of what scholars wish to investigate

and what the Government would wish to have investigated is sufficiently extensive that a national program of a million dollars annually would fit easily into the space. A parallel assumption was that the products of research would be useful to the Government, would inspire further scholarship, and through publication would help inform the public at home and abroad. It was hoped that the cumulative knowledge of the field and of the scholars in it embodied in the Council's Trustees would make their choices wise, and that the respect in which they would be held by their colleagues would invest proposals, labors, and products with quality and timeliness. It seemed reasonable to expect that since the Council would support the central purpose of universities, i.e., scholarship, the latter would not cavil at cost sharing, and the program would be more frugal than any the Government could run directly. And finally, the critical supposition was accepted that the value systems, habits of thought, and bureaucratic practices of the Federal and academic communities were not so incompatible as to prevent the Council from functioning between them without being crushed. It was thought that the Council might even serve in some small way as a bridge to ease the estrangement and mutual distrust of two decades.

The Council was incorporated in February 1978 in the full knowledge that it was an experiment and an act of faith in a difficult society, albeit supported by ample good will and a mass of ingeniously devised legal and administrative scaffolding. How it has fared is the subject of this paper.

#### THE COUNCIL STRUCTURE

The National Council for Soviet and East European Research consists of a Board of Trustees and an executive staff. The minimum membership of the Board is twelve and the original twelve members were designated to their office by the Chancellor of the University of California, Berkeley; the Provost of the University of Chicago; the Presidents of Columbia University, Duke University, Harvard University, the University of Illinois, Indiana University, the University of Michigan, the University of Pennsylvania, Stanford University, and the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies; and the Chairman of the Academic Council of the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies of the Wilson Center. The right to designate a Trustee remains with these institutions unless, upon the departure from the Board of such a designee, the Board decides to turn to some other institution for a designation.

The original Trustees were: Robert Campbell (Indiana); Alexander Dallin (Chairman) (Stanford); Ralph Fisher (Illinois); Chauncy Harris (Chicago); Herbert S. Levine (Pennsylvania); Richard Pipes (Harvard); Marc Raeff (Columbia); Nicholas Riasanovsky (Berkeley); Frederick Starr (Vice Chairman) (Kennan Institute); Donald Treadgold (Washington); Vladimir Treml (Duke); William Zimmerman (Michigan); Since that time, Pipes, Raeff, Riasanovsky, Starr, and Zimmerman have left the Board, and Abbott Gleason (Kennan Institute), Edward L. Keenan (Harvard), Alfred G. Meyer (Michigan) and Laura Tyson (Berkeley) have been designated in their places. The Trustees may elect up to six additional members to the Board for a maximum total of eighteen. Allen H. Kassof (IREX), Andrzej Korbonski (UCLA), and Leon Lipson (Yale) have been elected. Herbert Levine is the current Chairman.

All Trustees, whether designated or elected, serve as individuals and not as representatives of their home institutions. They serve three year terms, so staggered that about one third of the terms expire each year. No Trustee may serve more than two consecutive terms in office.

The Trustees appointed Vladimir I. Toumanoff to be the Council's Executive Director and an ex officio member of the Board of Trustees. He heads a staff of three with offices at 1755 Massachusetts Ave., N.W. in Washington, D.C. where the daily business of the Council is conducted.

The Trustees establish Council policies, review and select proposals for funding, represent the Council for substantive questions on research contracts, and conduct most of the Council's substantive business. Administration and management are the responsibility of the Executive Director, who does not vote on the selection of the proposals.

#### FUNCTIONS OF THE COUNCIL

The Council functions in pursuit of the purpose defined in the Introduction essentially by contracting for research with universities all across the United States.

From time to time, and in consultation with the Government, the Council defines subject areas of special interest, a kind of research agenda which con-

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stitutes its Research Program for some period of time. It has done so twice thus far. The first Program, which was incorporated in its contract with the Department of Defense, read as follows:

Scholars should be guided by the following subject matter in formulating research proposals for this year's competition:

1. The Operation of, and Long-Term Prospects for, the Soviet and East European Economies, Including the Burden of Defense.

Topics within this rubric might include the following: description and analysis of resource allocation and major structural interactions of the Soviet and East European economies; analysis of the extent of the defense effort and its interaction with the economy and society over time; specific strengths and weaknesses of the economic systems; constraints arising from demographic, technological or institutional factors, or from the supply of energy and resources; how strengths and weaknesses shape Soviet and East European development and policies, with identification of critical choices; Soviet and East European perceptions of these matters.

2. Long-Term Developments in Soviet and East European Foreign Policies, Especially as They Affect the United States.

Subjects here might entail: Soviet perceptions of, and objectives in, the USSR's long-term relations with the United States; Soviet views of the role of military, economic, and other foreign policy instrumentalities in Soviet relations with the U.S.; prospects for relations among East Europe the Soviet Union, and the U.S.; Soviet responses to evolving Sino-Soviet and Sino-American relations; Soviet views on the regional and global roles of the USSR and how these might change in the future.

3. Long-Term Trends in Soviet and East European Societies.

Matters to be examined here would include such topics as: bureaucratic behavior and group interest articulation; nationality issues; implications of changing population patterns; the evolving domestic role of the military in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe; repercussions of cultural, religious, and social diversity; changing patterns of regime-society relations.

4. Soviet and East European Intentions, Objectives, and Policy Options

The focus here is on the range of options, actual and potential, open to Soviet and East European leaders in responding to domestic and international problems of the kinds subsumed under 1, 2, and 3 above; factors or actions, both foreign and domestic, that might influence any of these.

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That Program appeared in the Council's Public Notice of March 10, 1978 which was mailed to more than 5,000 scholars and institutions, and was publicized in the journals and newsletters of a half dozen professional associations.

The second Research Program, which appeared on June 30, 1979, and received even wider distribution, read as follows:

The National Council for Soviet and East European Research invites proposals for research contracts in its 1979-1980 Research Program. This program will concentrate on processes of change in the contemporary Soviet Union and the states of Eastern Europe. It will be especially concerned with the ability of the regimes to foster, manage, and contain these processes and with the possible systemic and strategic corollaries and consequences of their efforts to do so.

The USSR and the states of Eastern Europe face a number of domestic and external circumstances that could lead to changes in their established institutions, procedures, programs, and priorities. It should be the goal of projects proposed for funding under the National Council's present Research Program to identify and analyze these circumstances, and to subject hypotheses of emergent large scale change or discontinuity to close critical scrutiny through empirical research on topics of broad relevance for the formulation of foresighted and effective U.S. policies. These topics include, but are not limited to, the following: political leadership and organization; policy-making structures and procedures; political dissidence and protest; civil-military relations; military doctrine and policy; resource mobilization and allocation; social stratification and differentiation; cultural identity and self-expression; and sub-national, national and international integration.

One characteristic in the Council's function will be immediately apparent from the above. Its research subject matter is limited almost exclusively to the social sciences and history. Only one study has been based exclusively on literature, and it had a socio-political cast.

The response to these solicitations has been strong. The Council has received 307 research proposals involving some 334 scholars at 126 institutions in 36 states, requesting a total of \$17.25 million. Unhappily, only \$3 million have

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been available, and it has been possible to fund only 69 proposals, or 22% of those submitted. Several conclusions emerge. Research talent is spread far and wide across the country, and the national capability, though somewhat eroded, still exists. Funding available for research is substantially out of balance with the potential; the Council receives far more good proposals than it can fund. The competition faced by proposals submitted to the Council is intense. The Council may be making more enemies than friends, in fact, perhaps few friends at all since it routinely savages proposal budgets to try to stretch its funds to as many scholars as possible.

The review and selection process is simple and thorough. Every Trustee reads every proposal submitted by each deadline date and reaches an independent view of its merit. The Trustees then assemble and discuss all the proposals until they have jointly selected projects up to the limit of available and anticipated funds. Since the start in 1978 there have been seven such deadlines and six competitive reviews. Hereafter the Council plans to have, each year, one deadline, November 1, and one competitive review, the following January.

The Council contracts for the proposals selected as promptly as negotiations and availability of funds permits. This, as many will testify, and as will be discussed later in the paper, is frequently anything but prompt.

The Government has required that the instrument for Council funding of research projects be a contract, rather than a grant. That carries several consequences. Because public funds are involved, Federal laws and regulations apply, which are so complex and voluminous that it is impractical to contract directly with individuals. The contracts must be between the Council and institutions prepared to administer them. They apply a wide variety of restrictions on the expenditure of funds which affect the scholar, from travel regulations, to the kinds of equipment that can be purchased, to the nature of research with human subjects. They also require a specific end product, a "deliverable" in the parlance, which in the case of the Council consists normally of a paper or papers, with summaries, reporting the results of the research. This so-called Final Report has for some reason caused more grief than any other aspect of the Council's relations with scholars. Although agreed to in advance, they are more often than not late, and not just by a few days, or weeks. The Council is required to deliver each report to its readership in the Government, and it is by the quality and timeliness of these reports that the Council will be judged, and its future decided. It is not always evident that scholars appreciate that fact.

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On the other hand, the Council has succeeded, through negotiations with the Department of Defense marked by great goodwill, in simplifying the normal Government research contract requirements considerably, and the Council's research contracts carry an unusually liberal copyright provision, giving the scholar "the right to apply for and obtain copyright on any work products which may be derived from work funded by the Council under this contract."

Once a contract with the Council is signed, two Council representatives are designated for its duration; the Executive Director for administrative matters, and a Trustee for matters of substance. The amount of contact between them and the scholars and university officials at the other end has varied substantially from contract to contract. Harmony and cooperation have far outweighed the opposite, but there have been moments of sharp disappointment on both sides.

The 69 projects for which the Council has been able to contract represent a wide range of subject areas. Twenty five projects, or 36%, are on economics. Twenty one, or 31%, are in the realm of political science, with twelve of these on domestic politics including seven nationality studies. Sociology and history account for 23% of the projects funded; science and technology for 7%, and law for 3%. By geographic area, one of six projects concentrates on Eastern Europe, the balance on the USSR. Finally, eight, or 12%, involve some aspect of emigre interviewing. This information is summarized in Chart I.

CHART I

COUNCIL RESEARCH CONTRACTS

BY DISCIPLINE

Economics		25
Politics		21
Domestic	12 (7 nationality studies)	
Foreign	9	
Sociology and history		16
Science and Technology		5
Law		2
		<hr/>
	TOTAL	69

CHART I (continued)BY GEOGRAPHIC AREA

Soviet Union	57
Eastern Europe	12

OTHER

Emigre Interview Component	8
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The contracts involve 88 scholars (not including research assistants) from 54 institutions in 19 states. Women and younger scholars are well-represented. Overall, one-fifth are female, but one-third of the principal investigators on Council contracts who are 35 years old or younger are female. Nearly one-quarter of all researchers or 24% are 35 years old or younger, 37% are 36-45, 26% are 46-55 and 13% are over 55. When the disciplines of these researchers is analyzed, based on the field of the scholar's Ph.D., the data reflect roughly the same percentages as in the discipline data given in Chart I. This information is summarized in Chart II as follows:

## CHART II

## PROFILE OF PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATORS

<u>AGE &amp; SEX</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>Total</u>
35 or younger	14	7	21
36-45	29	4	<del>88</del> 33
46-55	18	5	23
56+	10	1	11
TOTAL	71	17	88

DISCIPLINE (by PH.D. Field)

Economics	34
Political Science	22
Domestic	14
Foreign	8
History	8
Sociology	7
Law	5
Other	12
Total	88

Appendix II to this paper lists all projects funded by the Council up to February 1, 1982.

The Trustees have made no effort to create these distributions. They have judged proposals on merit, avoidance of duplication, responsiveness to Council programs, cost and other such factors. It may be that the resulting distributions are not statistically significant and will change radically over time. They are at least heartening for the breadth of talent in every dimension that they present.

The Council's charter permits other functions:

- (i) It may sponsor or award contracts for meetings, workshops, conferences-consultations, pilot studies, and such other activities as it might judge appropriate to the design, stimulation, or facilitation of relevant research, and the publication of results.
- (ii) It may encourage provisions for research assistants, the acquisition and processing of basic research materials, travel for research purposes, the development of bibliographic and other aids, training for special skills, and such other activities with a training value as it may judge desirable.
- (iii) It may facilitate contact and cooperation among individual scholars, and between them and specialists in government and private enterprise.

Under these provisions the Council has engaged in a variety of activities. It has held and sponsored a number of meetings to formulate research, among them three meetings, in different parts of the United States, on Eastern Europe; a workshop on political decision-making in the USSR; conferences on defense economics and on the second economy; and two workshops on law and science and technology. The Council has helped finance two research newsletters, one on agriculture and the other on the military and society. The Trustees have had many discussions with colleagues about possible research topics and the economists on the Board of Trustees addressed a letter to some hundred of their fellow specialists on issues of scholarly interest in the field of defense economics.

While the Council's role in training is subordinated to research, the effect of its activities in this area is perhaps no less important in maintaining the national capability, and has been substantial. Nearly a hundred post-doctoral scholars whose work has been funded have advanced their own knowledge and research skills. Some have acquired facility in new languages, in computer skills and in other special research capabilities. By itself this is a considerable contribution, enhanced by the fact that several might have left the field were it not for Council

support. Moreover, nearly all of them assign papers, give lectures, or even build courses based on their research. The academic assimilation of recent Soviet emigre scholars has also been aided. The Council encourages the employment of graduate students as research assistants, and to date its contracts have provided for forty graduate assistants for periods from a few months to two years. These contracts have, no doubt, also provided research experience, as well as financial support, for a large number of others employed in capacities not subject to line-item accountability to the Council. Another effect that contributes to the availability of future cadres is the "attraction phenomenon," that is, students who are attracted and held to the field simply by the knowledge that active and interesting research funded by the Council is underway. Books, articles and media coverage have resulted; school teachers, journalists, and others from government and business have been trained, and so on and on. Advanced research stands at the pinnacle of the production and dissemination of knowledge that ultimately encompasses the public at large, at home and abroad.

In the interests of concentrating limited funds on the primary function of research support, the Trustees have established the policy of funding, for the present, translation and bibliography only when it is a necessary and subordinate part of research. Until recently, there was also no formal program to increase contact between scholars and specialists in Government and private enterprise, although many such specialists have participated in conferences and working meetings supported by or resulting from Council sponsored research. Recently the Council has initiated a series of seminars at the Department of State and the Kennan Institute at which scholars and Government specialists discuss their research interests, designs, problems and results.

The Council does not provide funds for classified projects, nor does it accept or impose stipulations that would preclude open publication of research results. On the contrary, it encourages publication and has included funds in some of its contracts for the preparation of material for publication. Thus far, Council supported research has resulted in the publication of three books with eight others accepted by publishers, seven articles with four others accepted, and numerous occasional papers. That is probably an under-count, as it is difficult to maintain a record of this aspect of the Council's effect on the field.

In addition to not undertaking research on its own, there are functions which are explicitly prohibited to the Council. It may not undertake any representational or organizational functions with respect to the field of Soviet and East European studies. These are functions performed by the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies and other professional organizations. The Council is contractually prohibited from encroaching

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FUNDS AND FINANCES

Initial funding for the Council was provided by the Department of Defense, which was joined almost immediately by the Department of State and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. For a variety of reasons, efforts to obtain contributions from the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Energy and the ICA have not been successful thus far. However, a contribution by the Director of Central Intelligence was offered and accepted in 1981, and the Council hopes it will be continued in the future. Because of a history of sensitivity in the academic community concerning acceptance of intelligence funds, the Trustees consulted with university presidents, chancellors, provosts and other senior university officers. The Trustees' decision thereafter to accept the funding was unanimous. A public announcement to that effect was sent to the Council's mailing list of some 800 scholars and institutions, and individual letters were sent to all principal investigators and institutions with active contracts, and with proposals before the Council for review. The Council is aware of only one scholar who, as a consequence, preferred not to have an association with it.

The original intention was that the Council's work should be designed and conducted at the level of about \$1 million per year, which would cover its funding of research projects and its administrative expenses. It received authority to contract for research almost four years ago, and has committed \$3,000,000 to 69 research contracts. The contracts are listed in Appendix II to this paper. That this is below expectations is accounted for mainly by the fact that the Council was caught up in 1981 in the review by the new Administration of all funding programs. Happily, the decision was ultimately favorable to continue funding for the Council but there was a delay of almost twelve months in the Council's ability to contract. The Council has not yet received any 1982 funding, and probably will not until close to mid-year, delaying contracts again well past the time when most academic commitments for the next year must be made. The total amount made available in 1981 was also reduced to something over half a million, and there is little prospect that the level of funding will be restored to \$1 million in 1982.

The resulting hiatus in the Council's work has been painful. Research proposals submitted for the November 1, 1980, deadline, and approved in January 1981 were still awaiting contracts almost a year later. Proposals submitted for the May 1, 1981, deadline were not reviewed until January 1982, and the Council did not have 1982 funds in hand, or even know with any assurance what its 1982 funding

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level would be at the time of the review. In addition, this hiatus affected several ongoing contracts which experienced delays in receipt of their second year funding. Finally, it now seems probable that 1982 funding will not be sufficient for all the research projects approved in January; nor will there be funds left from this year's reduced allocation to apply to the next competition, or to stimulate the design and submission of proposals for research. Indeed, it is foolhardy to stimulate proposals when the chances of approval and funding are now less than one in seven.

In part as a consequence of this experience, the Council decided to abandon May competitions and revert to a single competition each year, with a November 1 deadline. But even that will not eliminate delays. The fact is that it is not possible to reconcile the academic schedule which demands forward teaching commitments almost a year ahead, with the Federal schedule of appropriations, allocations, contract amendments, and fiscal year deadlines. It is almost, but not quite, a Catch-22 situation. If the process were so arranged that no one would be inconvenienced, and nothing were done on faith, it would take about four years between the time when the Council announced its research program and solicited proposals in response, to the time when any research results might be reported to the Government. At that rate the Council would not last long.

For all the annoyance and delays, the accomplishment in four years is not insignificant, and is made brighter by the project described next.

#### THE SOVIET EMIGRE PROJECT

In the third great wave of emigration from the Soviet Union, there are now over 100,000 former Soviet citizens recently arrived in the United States. Ever since this exodus began in the early 1970s it has been the ambition of American scholars to conduct a large scale systematic survey of these newcomers to find out what they could tell us of the USSR. Recently that became a possibility. At the request of the Government, the Council undertook to sponsor the design of such a survey, and signed two contracts with the University of Illinois to that end (one for \$254,260, the other for \$46,500), with funds provided over and above those for the Council's regular research program. The design is for a project that consists of a general survey of a systematically selected sample of approximately 3,000 individuals, complemented by intensive interviewing of some 1,500 more for specialized topics. The project is intended to fill gaps in our knowledge of the structure and functioning of Soviet society and, to the extent possible, to measure change since the similar Harvard project of the early 1950's. It is estimated that the

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project, directed by a large research team with the aid of a professional survey organization, will take about five years; the first three to be spent primarily on data collection and the last two on analysis and publication of results. The design was completed and the project got underway in the autumn of 1981 under a separate contract between the Council and the Department of State. The Council will administer and monitor the work which will be conducted by the University of Illinois, the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Chicago, and a number of other universities.

The benefits to the field should be considerable. The cost is estimated at something over \$1 million per year. A substantial number of established scholars will be involved, and a much larger number of graduate students and junior scholars are expected to take part. The data compiled, systematized, and made machine readable, will be available to all scholars in the future and should provide material for much more research than even the project itself contemplates. Those who remember the Harvard survey of almost thirty years ago will recall it as the formative professional experience of many of their contemporaries, and the source of creative scholarship for years thereafter. It is to be hoped that this project will achieve similar results.

AN ASSESSMENT

There are more levels of evaluation possible than there are varieties of activity encompassed by the experiment called the National Council. Only a few will be mentioned.

That public funds and government undertakings are bound by constraints is not news, nor was it unexpected that they would be tight enough to cause occasional pain. What is surprising is actually the opposite, that government procedures proved to be flexible enough to permit the new type of organizational structure which the Council represents not only to be created but to function for as long as it has. This success would not have been possible without a substantial amount of good will on both sides. While impatience, irritation, and anger are common -- even fashionable -- in dealings between the government and private sectors, continued success depends heavily on a continuation of this good will.

It is equally manifest, as any of America's allies or enemies will testify, that the United States Government is neither as reliable nor as predictable as one might wish. It is arguable whether the academic community is any more so.

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But at the end of four years of not insignificant accomplishment, the enterprise survives, although with some disappointments. The price at one end has been occasional disappointment with the quality and usefulness of research reports, at the other less than full credibility for the program as witness to societal appreciation, and at the center a bad case of nerves.

On the positive side, there has not been great pressure from the Government to dictate either the subject matter or the conduct of research. On the contrary, academic freedom has been scrupulously respected, and the Council's function in supporting and enhancing the national capability for advanced research in this field has received far more generous recognition and appreciation than any scholar anticipated. Contrary to early academic apprehensions, the level of funding and the conduct of the program have not warped or distorted national scholarly inquiry. The initial assumption of a very broad field of common interest between Government and university scholarship has been borne out. Lest there be any complacency, however, it is not a stable balance, and at any time pressure from one side or the other could call into play the Council's potential for damping oscillations.

With a minimum of agony, 97 scholarly institutions have thus far accepted the principle of sharing with the Council the costs of the research they have proposed. The actual value of the research performed is thereby one third more than its cost to the Government. That is one successful indicator of frugality. Another, but not susceptible to measurement, is the prudence with which scholars construct their budgets for examination by the eagle eyes of their colleagues the Trustees. The Government could not legally do as well.

The President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies examined the Council and recommended it as a model for Federal funding of advanced research in international affairs. The General Accounting Office did the same, but initially on a smaller scale, in a report to Congress.

Needless to say, the decisions of the Trustees have been Minervan in their wisdom.

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SCHEDULE

ARTICLE I - SCOPE OF WORK

ITEM I - Work Statement

Under this Contract, the Contractor, as an independent Contractor, and not as an agent, servant, or employee of the Government, utilizing special knowledge and techniques possessed by and available to the Contractor, shall furnish all labor, equipment, facilities, services, and materials, to undertake to develop and sustain a long-term, substantial program of fundamental research dealing with major policy issues and questions bearing on Soviet and East European social, political, economic and historical development; and thereby to encourage the training of a steady stream of professional personnel capable of sustaining such a research program.

A. The Contractor shall determine general topics, or groups of topics, for research relevant to the purposes of this Agreement; shall prepare and make public brief but specific descriptions of the topics; and shall solicit research proposals on such topics. The Contractor shall then consider each proposal it receives and award contracts for such research projects as it determines will best accomplish the purposes of this Agreement. The Contractor will not itself undertake to conduct research nor will it publish the results of research in its own name. The Contractor agrees that research contracts funded by the Contractor will acknowledge the Contractor's sponsorship.

B. For purposes of the first solicitation as described in A above, the Contractor agrees to devote the Government funds which it receives hereunder principally to sponsor research in the following major subject areas:

(1) the operation of, and long-term prospects for, the Soviet and East European economies, including the burden of defense, including but not limited to:

(a) description and analysis of resource allocation and major structural interactions of the Soviet and East European economies;

(b) analysis of the extent of the defense effort and its interaction with the economy and society over time;

(c) specific strengths and weaknesses of the economic systems;

(d) constraints arising from demographic, technological or institutional factors, or from the supply of energy and resources;

(e) how strengths and weaknesses shape Soviet and East European development and policies, with identification of critical choices;

- (f) Soviet and East European perceptions of these matters.
- (2) Long-term developments in Soviet and East European foreign policies, especially as they affect the United States, including but not limited to:
- (a) Soviet perceptions of, and objectives in, the USSR's long-term relations with the United States;
  - (b) Soviet views of the role of military, economic, and other foreign policy instrumentalities in Soviet relations with the U. S.;
  - (c) prospects for relations among East Europe, the Soviet Union, and the U. S. and Soviet responses to evolving Sino-Soviet and Sino-American relations;
  - (d) Soviet views on the regional and global roles of the USSR and how these might change in the future.
- (3) Long-term trends in Soviet and East European societies, including but not limited to:
- (a) bureaucratic behavior and group interest articulation;
  - (b) nationality issues;
  - (c) implications of changing population patterns;
  - (d) the evolving domestic role of the military in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe;
  - (e) repercussions of cultural, religious, and social diversity;
  - (f) changing patterns of regime-society relations.
- (4) Soviet and East European intentions, objectives, and policy options, including but not limited to:
- (a) the range of options, actual and potential, open to Soviet and East European leaders in responding to domestic and international problems of the kinds subsumed under (1), (2) and (3) above.
  - (b) factors or actions, both foreign and domestic, that might influence any of these.

C. In furtherance of the purposes stated in Section 1, above, the Contractor may undertake the following additional activities:

- (1) it may sponsor or award contracts for meetings, workshops, conferences, consultations, pilot studies, and such other activities as it believes appropriate to the design, stimulation, or facilitation of

relevant research, and the publication of results;

(2) it may encourage provisions for research assistants, the acquisition and processing of basic research materials, travel for research purposes, the development of bibliographic and other aids, training for special skills, and such other activities with research/training value as it deems desirable;

(3) it may facilitate contact and cooperation among individual scholars, and between them and specialists in government and private enterprise.

#### D. Executive and Administrative Support

The Contractor may, but is not required to, contract with any accredited United States university or other non-profit, tax-exempt institution, or with commercial organizations, for administrative and executive support services in connection with the performance of this Agreement.

#### ITEM II - Contract Term

The term of this Contract shall extend from the effective date, 78 SEP 01 through 80 SEP 30.

#### ITEM III - Technical Data

In connection with the Clause of this Contract entitled RIGHTS IN TECHNICAL DATA AND COMPUTER SOFTWARE, the technical data to be provided are set forth on Contract Data Requirements List, DD Form 1423, ATTACHMENT 1 to this Contract.

#### ITEM IV - Reports and Briefings

1. Research contracts or proposals that are funded by the Contractor pursuant hereto will be public documents. All written reports resulting from research funded by the Contractor under this Agreement will be delivered to the Government. The individual researchers will retain the right to apply for and obtain copyright on work products derived from research funded by the Contractor under this Agreement. The Government will have the right to publish or release the reports of research in the form in which such reports are delivered to it by Contractor; but it will not have the right to authorize others to publish such reports, without the consent of the authors of such reports.

2. The Contractor will meet with the Government (COR) upon its request to discuss matters relevant to this Agreement at a mutually convenient time and place

#### ITEM V - Acts Prohibited to Contractor

##### (A) No Classified Projects

The Contractor will not provide funds for classified projects, nor will it accept or impose stipulations that would preclude open publication of research results.

(B) No Research Funds to Trustees or Employees

The members of the Contractor's Board of Trustees, during their tenure as such, and the employees of the Contractor, during the term of such employment, may not receive research contracts or compensation through research contracts awarded by the Contractor. However, at the discretion of the Contractor, the members of the Contractor's Board of Trustees and the Contractor's employees may participate in research, meetings, seminars and other similar functions which are supported by the Contractor's funds, and may receive the same compensation as other participants, but any such compensation shall be paid directly by the Contractor. This provision shall not bar the Contractor from paying compensation and reimbursement of expenses to the members of its Board of Trustees, or to its employees, for attendance at regular or special meetings of the Board and for other assistance in the work of the Contractor.

(C) No Representative Functions Not Specified in Contractor's Articles of Incorporation

The Contractor will not undertake any representational or organizational functions with respect to the field of Soviet and East European Studies not specifically designated in its Articles of Incorporation. The Contractor may, however, develop such position papers, criteria documents and other policy documents as may be required for the proper conduct of its specified purposes and functions.

(D) Attraction and Administration of Federal Funds

The Contractor may seek funds from a variety of Federal agencies for the purposes described in this Agreement. In any such effort, the Contractor will endeavor to locate and obtain funds that might not otherwise be available for academic and scholarly institutions in the field of Soviet and East European Studies. The Government agrees that the Contracting Officer designated hereunder will act as administering agent for other Federal agencies which may wish to award funds to the Contractor, under such terms and conditions as may be mutually agreeable to the Government, the Contractor and such other Federal agencies. The Contractor's relationship with the Government under this Agreement, and with any other Federal source of funds, will be public.

ITEM VI - Contractor Research Personnel

The Contractor agrees to utilize, in the performance of the research work under this Contract, such supervisory personnel as are highly qualified in the research fields involved; whose professional standards are of the highest; and whose opinions in such research fields are entitled to the respect and confidence of recognized experts in the field.

## THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN RESEARCH

### RESEARCH CONTRACT AWARDS BY THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN RESEARCH

Since its formation in February 1978, the National Council has concluded 68 research contracts allocating a total of \$3,054,140 to research projects on the USSR and Eastern Europe. The investigators, their institutional affiliation, the project titles, the contracting institutions, and the allotted amounts in that order are listed below.

Robert Axelrod, University of Michigan; "Politics and Deception in the Soviet Press"; University of Michigan, \$19,558.

Alexandre Bennigsen, University of Chicago; Rasma Karklins, University of Chicago; "Ethnic Relations in the USSR"; University of Chicago, \$44,095.

Abram Bergson, Harvard University; "The Soviet Economy to the Year 2000"; Harvard University, \$24,600.

Joseph Berliner, Brandeis University; Barney Schwalberg, Brandeis University; Christopher Davis, University of Birmingham, United Kingdom; "The Economics of Soviet Social Institutions"; Harvard University, \$163,263.

Seweryn Bialer, Columbia University; "The Politics of Change in the Soviet Union"; Columbia University, \$20,832.

Yaroslav Bilinsky, University of Delaware; Tonu Parming, University of Maryland; "The Helsinki Watch Committees in the Soviet Republics"; University of Delaware, \$33,660.

Cole Blasier, University of Pittsburgh; "Soviet Relations with Latin America"; University of Pittsburgh, \$51,108.

Daniel Bond, SRI International-WEFA; "Study of Soviet Research on Multi-regional Modeling"; International Research and Exchanges Board, \$18,720.

Morris Bornstein, University of Michigan; "Pricing of Research and Development Services in the USSR"; University of Michigan, \$47,309.

George Breslauer, University of California, Berkeley; "Policy Orientation of 1st Party Secretaries in the RSFSR," University of California, Berkeley, \$35,000.

Paul Cocks, Stanford University; "The Role of the Party in Soviet Science and Technology Policy"; Stanford University, \$22,740.

Stephen F. Cohen, Princeton University; "The Social Dimensions of De-Stalinization"; Princeton University, \$20,000.

Stanley Cohn, SUNY-Binghamton; "Soviet Investment Policy Imperatives," SUNY-Binghamton, \$30,000.

Vera Dunham, City University of New York-Queens College; "The Worker and the Soviet System"; Columbia University, \$27,216.

Murray Feshbach, The Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies; "A Study of the Multi-Dimensional Impact of Current Demographic Trends on Soviet Society"; Georgetown University, \$38,388.

Mary Ellen Fischer, Skidmore College; "The Romanian Political Leadership"; Harvard University, \$38,388.

Raymond Garthoff, The Brookings Institution; "American-Soviet Relations in the 1970's"; The Brookings Institution, \$52,504.

Zvi Gitelman, University of Michigan; "Bureaucratic Encounters in the USSR"; University of Michigan, \$74,920.

Seymour Goodman, University of Arizona; "Integration of the COMECON Computer Industries"; University of Virginia, \$34,340, University of Arizona, \$6,622.

Kenneth Gray, North Texas State University; "Livestock Cycles in the Soviet Union with US Comparisons"; North Texas State University, \$22,477.

Kenneth Gray, North Texas State University; "Research Newsletter on Russian, Soviet and East European Agriculture," North Texas State University, \$4,875.

Paul Gregory, James Griffin, University of Houston; "The Analytical and Econometric Estimation of 'Correct' Measures of Relative Soviet Defense Effort"; Transecon, Incorporated, \$52,423.

Jan Gross, Yale University; "Russian Rule in Poland, 1939-1941"; Yale University, \$53,374.

Gregory Grossman, University of California, Berkeley; "A Workshop and a Conference on the Second Economy of the USSR"; University of California, Berkeley, \$74,928.

Edward Hewett, University of Texas at Austin; "A Theoretical Approach to CPE Macro Models and An Experimental Application for Hungary"; University of Texas at Austin; \$45,873.

Franklyn Holzman, Tufts University; "US-Soviet Economic Relations"; Tufts University, \$30,000.

Franklyn Holzman, Tufts University; "A Comparison of US and Soviet Defense Expenditures"; Tufts University, \$10,000.

Holland Hunter, Haverford College; "Testing Soviet Economic Policies, 1928-1941"; Haverford College, \$32,400.

Christopher Jones, Marquette University; "Perfecting Mechanisms of the Warsaw Pact"; Harvard University, \$41,432.

Arcadius Kahan, University of Chicago; D. Gale Johnson, University of Chicago; "East European Agriculture;" University of Chicago, \$82,477.

Aron Katsenelinboigen, University of Pennsylvania; "Toward the Concept of Measuring Economic Potential: The Soviet-American Case"; University of Pennsylvania, \$63,000.

Mark Kuchment, Harvard University; Stephen Sternheimer, Boston University; "An Assessment of Soviet R & D Capabilities," Harvard University, \$120,120.

Fyodor Kushnirsky, Temple University; "The Regional Economy of the Soviet Union: A Modeling Study"; Wharton Econometric Forecasting Associates, Inc., \$103,138.

Gail Lapidus, University of California, Berkeley: "Workshop on Contemporary Soviet Policy-Making"; University of California, Berkeley, \$21,350.

Richard Laurino, Center for Planning and Research, Incorporated; "A Study of Red Army History"; Center for Planning and Research, Incorporated, \$15,000.

Wassily Leontief, New York University; "The Position of the Soviet Union in the World Economy"; New York University, \$50,000.

Ronald Linden, University of Pittsburgh; "The Impact of International Change on Romania and Yugoslavia," University of Pittsburgh, \$50,000.

Bernice Madison, San Francisco State University; "The Soviet Welfare System"; San Francisco State University, \$53,055.

Peter Maggs, University of Illinois, Donald Barry, Lehigh University; Gordon Smith, University of South Carolina; "Soviet and East European Law and the 'Scientific-Technical Revolution'"; University of Illinois, Urbana, \$64,376.

Shane Mahoney, Eastern Washington State University; "Role of the Soviet General Staff in Military Management"; Eastern Washington State University, \$29,994.

Michael Marrese, Northwestern University; Jan Vanous, University of British Columbia; "Costs and Benefits of Soviet Trade with Eastern Europe"; Northwestern University, \$56,645.

Bruce Menning, Miami University (OH) "Military and Society in Russian and Eastern Europe: A Research Newsletter"; Miami University, \$10,246.

James Millar, University of Illinois, Urbana; "Contemporary Soviet Society: A Study Based on the Third Soviet Emigration" (Design); University of Illinois, Urbana, \$254,260.

James Millar, University of Illinois, Urbana; "Contemporary Soviet Society: A Study Based on the Third Soviet Emigration" (Design); University of Illinois, Urbana, \$46,500.

Martin Miller, Duke University; "Mental Illness in the Soviet Union," Duke University, \$39,504.

Adel Nikolskaya, Illinois State University; Maria Neimark; Natalie Sadomskaya; "Soviet Family of Two Post-War Generations"; Illinois State University, \$92,349.

Martha Olcott, Colgate University; "The Development of Nationalism in Kazakhstan"; Colgate University, \$35,000.

Jeffrey Osleeb, Boston University; Craig ZumBrunnen, University of Washington; "Energy Consumption and Analysis of Optimal Interregional and International Flows in the Soviet Iron and Steel Industry"; Boston University, \$34,162.

Walter Pintner, Cornell University; "Russian Army and Russian Society, 1700-1917"; Cornell University, \$16,799.

Alex Pravda, University of Michigan; "Industrial Workers and Political Development in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe"; University of Michigan, \$39,360.

Gilbert Rozman, Princeton University; "Soviet Perceptions of Contemporary China"; Princeton University, \$18,030.

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Boris Rumer, Harvard University; "The Dynamics of the Capital Coefficient of USSR Industrial Output"; Harvard University, \$70,974.

Boris Rumer, Harvard University; "The Investment Process in Siberian Industry," Harvard University, \$27,322.

Stephen Sacks, University of Connecticut; "Large Corporations Under Yugoslav Socialism"; University of Connecticut, \$20,000.

David Segal, University of Maryland; Janet Schwartz, George Mason University; "Military Service and Civilian Employment in the Soviet Union"; University of Maryland, \$48,000.

Louise Shelley, American University; "The Role of Law in Soviet Society"; American University, \$48,996.

Brian Silver, Michigan State University; Barbara Anderson, Brown University; "Language and Ethnic Identity in the USSR," Michigan State University, \$9,546, Brown University, \$10,429

Dimitri Simes, Johns Hopkins University; "Soviet Military and Society"; Johns Hopkins University, \$95,526.

Robert Stuart, Rutgers University; Paul Gregory, University of Houston; "Fertility and Labor Supply: The USSR and Eastern Europe"; Transecon, Incorporated, \$44,076.

Robert Taaffe, Indiana University; "The Effects of Contemporary Soviet Approaches to Regional Planning, Locational Analysis and the Resolution of Regional Conflict on the Development of Siberia and the Soviet Far East"; Indiana University, \$33,541.

Judith Thornton, University of Washington; "Soviet Response to Changing Fuel Costs and Availabilities: The Case of Electric Power"; University of Washington, \$28,281.

Robert Tucker, Princeton University; "Stalin: A Case Study in History and Personality"; Princeton University, \$20,000.

Tibor Vais, Harvard University; "Studies in East European Labor Economics," Harvard University, \$30,798.

Elizabeth Valkenier, Columbia University, "Soviet-Third World Relations: The Economic Bind"; Columbia University, \$13,001.

Elizabeth Valkenier, Columbia University, "Soviet-LDC Relations in an Interdependent World Economy"; Columbia University, \$26,361.

Nils Wessell, Lafayette College; "Ground Rules for Soviet and American Involvement in Regional Conflicts"; Foreign Policy Research Institute, Incorporated, \$13,740.

Sharon Wolchik, George Washington University; Jane Curry, Columbia University and Manhattanville College; "Specialists in the Policy Process in Poland and Czechoslovakia"; George Washington University, \$39,430.

Alexander Yanov, University of California, Berkeley; "The Debate on De-Stalinization in the USSR, 1961-1972"; University of California, Berkeley, \$21,000.

Murray Yanowitch, Hofstra University; "Work Attitudes and Work Organization in the Soviet Union"; Hofstra University, \$17,499.



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Under a separate contract with the Department of State, the Council has concluded another research contract, involving a number of scholars and universities, to conduct a large scale survey of recent emigres from the USSR. The principal scholars and universities involved are as follows:

James Millar, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; Donna Bahry, New York University; John Garrard, University of Virginia; Paul Gregory, University of Houston; Rasma Karklins, University of Illinois, Chicago Circle; Norman Nie, University of Chicago-National Opinion Research Center; Brian Silver, Michigan State University; Michael Swafford, Vanderbilt University; Aaron Vinokur, University of Haifa; and William Zimmerman, University of Michigan: "Contemporary Soviet Society: A Study Based on the Third Soviet Emigration"; University of Illinois, Urbana, \$992,000.

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