

# RELIGION & DEMOCRACY

The Institute  
on Religion &  
Democracy

October 1991

**Inside:** The fall issue of *The Religion and Economics Quarterly*, a product of IRD's Economic Studies Program. Featured are a discussion of U.S. trade negotiations with Mexico and an interview with Andrew Steer of the World Bank on environmental concerns.

**Religious Liberty Alert:** Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi's crackdown on dissent puts pressure on church leaders working for a more open, democratic government -- page 2.



Croatian National Guardsmen fold the Croatian flag that had covered the coffin of their fallen comrade last August. REUTER Photo.

## A House Divided...

### *The church in the midst of Yugoslavia's civil war*

By M. Kelly Davis and Dana Preusch  
Mapmakers, who often have redrawn the boundaries of Central European empires and nation-states, may be busy in the years ahead. Since the revolutions of 1989, people all over ex-communist Europe are deciding -- in mainly peaceful ways -- how they will relate to each other politically. In the old communist Czechoslovakia, for example, Czech and Slovak republics have thus far remained within a federation. Yet in Yugoslavia, which has experienced the

movement toward free markets and democracy only in part, the result has been civil war.

Violence and anarchy have characterized daily events in secessionist-minded Croatia, one of Yugoslavia's six republics. The federal army, which is controlled by the Serbian-dominated government and allegedly cooperates with ethnic Serbians in Croatia, has been battling the breakaway movement. Earlier in the summer, the Yugoslav government did not forcefully resist the northern republic of Slovenia's initiative to declare independence. But Croatia's similar declaration was a different story. The government intended to keep at least part of Croatia within the federation.

The threat of civil war is nothing new for Yugoslavia. The nation has struggled for many decades to reconcile divisions between competing religious traditions (Roman Catholic, Orthodox, Muslim), economic systems (capitalism, socialism, communism) and cultural mores. Unfortunately, deep chasms still remain. Yugoslavia's future hinges on the healing of old wounds. Yet one institution that has the potential to bridge the deepening divides, the Church, remains entangled in the dissension and strife. It is imperative that the Church in Yugoslavia begin to engage in the process of reconciliation.

A brief review of Yugoslavia's history explains the acrimony between the various nationalities. At the conclusion of World War I, the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman empires allowed Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes to form the Kingdom of Southern Slavs, which eventually became Yugoslavia in 1929.

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# Swimming against the Tide in Kenya

*Churches seek reform, court danger*

By Lonni K. Jackson

While democratic movements have been sweeping through much of Africa, forcing reform and greater political freedom where autocratic leaders have ruled for decades, President Daniel arap Moi of Kenya is one leader who is reversing this trend. Until recently, Kenya was seen widely as one of the most tolerant and peaceful countries on a continent plagued by kleptocracies, corruption, and ethnic wars. Indeed, Kenya was viewed as an emerging democracy with a bright future, and a stable economic base.

Many church leaders no longer imagine such a bright future. As more and more Kenyans -- 80 percent of whom profess Christianity -- voice their disapproval of the government, they are being met with intolerance. The church, as an institution, is vulnerable to repression by the Moi regime.

Like most African countries, Kenya is ruled by a one-party government with no term limitations on its president. Party loyalty is the key to political (and often economic) success. Unlike most African countries, however, this has not always been the case. Kenya has a history of constitutional succession of power, and a healthy regard for an independent judiciary. This began to change soon after President Moi came to power in 1978. In 1982 Moi banned all political parties in Kenya except his own KANU party, and in 1988, he abolished the independent judiciary, preferring instead personally to appoint justices to the court himself. Political dissent is not tolerated, and protesters have been dealt with severely.

This refusal to allow dissent, and a bad record of human rights abuses, has increasingly brought the government into confrontation with the indigenous churches. In fact, church leaders have participated widely in human rights and political action groups to press the government to restore former constitutional freedoms and political pluralism.

The government has periodically accused church leaders of behaving like an opposition party, an accusation implicating church leaders in illegal

activities. Last year, Moi denounced the Anglican Church allegedly for plotting to destabilize his government. Moi also advised church leaders to stay out of politics and concentrate on preaching the word of God; he said he would get tough with leaders uttering subversive statements.

Kenyan Anglican Archbishop Manasses Kuria challenged Moi to identify Anglicans said to be plotting to destabilize the government, and described the Anglican Church in Kenya as a church under siege. Kuria then called for a national convention to debate the ideas of one-party and multi-party political systems. This call was supported by Roman Catholic Bishop Peter Kairo. Soon after, a senior government official said that Kuria had insulted Moi, and urged the

**Until recently, Kenya was seen as one of the most tolerant, peaceful countries on the continent.**

government to investigate the activities of several Anglican bishops. He also called for the resignation of Kuria. Another senior official charged that Kuria used ungodly means to become archbishop, and that this was not the first time the archbishop had tried to undermine the president. Finally, he called Kuria a Lucifer who would not enter heaven.

Strong statements by government officials close to Moi may sound like hyperbole, but events have suggested that these are not idle threats. In March of last year, a Presbyterian minister was arrested on the grounds that he had written "seditious" entries in a desk diary. He was subsequently sentenced to six years in jail. The minister later claimed that he was coerced into signing a confession in which he implicated the Anglican and Presbyterian Churches, as well as the National Council of Churches in Kenya, (NCCCK) in seditious activities.

Then, in August of the same year, Bishop Alexander Muge, an outspoken critic of the government, was killed in a suspicious auto accident, two days after receiving a death threat from a cabinet minister.

The churches have not been united in their call for increased political freedom. Last month, the Pentecostal Assemblies of God (PAG) church withdrew its membership from the NCCCK charging that the NCCCK has become an unofficial opposition party. Even those committed to political reform disagree about the shape

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# religion & economics

## Quarterly

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on economic  
development that  
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democratic  
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Fall 1991

## Debate Sparks over Mexico Free-Trade Negotiations

*Church lobby, unions press multiple concerns*

By Dana Preusch

Since his election in 1988, Mexico's President Carlos Salinas de Gortari has embarked on a major restructuring campaign in his country. His economic liberalizations have forced many state-owned businesses to give way to privately owned enterprises, duties and tariffs on foreign imports have been significantly reduced, and he has been quite successful in breaking up corrupt unions which have aggravated the economic stagnation in the country. Salinas has also attempted to reform the political situation, albeit with much less fervor. He has tried to dispel widespread cynicism about his ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party which has long been accused of election rigging -- including the presidential elections which brought him to power and recent national and local elections. As a result, Salinas has established, among other reforms, an independent Federal Electoral Institute to oversee elections. His efforts in both economic and political areas over the last several years have culminated in recent discussions with U.S. policymakers over the merits of a regional Free Trade Agreement (FTA).

Like its predecessor in Canada, the Mexican Free Trade Agreement has become a hotly debated issue. This is the case within the U.S., at least. The Mexican people have so far voiced little opposition to the proposal, although it must be noted that they most certainly are less informed about the trade pact and its implications than their

northern counterparts. In the United States, church leaders and religious groups have lined up with labor unions and environmental lobbies to oppose the agreement if and when it is reached. Interfaith Impact, representing 38 Protestant, Jewish and Roman Catholic organizations, has led the religious opposition. This has included testifying before Congress against "fast track" approval as well as against the FTA itself. The issue is high on the agenda of denominational bodies, particularly the United Methodist Women.

High on this coalition's list of concerns is fear of widespread unemployment due to the flight of American companies to cheaper labor markets in Mexico. The coalition also has been vocal about possible environmental degradation because of lax policies and enforcement mechanisms in Mexico. Finally, human rights have been a prominent issue: FTA opponents fear Mexican workers will be exploited by U.S. industries seeking lower wage markets and less stringent environmental safety conditions.

A good deal of the debate over the FTA has focused on the issue of "fast track" approval. Congress passed "fast track" legislation in May which authorized the President to negotiate the trade pact and then submit the entire package for an up or down vote. Critics argued that this approach would not allow for debate on issues of vital importance to Mexico's marginalized population (i.e. environmental hazards,

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 Interview

## Shaping the Effects of Development

*Recently, the staff of the Economic Studies Program at the Institute on Religion and Democracy interviewed Dr. Andrew Steer, a Senior Economic Advisor at The World Bank and a Presbyterian layman. Steer currently is serving as the Staff Director of the bank's 1992 World Development Report. The report will focus on the links between economic development and the environment. The following is an excerpt of an edited transcript of the discussion.*

**TREQ:** What kinds of crises do the condition of the environment and our development habits pose for the field of economics? Do both more and less developed countries have any ready ways to integrate "externalities" into their economic models?

**STEER:** The environmental issue poses two interesting challenges for economists -- how to deal with externalities (things that people do which adversely affect other people's welfare), and how to deal with future generations -- the discount rate issue. With regard to externalities, the theory is very straightforward. For example, if I'm polluting the river and you have to drink from the river, my action is obviously making a negative "externality" for you. In theory this can be solved by bringing the environmental good (in this case, the water) into the marketplace; i.e., by assigning you a

property right to the water.

In practice, when we can't assign property rights to water, air, and the like, we have to try to compensate for the absence of a market, by putting on effluent charges, regulations, and the like. The theory is easier than doing it right in practice. And choosing between charges and regulations is more difficult than most textbooks suggest. Most economists have advocated economic instruments (charges, fees, transferrable permits, etc.) and yet few governments have used such instruments, preferring instead the "command and control" approach (bans, regulations, etc.). In some situations this regulatory approach might be preferable to the market incentive approach -- such as when pollutants are highly toxic and we don't want to give the industry the choice of paying money or stopping the pollution. But generally there is a trend toward more market-based instruments and away from regulations.

With regard to the second challenge to economists -- how to value the interests of future generations -- the theory is again relatively easy. Economists have used "discount rates" to do this kind of cost-benefit analysis for years. In practice, though, it still is difficult to factor in even the environmental concerns of our grandchildren. Some would say this is OK, since our grandchildren will be so much better off than we that this will more than compensate them for any environmental degradation that we bequeath to them. But most of us are uneasy with this. I prefer an approach which says that things such as crucial eco-systems are simply not appropriate for cost-benefit analysis. They should be protected at any price less than life itself. The problem then is who should decide what falls into this category of environmental resources that should be absolutely protected. Clearly the people should decide, which is why democracy is essential to sound

environmental policymaking.

**TREQ:** It has been said that the term "sustainable development" has become a cliché -- used often and imprecisely. Is the meaning of the term coming into any sharper focus?

**STEER:** Different people mean quite different things when they talk of sustainable development. Extreme environmentalists require the preservation of almost all species and natural habitats before they are willing to call development "sustainable." Extreme free marketeers require nothing except that people get sufficiently better off that their increased income compensates for any loss of the natural environment.

What is useful, I believe, is to ask the question: "If you saw 'sustainable development,' what would it look like?" I would suggest that there are some rudimentary features that most people would agree with. It would need to include substantial reductions in poverty, large improvements in human development indicators (literacy, health, nutritional status, and the like). It would require large improvements in the quality of water supply and sanitation, and the stabilization of industrial pollution at levels that are not unhealthy. It would require reduced emissions of greenhouse gases, and protection of biodiversity and key natural habitats. Achieving this kind of sustainable development will require large increases of incomes and output, especially in low-income countries. The interesting questions then are about how to achieve this kind of vision for the future.

**TREQ:** Accounting procedures help us assess the working value of things. How could economic theory be put into practice in order to account for the depletion of natural resources?

**STEER:** A number of people have suggested adjusting our national accounts procedures so as to take into

account depreciation of our national capital. Thus, if our farming practices are such that soil is eroded so that future yields will decline, this "running down" of the natural stock of wealth should be captured in our national accounts. Some calculations have already been done. Indonesia, for example, has had a real annual growth rate of GDP (Gross Domestic Product) of about 7.5 percent over 20 years. After these adjustments are made, the rate falls to about 5.5 percent.

The world statistical community has decided not to change the entire system but rather to encourage each country to prepare a separate set of side, or "satellite," accounts that measure the loss of natural capital (soil erosion, forest loss, mineral extraction, etc.) that could be used to adjust the conventional national accounts.

This issue raises a broader one about the availability of environmental information. Since almost all environmental damage hurts people other than those doing the damage, it is especially important that information be available to those who might be affected. Environmental concerns always have been people-led; governments have responded, not led. Democracy -- the provision of voice -- is meaningless if no information is available. Making it available is an important part of the process of "empowerment."

**TREQ:** What political battles over the environment are shaping up around the globe? How will the costs of sustainable development be paid? Are there sufficient forums or institutions to handle these disputes?

**STEER:** It is clear that the developing countries see the environmental issues as a threat and a challenge. The *threat* is that this might add another element of conditionality on foreign aid and trade preferences. Why should the West -- so the argument goes -- impose its own newly-found environmental

religion upon poorer countries who, quite frankly, have more urgent matters on their minds? The *opportunity*, they would argue, is for additional financial flows and trade preferences. First, to compensate the poorer countries for the global environmental damage done by the rich countries. Second, to the extent that developing countries are to be expected to cut their *own* emissions of greenhouse gases (implying that they will not be able to enjoy the same profligate behavior enjoyed by the West over the last several decades) they will want to be compensated for the inconvenience.

The next year or so will be fascinating from a political standpoint. The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development -- the largest UN conference in history -- in Rio de Janeiro in June 1992 may add great momentum to the debate or may add very little. Currently, there are hardly any institutions to deal with environmental problems at the national level, let alone at the international level. There are a few lessons of international cooperation from the past -- the Law of the Sea, various fishing agreements, and the Montreal Protocol on CFCs -- but the potential scale of the greenhouse gas question and the biodiversity issues are larger by far.

**TREQ:** Where do we find the resources ethically to take environmental questions seriously? We believe that within a Christian worldview there is a mandate to be good stewards of the earth. How does that help you do your work at this point?

**STEER:** I'm a Christian, and I believe that we have neglected the injunctions in the Scriptures with regard to the wonder of God's creation. We've taken our dominion function perhaps a little too seriously, and neglected our stewardship function.

I think it's useful to distinguish the value of the environment to mankind

and its value intrinsically. I do believe that the environment has a value above and beyond its value to human beings. Some Christians would not share that view. They would say that creation is here for us; and I would agree that this is primarily the case. But it is surely very hard to justify why there are so many stars out there in outer space that we will never see, if all of creation is purely for us. Those stars must have an integral merit in and of themselves -- for the glory of God. So too, by analogy, the natural order here on earth must have such an intrinsic value. That's not to say that we should protect every single bug; clearly we shouldn't. God has given us brains, and we have to make intelligent judgments on how much to protect. And we shouldn't do this solely based upon economic calculation.

There will sometimes be tradeoffs, and those can be tough. There will be cases where the alleviation of poverty may require giving up more of the natural environment. In such situations, I think the Scriptures would tell us generally to put poverty alleviation first. The creation is not in the image of God -- it is human beings who are in the image of God. Fortunately, such trade-offs are, I believe, relatively rare.

**TREQ:** What's the role of the World Bank in environmental concerns?

**STEER:** As a major financier of projects and advisor of governments, the World Bank can clearly influence things for good or bad. We have made errors in the past, focusing perhaps too much on efficiency and economic growth with inadequate attention to unintended environmental impacts. We now take environmental issues very seriously, and have tried to be responsive to environmental experts and other outside groups. Of course, any project involving changing land use or any hydro-electric scheme that requires  
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unemployment). In sum, FTA opponents believed the document too important and too complicated a piece of legislation for an unamendable yes or no vote by Congress. The question of whether "fast track" approval would undermine congressional authority was an issue for these groups who have traditionally advocated strong congressional oversight. A particular concern for religious activists was the prospect of more corporate autonomy on the open global market. In their minds, freer trade regionally or globally translates into less regulation of multinational corporations.

An evaluation of their arguments reveals that, although the concerns of FTA opponents are legitimate, available economic data does not support some of their conclusions about the probable impact of a trade agreement. Unemployment, for example, may occur in some industries, but the United States has been losing jobs to cheaper labor market for years -- Mexico included. *Maquiladoras*, for instance, Mexican industries that import American-made components for manufacture and re-exportation to the United States, have sprung up all along the U.S.-Mexico border over the last decade. At worst, a trade agreement with Mexico would continue what is already occurring. It could, in fact, energize the U.S. economy. Some believe that job losses in the United States could be offset by job gains resulting from economic growth and prosperity south of the border, and the reduction of trade barriers. In sum, it is hard to conceive of free trade between Mexico and the United States, which is highly sought after by both countries, as being a losing proposition for each.

Fears about environmental degradation must be measured in light of the more responsive political climate President Salinas has tried to cultivate. A period of adjustment is expected.

Mexico will initially lag behind the United States in implementation and enforcement of environmental standards. During this time the U.S. should be diligent in pressuring Mexico to improve the situation. Yet critics should be aware that some reforms have already been put into place. A comprehensive protection law, for instance, was passed in 1988, and Salinas has been very supportive of an environmental impact assessment procedure which places specific restrictions on expanding businesses. The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency has sent its first international attache to Mexico. In the long-run, a Free Trade Agreement has a good chance of speeding up progress towards environmental reform in Mexico as political pressures both at home and abroad mount for the Salinas administration to take further action, and as economic growth provides the financial resources necessary for clean-up and enforcement efforts.

There is a major inconsistency in the arguments of religious leaders in response to FTA. Church advocacy groups have been lobbying for economic justice on an international scale for years. The FTA presents Mexico with a opportunity to continue its ascent to economic viability and equality of opportunity with the developed world. Isn't that what church leaders have wanted all along? Although the prospect of losing some jobs in the United States is not a pleasant one, activists should be encouraged that Mexican workers, under the right conditions, may now gain a greater chance of improving their standard of living through foreign investment. The United States is in a position to help a less developed country improve its economic situation. Instead of thwarting this, U.S. churches and their leaders would do well to focus on ways they might creatively meet the needs of people at home who became structurally

unemployed as a result of the FTA.

Finally, religious activists could ask some larger questions within the debate. For instance, are there any moral arguments which would dispose Christians to favor bilateral trade agreements over multilateral agreements (GATT)? Would a bilateral trade agreement help or hinder free trade on a global level? Could the United States ensure the viability of democracy in Mexico or other Latin countries through bilateral or regional economic agreements? If the goal is the creation of wealth in poorer countries, wouldn't free trade facilitate this goal? A serious consideration of these and other questions could bring all parties closer to agreement on the most important issue: identifying the conditions under which free trade and investment can bring mutual benefits.

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resettlement, will arouse opposition. The important thing is to make sure that all voices are heard and that judgments are based on the welfare of all people, and especially the poor.

Some have criticized our structural adjustment loans as hurting the environment. I would argue that in general the policy reforms are actually good for the environment. Eastern Europe has the world's highest level of pollution because of lousy economic policies. We've done calculations showing that if Eastern Europe didn't care at all about the environment, but simply promoted efficiency of resource use and made factory managers accountable, then maybe half of its environmental pollution problems would disappear. In other words, we would argue that policies that we have been supporting for many years -- such as raising energy prices, eliminating ill-targeted subsidies, and establishing competitive markets -- are in fact the best policies with regard to the environment.



## *Yugoslavia, from page 1*

The Serbian royal house, however, gained dominance, and Croatia, a Catholic nation with Austrian customs, chafed under Orthodox Serbian rule and what it considered to be Turkish backwardness. Thus, the Croatian Catholic Church initially rejoiced at the creation of a fascist puppet state by Germany in Croatia in 1941. This regime eventually would be responsible for the death of a half-million Serbs in Nazi-like concentration camps during World War II.

Following the Second World War, Communist leader Josip Broz-Tito curtailed the factional wars and divided Yugoslavia into six self-governing republics. To a large degree, religious loyalties tended to be segregated along nationalist lines. The republics of Slovenia and Croatia, for example, are predominantly Catholic, while Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia's population align closely with the Eastern Orthodox tradition. Bosnia-Herzegovina, however, contains a mix of the Catholic and Orthodox churches plus a 40 percent Islamic plurality.

Freedom of religious association typically was better in Yugoslavia than in other parts of Eastern Europe under communism. At the same time, the increased connection between religious traditions and political/nationalist movements is no surprise in light of the power vacuum left by the decline of communism. The Christian Democratic Party in Slovenia, for instance, has ties to the Catholic Church. Prime Minister Milan Kucan is a devout Catholic. The Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) openly courted the support of Catholics in recent elections. The Muslim Party of Democratic Action in Bosnia-Herzegovina captured the full Muslim vote in last November's election. Election results in this republic consistently coincide with the religious breakdown of the population: 40 percent Muslim, 35 percent Orthodox, and 25 percent Catholic. Finally, the minority Party of Serbian Renewal continues to gain support from the Orthodox church in Serbia. Thus, throughout the six republics, religious bodies are testing their freedoms, including the freedom to shape public life.

Yet corresponding to this new growth of freedom for the churches has been a decline in the acceptance of religious and ethnic pluralism. Free elections brought to the surface caustic feuding between the republics, and religious intolerance is only adding fuel to the fire. One prominent religious leader in Yugoslavia remarked: "At a time of economic

hardship and social upheaval, many east Europeans are turning to God -- but turning against their neighbors of a different ethnic, religious or national origin" (*Occasional Papers on Religion in Eastern Europe*, May 1991). The Serbian Orthodox Church in Split, Croatia, a predominantly Catholic area, has not received permission to complete its church building. Islamic communities have had applications pending for years to build new mosques. The Orthodox cathedral in primarily Muslim Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina, has been defaced. Orthodox priests face harassment in Zagreb, Croatia, and the Serbian Orthodox Patriarchate issued a statement claiming that Serbians in Croatia are "deprived of human and national rights" because of the "national Croatian extremists" in power. The Serbian minority itself protested when Prime Minister Tudjman renamed the Square of the Victims of Fascism in Zagreb as the Square of Croatian Giants.

The religious and ethnic rifts are great, and, sadly, at least parts of the Church are serving as a catalyst for civil war. Will the churches be responsible for increasing the tensions between rival groups, or will they encourage reconciliation? Will they heed Jesus Christ's warning as it applies to the Church that "a household divided against itself cannot stand"?

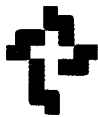
Is there anything that churches in the West can do to help? A group of Eastern European church leaders in Hungary recently expressed concerns about being "invaded" by Westerners. Still, they suggested several ways of cooperating, ways that could help prepare churches there to play a constructive, rather than a destructive, social role. These include: 1) parish partnerships, 2) providing literature, 3) on-site training for leaders, 4) hearing criticism of western mission efforts, and 5) help in dispute resolution.

The Episcopal Church, at its triennial convention in Phoenix in July, took a step in this direction. It passed a resolution encouraging all dioceses to "establish commissions or other bodies to develop links of support and encouragement" in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. It also called upon its Church Center in New York and ecumenical bodies to "explore particular means of contributing to the welfare and strength of the churches" to the end that they "may contribute to the development of justice, freedom and peace among the nations...." Yugoslavia's churches, already a "divided house," provide Episcopalians and others a serious challenge with which to begin.

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the government should take. Some, such as the late Bishop Muge, suggest that a one-party system with strong checks and balances is best. Others, such as Anglican Bishop Henry Okullu, argue that a multi-party system is necessary.

Yet Christians have refused to allow the call for political freedom to be muffled. In July, the NCK, the Anglican Church of Kenya, and the Law Society of Kenya announced the formation of the Kenya Justice and Peace Convention (KJPC) in order to facilitate discussion by Kenyans on the political and economic future of their country. Announcing the Convention's formation, Okullu stated that there is a "deepening and worsening political crisis," and a "pervading climate of fear and uncertainty" in the country. He said that a primary aim of the KJPC is peaceful change through public dialogue and the people's understanding of their rights and responsibilities as free citizens. It remains to be seen how the Moi government will respond to this latest challenge.

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## Russian Parliamentarians Visit IRD, Tell Story of Failed Coup



As part of the exchange that allowed IRD Executive Director Kent Hill to consult with legal experts in the Soviet Union in January and July of this year, three Russians came to the United States shortly after the failed coup to study American legal and political institutions. Among their other activities, Nikolai Arzhannikov (vice chairman of the Human Rights Committee for the Russian parliament), on the right, and Vera Boiko (secretary of the Russian parliament's Freedom of Conscience Committee), on the left, participated in a lunchtime discussion at IRD on September 16. During the August coup in the Soviet Union, Arzhannikov refused to leave the Russian parliament building, and Boiko spent two days at the barricades outside seeking to convince the soldiers and officers not to obey orders to storm the building. They were joined on their trip and at the lunch by Dr. Alla Tikhonova, a sociologist who is the Director of International Affairs for the Center of All-Human Values (Moscow). The center is helping to arrange Kent Hill's stay in the Russian republic during 1992. Photo by Lonni Jackson.