

Letter from the Director

STEPHEN E. HANSON

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It is with enormous pleasure that I am able to announce the founding of the Herbert J. Ellison Center for Russian, East European and Central Asian Studies—or, the Ellison Center, for

short. This Center honors Professor Emeritus Herb Ellison, a University of Washington BA and MA and University of London PhD, who returned in the late 1960s to his alma mater to teach and to build the area studies programs that became the corner-stone of REECAS. Due to the incredible generosity of the Ellison family, along with contributions from many other friends and supporters of our program, we have built a new endowment for the study of our region that will ensure funding for our center's operations in perpetuity. Moreover, the Ellison Endowment will allow us to hire new staff to increase our outreach to local schools, colleges and non-profit organizations; to offer new language and topical courses; to increase our support of graduate students; to augment our inter-national exchange programs and to pursue other exciting new initiatives. At a time when public interest in Russia, East Europe and Central Asia is higher than at almost any time in the postcommunist period, the Ellison Center will lead the way in supporting research, training students and connecting with the community on issues related to this crucial region of the world.

In order to mark the founding of the Ellison Center, Blair Ruble of the Kennan Institute of Advanced Russian Studies in Washington, DC and I co-organized "The Russian Studies Symposium: Keeping the Doors Open in the 21st Century," which

takes place on the UW campus from November 18–20. We are very grateful to the Henry M. Jackson Foundation, which is the principal sponsor for the Symposium. This meeting of nearly 70 leading American and Russian academics, government leaders, business people and community organizers—including many of the leading figures in Russian studies today—is the first major discussion of the future of Russian Studies in the US since the events of September 11, 2001. We will endeavor to move beyond old discussions of the pros and cons of "Sovietology" to focus on more contemporary political, economic and intellectual issues facing the field. Key topics to be discussed include: how Russia specialists should relate to government policy-makers in both Russia and the US; what

sort of undergraduate and graduate training will be most effective in producing a new generation of Russia specialists; how to raise the public's awareness of, and interest in, Russian affairs in the post-Cold War era; and how to approach the vexing problem of fundraising for academic and non-academic programs dealing with Russia in an environment of budget-cutting. After reviewing the discussions in Seattle on these and other subjects, Blair and I will spend the winter writing a "Call to Action" report describing what we see as the necessary next steps for the future of Russian Studies; we have been asked to brief the State Department on our findings in the spring of 2005. All in all, I cannot think of a more suitable way to commemorate the

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renaming of the REECAS program in honor of Dr. Ellison, whose lifelong institutional and intellectual commitment to furthering the cause of US-Russian mutual understanding lies at the very foundation of our program's vision for the future.

Along with the wonderful news about the Ellison Center, we have much more of which to be proud as we begin the new academic year. Our major grant from the US State Department to build institutional partnerships between the UW and several Uzbek institutions of higher learning to promote the study of comparative religion is entering its second year. We have established a UW Office and UW Resource Center in Tashkent (coordinated by UW alumnus Jamal Nasafi), which I visited in September. Our goal is to develop the Resource Center into a permanent UW Research Center. In addition, we have mounted a major book collection drive to make Western scholarship on Central Asia and comparative religion more accessible in Uzbekistan; the books will be delivered on the Boeing plane scheduled to be delivered to Tashkent in December. This January, leading administrators of our five Uzbek partners will be visiting Seattle to discuss ways to consolidate and to deepen our partnership.

Meanwhile, the UW School of Drama has sent three drama students to work this year with famous playwright Mark Weil at the Ilkhom Theater in Tashkent. The Central Asian Summer Studies Program, directed by the renowned Professor Ilse Cirtautas, once again offered intensive advanced Uzbek in conjunction with a Translation Workshop. UW also hosted the Baltic Summer Studies Institute for the second year running. Due to the exceptional leadership of Guntis Smidchens of the Scandinavian Department, everything went smoothly and successfully. In celebration of the 15th anniversary of the Foundation for Russian-American Economic Cooperation (FRAEC), our two organizations co-sponsored a well-attended speaker series on US-Russian relations, culminating this fall in lectures by Michael McFaul and Ambassador Jack Matlock. The UW Press, with support from REECAS faculty members Michael Biggins and James West, has published a stunning new edition of William Brumfield's *History of Russian Architecture*, as well as Ambassador Thomas Graham's *Disarmament Sketches*. Finally, the Institute for Global and Regional Security Studies, directed by REECAS faculty member Christopher Jones with generous support from the Pacific Northwest National Laboratory

and in cooperation with its Pacific Northwest Center for Global Security, continues to sponsor a series of cutting-edge courses on arms control and nuclear nonproliferation, including a course taught by visiting Russian specialists from Obninsk for the first time this winter.

Our speaker schedule for this year includes such well-known figures as Dr. Svetlana Broz, Professor Alexei Yurchak, Professor Adam Budnikowski of the Warsaw School of Economics, Ambassador John Fox of the US State Department, Professor Lucan Way of Temple University and many others.

In closing, I would like once again to thank the REECAS staff—especially Associate Director Marta Mikkelsen and Program Secretary Carrie O'Donoghue—for their patience, perseverance and aplomb. In addition, I would like to welcome our impressive incoming group of REECAS MA students, who cover the entire spectrum of regions and disciplines we study. It is truly an honor to work with such an outstanding team and I look forward to seeing the Ellison Center attain even greater levels of excellence in the years to come. ♦

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Russian Opinion of the US: Causes and Conclusions

BY TODD MYERS

During the 2004 US Presidential campaign, perhaps one word best defined the Democrats' approach to foreign policy: "respect". Opponents of President Bush's doctrine of preemption highlighted the nervousness of other countries at the American stance toward those who harbor terrorists. In a speech in Seattle outlining the themes of his foreign policy, John Kerry said he wanted to create "An America that is respected, and not just feared."¹ Making "respect" the central theme of foreign policy doctrine, Kerry and others seem to endorse an Aretha Franklin doctrine as the alternative to the Bush doctrine of willingness to risk American image to promote American interests.

This issue is critical to those committed to the study of international relations. Analysts and diplomats must judge when it is appropriate to risk relations in order to advance American interests. Former Secretary of State James Baker wrote in his memoirs about the difficulty he had with "clientitis",² where American diplomats overemphasize the damage certain actions would do to bilateral relations.

In the aftermath of the second Iraq War, some argue that the war badly damaged America's standing in the world. They note that while many people around the world expressed favorable opinions of the US after September 11th, America's standing in countries like Russia fell dramatically after the Iraq War. Such declines led to criticism of Bush administration policies for squandering that good will. As a result, this argument alleges that the United States made it more difficult to prosecute the war on terror by alienating key allies like Russia, who might otherwise be sympathetic.

Since the war, however, favorable opinion of the United States in Russia has increased significantly, rising from a low of 38% after the invasion to 59% in January 2004, before falling to 53% in a March 2004 poll.³ The number of those expressing a negative opinion fell from 55% to 36%. What accounts for these changes so soon after relations seemed so strained?

The primary influences on Russian political opinion about the United States are Russia's internal economic and political situation. When Russians feel more confident about their future, they tend to express positive feelings about the United States. Looking at the data, it becomes clear that international conflicts have only a brief impact on Russian feelings toward the US and opinion quickly returns to previous levels. A foreign policy doctrine that places emphasis on approval of the US at a particular point in time ignores the larger context of these relations. Further, it may unintentionally place Russian domestic politics in a decisive position when developing foreign policy strategy.

To understand what Russia thinks of the United States and why, two sets of data will be examined. By comparing data from the Pew Global Attitudes Project and data from the Levada Center in Russia, a clearer picture of Russian opinion emerges.

Pew Global Attitudes Project

The Pew Global Attitudes Project is a worldwide effort to gauge the opinion of people across the world about issues of the day and about the United States. Partnering with local polling firms, Pew creates questions that can be compared from country to country, year to year. The project was expanded after September 11th to judge world views about the United States and terrorism. In Russia, Pew worked with a Russian polling firm, ROMIR, to conduct the survey.

Four surveys have been conducted in the summer of 2002, March and May of 2003 and March of 2004.⁴ The Pew survey asked Russians if they "Have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of the United States?" By combining favorable and unfavorable answers, two things become apparent. First, the Russian public appears to be sensitive to world events. In the summer of 2002, the total percentage of Russians expressing a positive opinion of the United States was 61%, with 33% expressing a negative

opinion. That number fell dramatically in March 2003 at the beginning of the Iraq war to 28% positive and 68% negative. Such a dramatic collapse in the standing of the US in the eyes of Russians could only be a result of negative opinions about the Iraq war.

The second noteworthy item is that despite that dramatic drop, the Russian opinion of the United States has largely rebounded just one year later. From a low of 28% in March of 2003, it increased to 36% only two months later and then back up to 47% in March of 2004, when more Russians expressed a favorable opinion of the US than unfavorable. While opinion of the US has not fully recovered to the level of the summer of 2002, it has regained much of the support it had lost.

While the Pew survey is focused primarily on foreign opinions about the United States, the survey did ask if Russians were satisfied or unsatisfied with the "overall situation" in Russia. In the summer of 2002, Russians expressed a strongly negative opinion about the overall situation in Russia, with only 20% saying they were satisfied and 71% expressing dissatisfaction. The percentage expressing satisfaction jumped to 35% in March of 2003, but has eroded since that time, falling to 28% and then 26% in March of 2004.

Correlating these two graphs, we might draw an interesting conclusion: the worse Russians feel about themselves, the better they feel about the United States. There is some indication in the survey that this conclusion may make sense. When Russians are asked "From what you know, do people from our country who move to the US have a better life there, a worse life there or is life neither better nor worse there." More than half, 53%, answer "better", while only 10% answer "worse". This seems to indicate that a significant element of Russians' opinions of their country is based on its status relative to other countries. There is a great deal of data, however, that indicates this is probably not correct.

In his book *The Russian People and*

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Foreign Policy, William Zimmerman argues that Russians pay little attention to foreign policy. Zimmerman used public opinion research of the general public, elites and policymakers in Russia to measure the feelings of these groups related to foreign policy issues. He notes, "Sizable sections of the Russian mass public turn out to be as ignorant of the world outside as their American counterparts and foreign policy, narrowly construed, plays a small role in their lives."⁵ As a result, foreign policy issues only occasionally capture the attention of the public, and only for a very short period of time. Using the issue of NATO expansion as a case study, he highlights, "The 1999 NATO incursion into Kosovo seemed briefly to catch the attention of Russian mass publics, but by 2000 issues involving NATO were probably once again not even at the same level as other foreign policy issues."⁶ In the end, he asks whether public opinions about the US are "Largely a product of external factors, including the policies of the United States or the West in general, or whether they have been driven primarily by considerations internal to Russia."⁷ Data from another Russian source demonstrates that "internal considerations" appear to be the driving factor in their opinion of the US.

Levada Center Public Opinion Data

Perhaps the most respected post-Soviet public opinion research firm in Russia is the Levada Center, known as VTsIOM until late 2003. Its director, Yuri Levada, polls regularly on issues relating to Russian public opinion. Levada's data is useful, because he regularly asks the same, or similar, questions. With this

data, we can scrutinize the trends of Russian public opinion and influences over time.

Examining the data since the last economic shock in 1998, two trends emerge (see Table 1). First, there has been a wide range of public opinion about the United States. Favorable opinion fell to a low of 32% in 1999, and then peaked just after the September 11th attacks in 2001 at 70%. Second, there are noticeable drops and then rebounds at four points, in 1999, 2001, 2002 and 2003.⁸ Each correlates directly with an international event associated with the United States: Kosovo in 1999, September 11th, the Olympics figure skating scandal and finally the war in Iraq in March of 2003. With three of these events, public opinion about the United States fell, sometimes dramatically. However, favorable opinion level quickly returned to the level just prior to the crisis. How can we explain these two trends?

Additional data indicates that the cause of the drop and rebound in Russian public opinion is related to the fact that foreign crises capture the public's attention only for short periods of time. As Zimmerman points out, the overall level of public attention to foreign policy is relatively low. As a result, public opinion about foreign policy and the United States is only occasionally based on a specific judgment about American foreign policy decisions and is likely to be based on some other factor.

This also sheds light on the second trend: the general rise and fall of opinion about the United States. Examining the data, there are not obvious reasons for a general increase in favorable opinion toward the United States from the end of

1999 to the middle of 2001. In fact, it would make sense to think that Russian concerns about American foreign policy would increase. During that period of time, the United States announced that it would withdraw from Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, a move the Russian leadership opposed. There seems to be a threshold of significance that international events need to reach before they have an impact on Russians' feelings.

To understand the general trends, it might be useful to look at the trends in Russian opinion about domestic issues (see Table 2). In the period after the economic collapse of 1998, Russian views about the economic direction were understandably negative. Since that time, there has been a general improvement in the Russian view of their economy and its future prospects.

The political situation is another potential indicator (see Table 3). Uncertainty about the direction of Russian politics has led many in Russia to support candidates who promise more stability, not only in the economic system, but also in the political system. This is evident in the trend of views about the status of the political system. An increasing number of Russians have rated the political system as "favorable" or "quiet" during the past few years, reaching a post-1998 high of 34% in January of 2004.

Combining these polls provides some interesting results (see Table 4). When mapping favorable opinions about the United States with favorable opinions of the Russian economy and the political system, the trends are almost perfectly synchronized. Positive feeling about the United States follows almost the same trends as positive feelings about Russia's

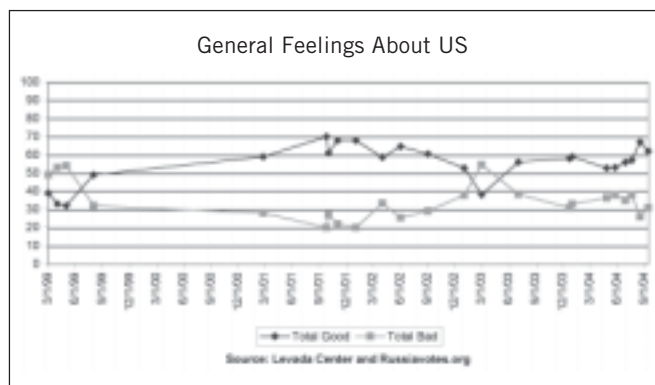


Table 1



Table 2

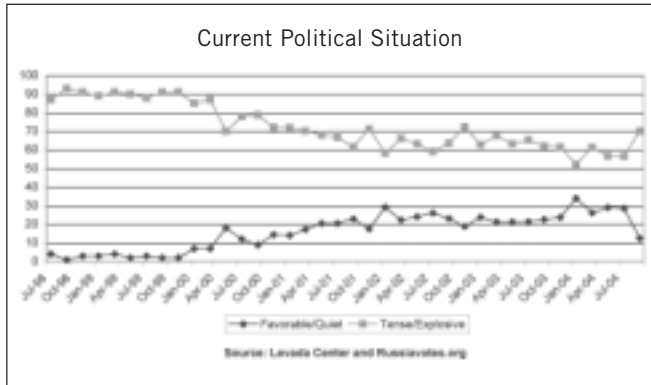


Table 3

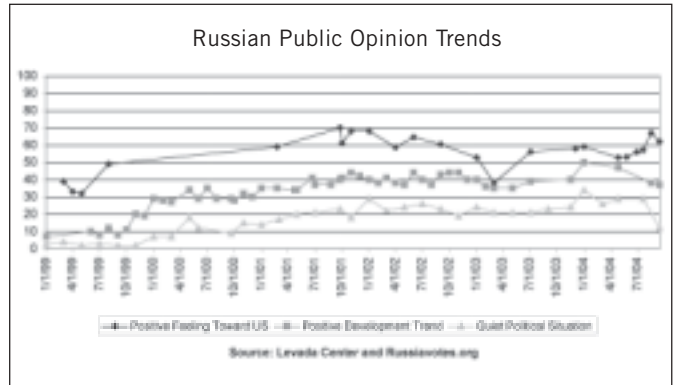


Table 4

economic outlook and political situation. The four notable breaks in this trend correspond to the events outlined above. For those periods of time, the news of these conflicts appears to overshadow opinion about the direction of Russia. The moments when opinion about the economy and the US diverge highlight two concepts.

First, as noted above by Zimmerman, the data seems to back up the fact that Russians focus more on domestic issues than on foreign policy issues. Unless an exceptional foreign policy event occurs, public opinion follows trends relating to the future of the economy and political stability. Even when there is a divergence, Russian public opinion quickly rebounds, following general economic and political trends. Second, these trends do show that Russians distinguish between general Russian economic trends and favorable feelings about the United States. Although their level of knowledge of and attention to foreign policy events is lower than for domestic issues, they do pay attention at key points and are confident enough to make judgments about those events, even if that attention quickly fades.

Conclusions

Analysis of Russian public opinion data indicates that the primary influences on Russian opinion of the US are Russian domestic political and economic circumstances. Opinion of the US seems to deviate from that trend only during significant international crises. This conclusion demonstrates the risks of overemphasizing Russian public opinion when making foreign policy decisions. If the US places emphasis on earning

Russian respect, it may find itself beholden to Russian domestic politics, over which it has little control. This could lead US foreign policy to miss opportunities to pursue its own interests in the belief that some action would result in a negative reaction.

For instance, in 2002, some Russian experts warned that the US military presence in Central Asia after the war in Afghanistan would have a negative impact on relations. Michael McFaul warned that while Putin had approved the US presence, the American policy could have negative results on Russian public opinion, putting pressure on Putin to change the policy. He told Congress:

“In making this decision, Putin was leading elite and public opinion, not following it. To date, open criticism of Putin has been limited. After all, Putin still enjoys tremendous popularity, making it unwise politically to speak out against him. Below the surface, however, there are subtle signs of discontent with Putin’s new support for American military action in Russia’s own backyard.”⁹

A backlash, however, never occurred. Had the United States made perceived Russian public opinion a critical element of its decision process, ongoing operations against al-Qaeda and the Taliban might have been hampered.

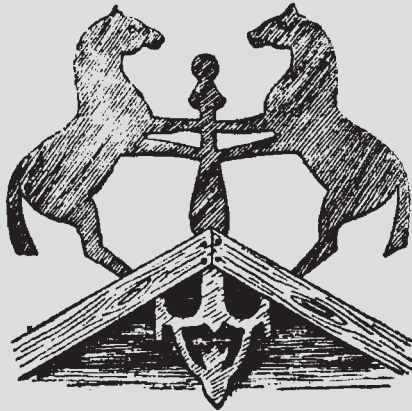
This is not to say that the US should be dismissive of Russian public opinion. Even Putin has shown that he is responsive to public opinion and the US must consider its effects when making significant policy decisions. To elevate “respect”, however, to a position of primacy when making those decisions is inappropriate. Decision-makers who overemphasize the

power the US has on the minds of the Russian public are likely to misunderstand foreign public opinion and to make poor decisions based on those false assumptions. Facing such high stakes after September 11th, these mistakes could be extremely costly. ♦

Todd Myers received his MA from REECAS in 2003.

- 1 Kerry, Sen. John, www.johnkerry.com/pressroom/speeches/spc_2004_0527.html (July 18, 2004). He later built on this, making the theme of the Democratic National Convention, “Strong at home, respected abroad.”
- 2 Baker, James A., III, *The Politics of Diplomacy* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1995), p. 373.
- 3 Russiavotes.org, www.russiavotes.org/world_tre.htm#126, (July 18, 2004).
- 4 All polls can be found at the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, <http://people-press.org/>.
- 5 Zimmerman, William, *The Russian People and Foreign Policy: Russian Elite and Mass Perspectives, 1993-2000* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), p. 11.
- 6 Zimmerman, p. 213.
- 7 Zimmerman, p. 224.
- 8 Note that as this article went to press, updating the data through September indicate another drop, likely due to the terrorist attacks in Beslan. This dip merits further analysis, but the trend does appear to follow the hypothesis with feeling toward the US improving immediately after the attack and then falling as feeling about Russia’s economic and political stability fall.
- 9 McFaul, Michael, “Hearing on US-Russian Relations: An Assessment,” Testimony before the US House of Representatives Committee on International Relations Subcommittee on Europe, February 27, 2002, www.ceip.org/files/Publications/McFaul022702testimony.asp?from=pubauthor (July 18, 2004).

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The Eleventh Annual Russian, East European and Central Asian Studies Northwest Conference

SATURDAY, APRIL 9, 2005
REED COLLEGE, PORTLAND, OREGON

We are currently soliciting papers, panels or roundtable presentations for this one-day interdisciplinary conference. Proposals from faculty, graduate students and members of the general public are all welcome.

Contributions are encouraged on literature, the fine arts, the environment, post-Soviet foreign policy, historical research, economics, national identity or any other relevant subjects. Papers related to the theme "Politics and Culture in the Post-Communist World" are especially welcome.

Small travel stipends may be available to graduate students and faculty traveling from the Pacific Northwest. Carpooling from UW will also be arranged.

If you would like to present at the conference, please reply via e-mail or regular mail by Friday, January 14, 2005 with your name and contact information, a paper title and brief abstract to:

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Submissions are welcomed. For submission information, contact Glennys Young, Editor, at the above address.

Excerpts of the Treadgold Papers are available at our website: <http://depts.washington.edu/reecas/dwt/dwt.htm>

Politics as a Power Game: East and West in the Rediscovered Europe

BY RIMAS ZILINSKAS

In its transition from a Soviet republic into a European democracy, Lithuania claims a number of firsts: the first to break from the USSR, the first to bring the party of former communists back to power and the first to sign border treaties with Russia. Recently, it was also the first to impeach its President. And perhaps more shocking — Lithuania will likely be the first to give control of its parliament to a political party created and led by a Russian-born businessman whose interests and affiliations remain an enigma. One could legitimately ask: how could all of this happen?

For almost 100 years, two major traditions have defined Lithuanian national culture. The first one views the country as part of the West, in constant danger of Russia's imperialist appetite. The second claims that Lithuania's geopolitical situation makes her constantly synthesize Western and Eastern cultural and economic influences. Placing Lithuania at the crossroads of the European empires is deeply rooted in Lithuanian political discourse. For example, former President Valdas Adamkus' adviser Darius Kuolys has a radio show called "Between East and West", which discusses the problems of transition toward more desirable Western thinking. Former head of the Lithuanian parliament Vytautas Landsbergis has openly stated, "The more America there will be in Europe, the less Russia there will be." And state radio station begins every day with the greeting: "Good morning, Europe".

Indeed, if belonging to the West seems natural to Lithuanian intellectuals, their Western counterparts tend to complicate the problem. They offer a revisionist approach towards early 20th century East European national awakenings. Robert Young, in his book *Postcolonialism*, declared that the Baltic fight for political independence of that time was a consequence of the anti-Russian, anti-socialist politics of Germany. But can such revisionist logic be applied to the situation in Lithuania today?

After the collapse of the Communist bloc,

East European countries faced this choice: join Western Europe or remain under Russia's influence. The pro-Western nature of Baltic nationalism could at least partially explain why European Union (EU) integration and national self-determination are not seen as conflicting. In the EU, Lithuania submits itself to the rules of an emerging multicultural European political bloc and sacrifices part of its economic and political independence because of this internalized need to see itself as Western.

It seemed obvious that alliance with the West would make Lithuania politically and economically more secure. But recently these hopes were devastated by an unethical government alliance with some American firms. The Conservative party sold shares and the manager's rights of Lithuania's oil refinery to an American investor — Williams International. The company lobbied for and received an incredible, secret deal — Lithuania would bear all losses and provide stable transportation costs, while Williams obtained the right to veto any construction on the shores of the Baltic Sea, among other things. It was a highly political decision to sell the oil company to Americans, and not to Russians. Adamkus, who had spent most of his life in the US, openly supported this deal. However, shortly before signing the treaties, the scandalous details of the secret deal were leaked, and the Conservative government was forced to resign.



Rolandas Paksas

Adamkus announced another candidate for prime minister, Rolandas Paksas, who was to complete contract negotiations with Williams. Paksas, also of the Conservative party, reported progress on changing the pre-negotiated contract, but ultimately

resigned just before signing this treaty several months later. On national television, he said that such a suicidal agreement would devastate the Lithuanian economy. The Conservative party that had pushed the deal was angry, and Paksas was removed from the party. But President Adamkus, seeing that Paksas was gaining popular support, asked him to join him as an adviser. Influenced by Adamkus' office, Paksas became the leader of another party, the Liberals, and helped them to win votes in municipalities and in Parliament. After the Parliamentary election, and pressure from Adamkus, Paksas formed a coalition with the party of Social Liberals and once again became a prime minister. This coalition was Adamkus' attempt to prevent Social Democrats and former President Brazauskas from forming a majority. Because of Paksas' ambitions and personality, the coalition did not last long. He had to resign again. Paksas was kicked out of the Liberal party and created the party of Liberal Democrats. With this party, he ran for president in an extremely aggressive campaign against Adamkus. Coincidentally, Williams sold all of its shares around the same time to a Russian company with which previous Lithuanian governments had not wanted to do business. The Conservative party was marginalized due to the scandalous sale and Adamkus's popularity declined. Likewise, the stability of Lithuania's political system was devastated.

At that moment, Russian capital entered Lithuanian politics. Paksas, who supposedly had no chance of winning the election, managed to do so with the support of Russian businessman, Yuri Borisov. This was a shameful victory: a former Soviet general had given Paksas one million Litas (US \$330,000) and had practically orchestrated his campaign with the best political advisors from Russia. Some sources claim he actually gave much more money, part of which came from Russian oil companies.

Adamkus had not expected a strong rival, and realized too late in the campaign that

his chances of winning were minimal. He intensified his campaign, accumulated huge debt and still lost. Paksas used Russian and Lithuanian public relations companies to destabilize the country. For example, his team paid for an entire newspaper issue on the last day of the campaign, which announced that the biggest commercial bank in Lithuania



Valdas Adamkus

was going bankrupt. He also used Borisov's helicopter to fly to almost every town, promising to restore "order" to a country with a "corrupt political system". The people believed him, but the press openly hated him. His unrealistic political promises to reform Lithuania and its government, however appealing to voters, had little to do with the very limited powers of the president and were used only to gain popularity. His unbelievable political career caused fellow politicians to hate him, as well. Paksas had been mayor of Vilnius, prime minister twice and finally the president of Lithuania; he left every post under scandalous circumstances. Long before he was elected president, Paksas was politically alienated. It was clear that any reason would be used to impeach him.

Indeed, it took less than a year for scandal again to devastate Lithuanian political life. The head of the State Security Department (SSD) Mėcis Laurinkus after a short trip to America announced that the president was surrounded by people influenced by Russian criminals. One of these people, persona non grata in Lithuania, was very interested in removing Laurinkus from office in order to enter the country again. He wanted to use the President's influence in privatizing a construction company to launder money from Russia's budget. When Paksas announced Laurinkus' assignment as Ambassador to Spain, Laurinkus delivered a speech before parliament saying that people in the President's office had ties to Russian criminal organizations. This speech launched yet another huge scandal.

The impeachment process transformed Lithuanian political life entirely. Incredible alliances were created, eternal enemies united in their attempts to defend Lithuania against Paksas. It was hard to imagine: the leader of National Awakening Landsbergis quoted the former Communist leader Brazauskas, as if they were the closest political allies. The Conservative party begged Brazauskas to run for the presidency, if Paksas were impeached. United against Paksas, former political enemies encouraged each other to make every possible step to save Lithuania from the influences of Russian capital and Russian politics. They claimed to be united in defending Lithuanian democracy, and, ironically, the country from its own citizens. "Only if we defend Lithuania from its own voters, will democracy be achieved," stated one of the leaders of the Conservative party.

The impeachment of the President — a democratic procedure in a democratic country — was successful, despite Paksas' attempts to avoid it. Paksas hired the best attorneys to represent him, yet failed to show up for his interrogations or to answer any questions. Instead, he chose a campaign-style strategy: Paksas drove from one town to another, proclaiming his innocence to ordinary people. His attorneys did not question the allegations upon which the impeachment was based, but instead focused on the juridical

mechanisms of impeachment. That defense proved weak and ineffective. Paksas was found guilty of three types of infractions. First, he violated the Constitution by giving Lithuanian citizenship to his financial supporter, Borisov. Although he initially surrendered his Lithuanian citizenship to obtain Russian citizenship, Borisov later wanted his Lithuanian citizenship back. Paksas illegally gave it to him. Second, he violated the Constitution by divulging to Borisov that the SSD was recording his phone conversations. Third, his team of advisors exceeded their constitutional powers by trying to influence the privatization of a construction company. These actions were declared unconstitutional by the Constitutional Court; more than two thirds of the parliament voted for impeachment.

Paksas was banned by the Constitutional Court from running in any elections ever again. It appeared that political stability would be restored. But the situation seems even worse now. From the time of the impeachment until the recent parliamentary elections, Lithuania has been in a state of continuous scandal. As analysts suggest, these scandals (most of which are related to corruption in government institutions) are helping pro-Russian forces to come to power. Lithuania is becoming the first East

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Memorials in front of the barricade constructed to protect the parliament from Soviet troops

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European country to give control of its parliament and government to a political party created and led by a Russian-born businessman, Viktor Uspaskich, whose true political interests and affiliations remain unknown. He became a multi-millionaire through his connections to Gazprom, the Russian gas monopoly that is believed to be controlled by Putin's inner circle. Uspaskich emerged as a savior, offering a vision of a "bright future" and "justice and prosperity" to people who badly miss visionaries after the collapse of the Soviet Union and are nostalgic toward the Soviet welfare system. With the help of a famous American political consultant, Joseph Napolitan, Uspaskich and his cohorts are likely to win the most seats in the new parliament, and he intends to become the new prime minister.



Lithuania's Presidential Palace

In the context of the new leadership which is emerging in the country, some people think that pro-American Lithuanian President Valdas Adamkus will be the only politician able to oppose Uspaskich. However, even Adamkus has ties to Russia. As the press recently announced, his campaign debts were

most likely paid by companies related to Uspaskich. Lithuania has become the first East European country where well-planned injections of capital into politics devastated political stability and brought a Russian-led party into power. The Conservative party declared again that it is willing to join an unlikely coalition with Social Democrats to prevent Uspaskich from leading the government, just like they did during the Paksas scandal. If this incredible political coalition is formed, it will be a clear signal to the Western world that Lithuanians have opted for this last resort in order to resist the latest emergence of this old threat. ♦

Rimas Zilinskas is currently a PhD student in the Department of Comparative Literature at UW.

The Eleventh Annual Baltic Studies Summer Institute

The Eleventh Annual Baltic Studies Summer Institute (BALSSI) was hosted at UW for its second year of the consortium rotation in 2004. From June 21–August 20, students explored various aspects of Baltic life and culture through language training, academic symposiums and cultural events.

The program offered a two levels of intensive Estonian, Latvian or Lithuanian language courses, which were held for four hours, five days a week. Students also had access to English-language courses about Baltic history and culture and participated in symposiums on a wide array of topics ranging from students' research interests to "Images of America in the Baltic."

A five part series entitled, "Current in Baltic Music", brought the Seattle community and BALSSI students together to explore various aspects of Baltic music. Film also featured prominently in the summer schedule with a Friday film series, regular showings of documentaries about the region and a two day festival of Estonian Animated Film.

BALSSI was hosted in conjunction with the National Institute of Summer



BALSSI Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian classes, 2004

Scandinavian Studies (NISSS). The Summer Institute is a traveling program that rotates every two years between various universities in the BALSSI Consortium.

In 2005, the Institute will be hosted by Indiana University. For more information about BALSSI and Baltic Studies at UW, visit their website at <http://depts.washington.edu/baltic>. ♦

Recent Acquisitions for the REECAS Outreach Collection

The REECAS Center is pleased to present this list of the most recent additions to our outreach materials collection. Films, teaching guides, educational software packages, reference texts and other resources are available for two-week checkout to students, faculty, staff and K-12 teachers. For more information, including a complete listing of available materials, visit the REECAS Center in 203B Thomson Hall, University of Washington, telephone us at (206) 543-4852 or email reecas@u.washington.edu.

Documentary and Educational Videotapes:

Chekhov: Innovator of Modern Drama (1968, 22 min.) This film analyzes Chekhov's use of characterization and plot in *The Cherry Orchard*. Norris Houghton examines the play's dramatic devices and shows how the characters reveal Chekhov's attitudes toward life and the political and social currents of the time.

Czeslaw Milosz (1989, 60 min.) He was born in Lithuania in 1911 to a Polish-speaking family and won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1980. Milosz is one of the most important poets of the twentieth century. In the film, Milosz reads from "The Collected Poems," "The Separate Notebooks" and "Unattainable Earth". The reading took place on September 12, 1988, in Los Angeles. Mr. Milosz was interviewed by poet Lewis MacAdams.

Peter the Great: The Tyrant Reformer (2000, 50 min.) This biography draws on a vast collection of archival material and the research of scholars like Nicholas Riasanovsky and Dr. Paul Bushkovitch of the University of California to explore the life of the Czar who almost single-handedly modernized and westernized his vast country. Examining the internal reforms he instituted and the wars he waged, as well as the life he led within the private chambers of his vast palaces, this is a captivating portrait of one of the most fascinating figures of all time.

Putin: A Bitter Decision (2002, 49 min.) In the mind of Vladimir Putin, September 11th triggered a chain of events that

ended with Russia's acceptance into the ranks of the West — but at a terrible cost to national pride and the balance of nuclear power. This program narrates the circumstances leading to President Putin's bitter decision to trade US approval of the war in Chechnya for what has proved to be a diminished role in world politics.

Putin: Stairway to Power (2002, 49 min.)

This program tracks the career of Vladimir Putin from KGB spymaster for the USSR to President of the Russian Federation. Footage of landmark events — the fall of the Berlin Wall, the election and re-election of Boris Yeltsin, the war against Chechnya, terrorist attacks on Moscow — are featured.

Visas & Virtue (1997, 26 min.) This Academy Award-winning dramatic short film pays tribute to Japanese Consul General Chiune Sugihara (to Lithuania) who saved 6,000 Jews from the Holocaust and risked his own career by issuing life-saving visas in defiance of his government's direct orders.

Uncle Vanya (1963, 110 min.) Laurence Olivier tops an amazing cast, including Joan Plowright, Rosemary Harris, Michael Redgrave, Sybil Thorndike, Lewis Casson, Max Adrian and Faye Compton in what is widely considered the best English language staging of the play ever. Olivier directed this production for the stage at the 1962 Chichester Drama Festival and it was later filmed for television by Stuart Burge.

Fiction and Animation:

Contemporary Estonian Animation, 4 Volumes (1992–1999, 293 min.)

A collection of works by animation artists Priit Parn, Mati Kutt and the Eesti Joonisfilm studio. Priit Parn's films are witty, richly textured investigations of individual identity within shifting and often absurd political, social and cultural landscapes. Often described as examples of "grotesque realism," rather than surrealism, Parn's films are strikingly original and consistently intelligent. This collection includes eight of his films (vols. 1 & 2). Lost in the shadows of

Priit Parn, Mati Kutt has also contributed greatly to Estonia's distinctive animation scene. This collection includes four of his films (vol. 3). The fourth volume provides a survey of the kind of work that the top Estonian animators have produced at the independent animation studio Eesti Joonisfilm.

Music:

Yalla: Beard of the Camel (1995, 60 min.)

The first western release by the leading popular musical group in Central Asia. The music of "Yalla," whose name is an Uzbek word for a song accompanied by dancing, incorporates traditional ethnic folk tunes and poetry of their native Uzbekistan and other Central Asian and Middle Eastern cultures, along with contemporary pop and dance influences, into a unique international blend that spells "d-a-n-c-e" in any language.

Safar: Journey Tanovar (2002, 53 min.)

Folk ensemble "Safar" performs traditional folk music of Central Asia using traditional folk acoustical instruments. Percussionist Alisher Tulyaganov is the drummer and arranger for the Tashkent ethno-pop group Yalla, but is also a conservatory-trained classical musician. In collaboration with one of the best-known performers of Uzbek traditional musical, they have created a duet that combines expert musicianship with very traditional ethnic melodies, rhythms and sounds.

Teaching Guides:

The Russian Far East: A Reference Guide for Conservation and Development (Grades: HS-College)

"Joshua Newell's revised and greatly expanded handbook will be the definitive English-language reference source on the environment in the vast region known as the Russian Far East. This text definitely belongs in the reference collection of any library supporting programs in environmental studies or international studies."

— Michael Biggins, Slavic & East European Studies Librarian, UW. ♦

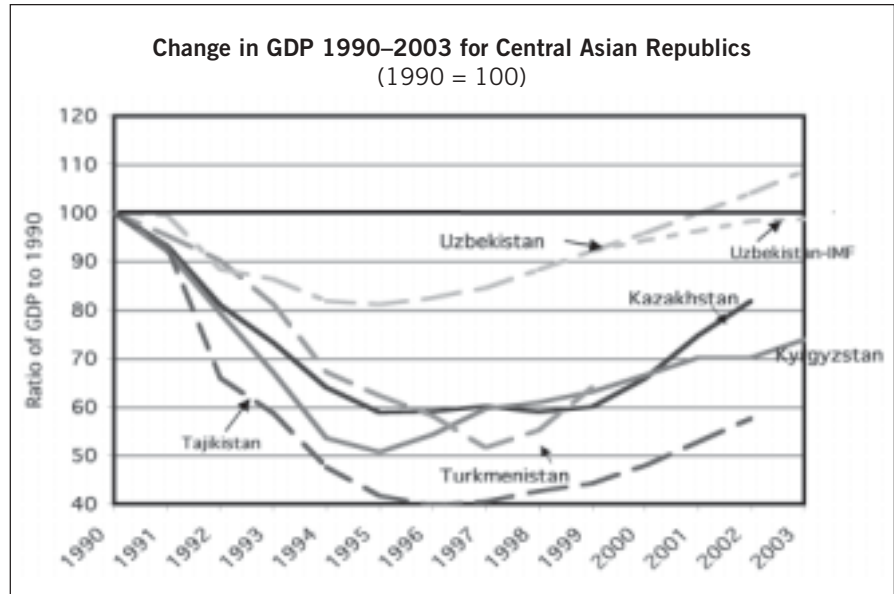
Teaching the Economic Development of Central Asia – What Is There to Learn?

BY GEORGE E. WRIGHT AND HAIDEH SALEHI-ESFAHANI

Central Asian area studies have tended to look at economic affairs as an outgrowth of geography, socio/political structures and personalities. Thus the region's economic policies are often seen as reflecting great power rivalries, the balance of different elites or the personalities of entrenched leaders shaped by the ideologies of the bygone Soviet era. While all this is true, economies also march to the beat of their own logic, one that politics cannot always veto, driven by stern realities and external forces beyond local control. Economic policy is far more than the latest machinations over oil fields and "political pipelines".

In response to this proposition, we offered in the spring quarter of 2004 at the University of Washington an advanced undergraduate course, "The Economic Transition and Development of Central Asia." Supported as part of REECAS' Title VI National Resource Center grant, it was, to the best of our knowledge, the first such course in the US devoted strictly to economic analysis of the region. Originally envisioned as a research seminar, it drew an enrollment of 45, primarily economics majors. The core question confronting student and instructor alike was — why offer such a specialized course? The answer lies first in the crucial geopolitical role of these new, old nations and the impact of economic growth and improving living standards on social stability. Less obvious is the importance of Central Asia for economics. The region's unique experience casts in sharp relief key issues and debates swirling through the broader field of economic development.

The core reality of Central Asia has been impoverishment at a scale greater than in European areas of the former Soviet bloc. Traditionally among the poorest regions of the former Soviet Union, Central Asia's colossal fall in output, increase in unemployment and raging inflation coalesced into a depression shared by all successor states, but one that hit the "Stans" very hard. The accompanying chart tracks the region's economies by



IMF Annual Country and Regional Reports, 2004

scaling each Gross Domestic Product (GDP) to 100 in 1990. A score of 70 thus means that total output fell by 30 percent from the year before independence. In the chart, Kazakhstan closely follows Russia and illustrates a calamity far deeper and longer lasting than the Great Depression in the US. While some of this fall consisted of useless bureaucratic activity or unwanted, low-quality industrial production, the chart indicates major declines in living standards. The tragic civil war in Tajikistan generated the sharpest decline. The exploitation of Kazakhstan's oil wealth has generated recent rapid increases from a steep plunge. Uzbekistan's resiliency in the 1990s was the best performance not only in Central Asia; it is the first nation of the CIS to report a return to pre-independence GDP (although it should be noted, the IMF disputes recent trends).

Even Uzbekistan's steadier performance has not fully met the demands of population growth. Large portions of Central Asia's citizenry have yet to recover from their plunge into abject poverty. Their experience shares notable features with other CIS nations, yet poverty has not been the central focus of western and

multilateral development assistance. Instead, international demands for rapid structural reforms were added to the tasks of managing the wrenching realities accompanying independence as well as subsequent external shocks. Additionally, unlike the West's experience of the 1930s where government expansion was the key tool to recovery, Central Asia (as the rest of the CIS) has had to deal with its depression while rapidly shrinking its public sector. Finally, Central Asia's large health, education and public service infrastructure, previously supported by budget transfers from Moscow, has been marooned as an unsupportable legacy to now poor nations. With salaries far below a living wage, a consequent web of informal employment, illegal fees and corruption has emerged. The size and trends of this sector are difficult to measure.

A second reason for offering this course is Central Asia's challenge to economic analysis. Most of what has been written about the economies of the post-Soviet era is rooted in "transition economics", in which the experience of Central and Eastern Europe and Russia has stimulated a vigorous debate about the merits and

meaning of “shock therapy” versus a gradualist approach. The publications of international financial institutions annually track the pace of structural reforms thought to constitute the transition “from state to market” (the title of a major World Bank Report). The fact that Central Asia invariably lags far behind the Baltics is taken as evidence of an important failure. However, this Euro-centric formulation ignores a critical reality of Central Asia — these are low-income, developing countries. According to the World Bank, all five Central Asian nations had per capita Gross Domestic Incomes between those of Bangladesh and Ecuador as of 2003. (Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan closer to Bangladesh; Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan just below Ecuador.) But unlike societies with similar incomes, Central Asia stands out with an inheritance of comparatively high endowments of human capital and infrastructure.

In sum, the region is not only engaged in the task of moving from centrally planned to market-based economies, it simultaneously shares with impoverished nations everywhere the struggle for economic development. The challenge for the course was thus to integrate the perspectives of transition and development



Rugs for sale at a small market in Bukhara

economics. Moreover, the region presents a fascinating natural experiment in what really counts for successful development. Starting with similar institutional and social structures from Soviet times, Central Asia's nations have trod different paths. Kyrgyzstan followed international advice and was thus the first CIS nation admitted to the WTO, but now (by the IMF's assessment) it is saddled with an



Dried fruit seller at the Chorsu market in Tashkent

unsustainable international debt burden. Uzbekistan, extraordinarily slow to reform, has consequently received comparably little foreign aid and investment. It has so ignored the policy prescriptions emanating from Washington that the IMF permanently closed its Tashkent office. Yet until 2003, the Uzbek economy outperformed that of Kyrgyzstan. The often strident debate over globalization and the power of the “Washington Consensus” is thus mirrored in the experience of the region — or as one of our lectures put it, “The Battle of Seattle Moves to Central Asia.”

To address this challenge, the course started with an introduction to the Soviet legacy and political economy of the region. It then looked at the theory and reality of transition policy and concluded with aspects of development economics. The integrating element was a policy focus, one supported by the available literature. Issues addressed included: Was Soviet policy in Central Asia classic economic colonialism? How important were initial conditions at independence in determining subsequent performance? Should privatization or incentives for competition have priority among structural reforms? What has been the effect of transition policies on government revenue? What is required to sustain core public services? What are the strengths and weaknesses of oil-fired growth? Are export-promotion strategies relevant for a landlocked region? What are the pros and cons of foreign exchange

controls as practiced in the region?

Seven formally structured student debates were held, each on a different current policy issue. Some debates were set up with “Tashkent” on one side and the “IMF” on the other. Students learned that it was possible intellectually to defend unconventional policies and the debates provided a stimulating and enjoyable learning experience.

What have we learned to improve this course? There are inevitable tensions in an area survey course. Our main objective was to explore how large-order issues in transition and development economics play out in the realities of one region. Yet, student expectations differ for the mix of applied economics, institutional economics, political economy or descriptive information. Breadth of coverage trades off against depth. While modeling and econometric literature specific to Central Asia is still sparse, it is expanding. Making relevant technical analyses understandable to undergraduates will become an increasing challenge.

More broadly, most of the existing literature comes from a First World perspective — one that is often sharply critical of Central Asia's leaders, policies and performance. Introducing a contrasting local perspective is thus a challenge. It should be possible to meet in real time with a class in Central Asia in order to discuss students' and instructors' views about their country's pressing economic issues. Such direct contact

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would enhance student interest here and would remove the region from the realm of an abstract academic subject. To promote such a possible exchange, we have shared the syllabus and reading packet with the Economics University in Tashkent, and we hope to build on the framework that is already in place for exchanges between our university and its counterpart institutions in Central Asia.

Finally, given the geographic and cultural proximity of the Middle East with its generally unhappy economic track record, Central Asia's emerging laboratory may become highly relevant to this troubled region. We look forward to a joint research seminar on the economic development of the Middle East and Central Asia that could explore commonalities and lessons. ♦

George E. Wright is an Associate Professor of Family Medicine at UW. Originally a development economist, Wright now specializes in health economics.

Haideh Salehi-Esfahani is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Economics at UW.

Both authors were 1996-97 Fulbright scholars teaching economics in Uzbekistan.

16th Annual Nicholas Poppe Symposium

BY CHARLES CARLSON

The 16th annual Nicholas Poppe Symposium on Central/Inner Asian Studies was held on May 22, 2004 at UW. Participating in the symposium were scholars from the US, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tatarstan, Russia.

As is customary each year, the event opened with a welcoming address by Professor Ilse Cirtautus, organizer and facilitator of the Poppe Symposium. Professor Cirtautus referred to the tremendous contributions made to Central Asian studies and Turkology by Professor Poppe, both at UW — his place of work — and abroad.

The working portion of this year's Poppe Symposium began with personal reminiscences of Professor Poppe — "Remembering Nicholas Poppe" — by Visiting Professor from Xinjiang University, Hamit Zakir. Professor Zakir, a student of Nicholas Poppe, described Poppe's work, his record of publications and how clear his mind was even in the final stages of his life.

Professor Penglin Wang of the Department of Anthropology, Central Washington University, next read a paper entitled "Septenary Praxis in Inner Asia" on the significance of the number 'seven' in helping to understand how early peoples developed abstract ideas.

I read a paper entitled "New Theories on the Proto-Homeland of the Finno-Ugric and Altaic Peoples". It included a discussion of the views of scholars like Professor Poppe regarding the Uralic and Altaic hypothesis and the Altaic hypothesis of linguistic affinity, as well as some new ideas concerning the original

homeland of the Finno-Ugric peoples.

Professor Aida Sadykova, Head of the Department of Contrastive Linguistics at the Kazan State Pedagogical University in Tatarstan, in a paper entitled "The Kazan School of Linguistics" discussed the role of linguists who worked in Kazan over the years, including the great Turkologist, Wilhelm Radloff.

Visiting Scholar Musa Murataliev, a Kyrgyz writer living in Moscow, provided an overview of recent Kyrgyz writers in his paper entitled "Kyrgyz Literature since Independence". The Kyrgyz Manas epic figured prominently in Musa's paper.

Next, Jacob Smith received the Seattle-Tashkent Sister City Prize for the best student in first-year Uzbek (2003–2004).

The afternoon session opened with a discussion of the Kyrgyz epic *Manas* by Ewa Wasilewska, Department of Anthropology at the University of Utah in a paper entitled "Manas: A Beloved, Controversial, and Contradictory Hero of the Kyrgyz." Professor Wasilewska's paper concentrated on the recent Manas anniversary she attended in Kyrgyzstan.

"The Linguistic and Cultural Setting of Tuvan Throat Singing" was the title of a paper read by Stefan Kamola of Oberlin College. In his paper, Stefan discussed the possible influence of the linguistic phenomenon of vowel harmony on the art of throat singing.

Mamoun Sakkal, architect, artist, calligrapher and scholar from UW, discussed the main motifs used in traditional Islamic architectural monuments in Uzbekistan with the help of slides. The title of his

presentation was "Traditional Islamic Crafts in Uzbekistan".

In his paper "Islam in Central Asia under Stalin", Ali Igmen, PhC from the Department of History discussed some of the sources he uses in his class on Islam in Central Asia.

Bahtiyor Bobojonov, UW visiting scholar from the Al-Beruni Institute of Oriental Studies, Uzbek Academy of Sciences, Tashkent, read his paper entitled "Central Asian Muslims' Accommodation to Soviet Policies". Dr. Bobojonov traced the history of Islam during its 14 century existence from the point of view both as "conqueror" and as the "object of conquest". Examples of the latter include the 13th century Christian conquest of Moorish Spain and the early 13th century Mongol invasion of Central Asia.

The Poppe Symposium closed with a round-table discussion on "The Field of Central Asian Studies in the US and Abroad: Accomplishments and Desiderata". Participants at the round table included many of the presenters, Dr. Stephen Hansen, Director of REECAS, and Professor Daniel Waugh from the Department of History, UW. Professor Cirtautus acted as moderator. The discussion was intense and brought forward many good ideas. These roundtable discussions culminated in a quest for more cooperative programs between scholars in the US and Central Asia. ♦

Dr. Charles F. Carlson is the former Director of the Central Asian Services of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty and is presently a visiting professor at UW.

Population Transfers: A Dangerous Trend in Central Asia

BY JUSTIN ODUM

The village of Kalacha lies thirty minutes south of Khojand in northern Tajikistan's Soghd viloyat (province). Approaching the almost entirely ethnic Tajik village, you pass cotton fields and a collection of ramshackle houses with adjacent garden plots. The center of the village consists of a cluster of small mud brick dwellings separated by narrow, windy streets.

Overlooking the village from a low ridge that forms a semicircle along Kalacha's south side there is a row of 60–70 very modest houses that make up the village of Maksat. Though in some cases the houses are separated from Kalacha by only a few feet, the international border between Tajikistan and the Kyrgyz Republic lies between these neighbors. Built in 1996, the Kyrgyz government designed the housing strip, home to a few dozen ethnic Kyrgyz families, to keep residents of Kalacha from encroaching on the Kyrgyz territory.

I came to Maksat as part of an ongoing study conducted by the National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR) on infrastructure development in Central Asia. The study is a broad examination of the connection between the development of transport, water, energy and telecommunications infrastructure, or in many cases the lack of such development, and regional political stability. All five Central Asian countries were included in the research for the project which took place from April to June of 2004.¹ Maksat's physical and water infrastructure problems were the main reason for my visit.

It was immediately clear that the residents, who had come from various parts of the Kyrgyzstan's Batken oblast with the promise of houses, schools, electricity and water for drinking and irrigation, lack basic infrastructure. Upon arrival they found houses, but little else. Many of the residents returned to their original homes, but others did not have the means to do so. For these people, life has improved with the arrival of limited electricity, a school and a single village pump for drinking water, yet most still express both a desire to return to their original homes, as well as frustration at the deception by authorities to move them to Maksat.

In an effort to supply the village with much needed water for irrigation, Kyrgyz authorities plan to use water from the Leilek River, which flows along the village through Kyrgyz territory before entering Kalacha. They estimate the project's completion by the end of 2004. Residents of Kalacha, however, fear that the water drawn off by the Kyrgyz will leave them with insufficient quantities for their own needs. Moreover, there are concerns that drawing off water for irrigation will cause the ground water to rise, potentially causing serious problems for low-lying, agricultural Kalacha. Some on the Tajik side point to a water-use quota agreed upon during the Soviet era that allocated 78 percent of the river's water to the then Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR), with the remaining 22 percent for the Kyrgyz SSR. Tajik observers also insist

that further water use by the Kyrgyz would push them over their allocated amount, though they acknowledge there is no accurate mechanism for measuring water use.²

While the allocation of water resources remains a potential source of localized conflict in regions such as Maksat, Kyrgyzstan and

Tajikistan have primarily amiable relations at the provincial and national levels. Both countries have more difficulties with Uzbekistan, which is reluctant to enter into cooperative infrastructure projects, has instituted strict visa regimes and has even mined parts of its border with both Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan.³ In order to reduce its reliance on Uzbekistan for energy, Tajikistan negotiated a joint project with Kyrgyzstan to import electricity from Batken to Soghd. It was due in part to this project that Tajik authorities in Dushanbe told local officials not to push the issue of Maksat's water use.

While the localized conflict along the Tajik-Kyrgyz border is troubling, a comparable situation involving inhabitants from Tajikistan's Pamir Mountains and Zarafshan Valley is even more worrisome. These residents were relocated to areas along the country's border with Uzbekistan, allegedly for their own safety from the risk of avalanches. They were moved to the districts of Beshkent, just north of Shaartuz in southwest Tajikistan, and Zafarabad in northern Tajikistan. Like those relocated to Maksat, these residents were promised a well-developed infrastructure and, in some cases, small sums of cash. Some victims of avalanches were told that they would only be offered assistance from the government if they moved to these locations. Arriving at their new homes, villagers found desolate regions with no infrastructure. In some cases, they arrived to houses that were little more than sheds, sometimes without roofs. In Beshkent, many of the relocated villagers are still without clean drinking or irrigation water.⁴

In addition to being economically disadvantaged, these people face major public health crises, with diseases such as typhoid increasingly prevalent. The coping mechanisms they used to survive in their mountainous homes are useless in the arid plains. Returning is out of the question for most, given their lack of money for even basic survival, much less for transportation or the substantial fee for changing residency permits. Meanwhile, there are already reports of



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© DANIEL WAUGH

Mountain village in Tajikistan on the road to Samarkand

tension between the new inhabitants and nearby, long time residents, who are upset over the further strain placed on the area's already limited resources. Some fear that combined with the regional divisions that were at the heart of Tajikistan's civil war, these tensions could reignite conflict in the region.⁵

These population transfers were officially carried out for the benefit of those involved, but most observers in Tajikistan see them as attempts to "Tajikize" these border regions and to populate areas for future cotton cultivation. The government of Tajikistan has announced its plans to relocate thousands more. According to one foreign official in Dushanbe, the hope is that the humanitarian crises for these villagers will be sufficiently dire that the international community will rush to build the basic infrastructure they require. This could create a very difficult situation whereby countries would face a choice between aiding a destabilizing policy by building the needed infrastructure or sitting by while acute humanitarian crises persist.

The destructive population policies in Kyrgyzstan and, especially, in Tajikistan, show just how misplaced regional leaders' priorities can be. Thus far, relocations have taken place largely below the international community's radar. Similar transfers are known to have occurred in

Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. Given the potential of the region and the relocation's impact on peoples' lives, it is essential that the international community monitor these situations and exert its influence to discourage such policies. The troubling consequences for the region and its people demand that the international community take action. ♦

Justin Odum received his MA from REECAS in 2003. This article is based on research he conducted in Central Asia for NBR.

- 1 Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan.
- 2 Author's interview with representative of the Association of Scientific and Technical Intelligentsia, Khojand, Tajikistan, May 2004.
- 3 Uzbek authorities recently announced that they have begun to de-mine some of their border regions, though Kyrgyz and Tajik observers have not been allowed to verify this.
- 4 Author's interview with representatives of the United Nations Development Program and the International Organization for Migration, Dushanbe, Tajikistan, May 2004.
- 5 Author's interview with representatives of the United Nations Development Program, Dushanbe, Tajikistan, May 2004.

HOT SPOTS IN OUR WORLD

A UW Jackson School Lecture Series

April 6-May 11, 2005

Hear experts from the University of Washington Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies discuss Iraq, Kosovo, North Korea and other troubled areas during this evening lecture series. Challenges in each hot spot and implications for the United States will be examined by distinguished faculty from the Jackson School's outreach centers.

Lectures

April 6 -- Iraq: What Next?

Ellis Goldberg, Director and Chair,
Middle East Studies

**April 13 -- Kosovo Final Status:
Independence or Something Less?**

Frederick Lorenz, Adjunct Professor,
Russian, East European and Central Asian
Studies and West European Studies

**April 20 -- Human Rights in
Southeast Asia**

Mary Callahan, Director and Chair,
International Studies

**April 27 -- The North Korean
Nuclear Issue**

Clark Sorensen, Chair, Korean Studies

**May 4 -- Global Food: Multinational
Corporations vs. Local Control**

Branden Born, Assistant Professor,
Urban Design & Planning; Affiliated
Faculty, Canadian Studies

May 11 -- India-Pakistan Relations

Keith Snodgrass, Associate Director,
South Asian Studies

Cost for all six lectures in this series is \$69 (Reg# 73654). Individual lectures are \$15 each. The lectures will be held from 7 to 8:30 p.m. on the UW campus, Seattle. To register, call 206-897-8939 or 1-800-506-1325. Or for more information, visit extension.washington.edu/ext/special/jackson

Application to Take a Less Commonly Taught Language for Current and Prospective UW Students and Faculty

The REECAS Program offers instruction in many languages from the region, but we have found that there is the occasional need for a graduate student to take a less commonly taught language (LCTL) not available at the University or to attain training at a more advanced level in one of our regularly-taught regional languages. Often, students will enroll in summer language programs for this sort of LCTL or advanced training, but that provides only one year of study. Many students would like to continue to study these courses during the regular academic year. In the two years of the program's existence, over 30 students have had the opportunity to study Kazak, Kyrgyz, Georgian and Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian.

In order to augment our offerings, REECAS has attained some funding from the US Department of Education to support LCTL/advanced language tutorials. Thus, we are inviting applications to propose such tutorials for the 2005–06 academic year. A fellowship committee composed of REECAS Program faculty will meet in March to consider applications. We expect to make our decisions as expeditiously as possible, so that announcements of the awards can be made by the beginning of April.

During specified quarters of 2005–06, successful applicants will be provided with a tutor from the appropriate native-speaking community in the Puget Sound region, and a faculty member to oversee the tutorial, in order to provide necessary language pedagogy skills. We will consider the following factors in making our decision: the importance of the tutorial for achieving students' professional/academic goals; the number of other students interested in the same language or language level; and the availability of appropriate native-language tutors.

**Applications
are due
March 1, 2005.**

TO APPLY: Please submit a 2-page essay, double-spaced, 12-point font (Courier, Arial or Times New Roman), with 1 inch margins on all sides, to explain your interest in learning a LCTL or advanced level of a regional language and your plans for utilizing it in your research or post-graduate endeavors. You must be UW faculty, student or graduate school applicant to be considered.

If you are currently enrolled in the university, please submit a transcript and letter of recommendation along with your essay.

Please send application to: Stephen E. Hanson, Director, REECAS Program, Box 353650, Seattle, WA 98195

REECAS Graduates Participate in US Nonproliferation Effort

BY NICHOLAS BUTLER WITH CONTRIBUTIONS FROM DOUGLAS DYER

After graduating with Master of Arts Degrees from the REECAS program in 2004, Doug Dyer and I received internships in the Nonproliferation Graduate Program organized by the Pacific Northwest National Laboratory (PNNL). The program selects current or recent graduate students, trains them in the technology and policy of nonproliferation and then sends them to Kazakhstan, Russia, Ukraine, Washington, DC or Germantown, MD for a one-year appointment. Graduate fellows work for the National Nuclear Security Administration (NNSA) in several key areas of nonproliferation, including: securing nuclear materials, nuclear weapons and radiological materials at potentially vulnerable sites; reducing quantities of nuclear and radiological materials; bolstering border security overseas; strengthening international nonproliferation and export control regimes; downsizing the nuclear weapons infrastructure of the former Soviet Union; mitigating risks at nuclear facilities worldwide; and conducting national security research and development.

The field of radiological security is relatively new and continually evolving to meet the demands of governments and communities in the post-Cold War world. Conventionally, international and domestic security efforts focused on protecting special nuclear materials, such as plutonium and highly-enriched uranium, but recently countries have begun to reevaluate their approaches to dealing with their nuclear arsenals. The international community has begun to upgrade security and environmental protection at facilities utilizing newly developed safety and scientific methods. The goals of the PNNL program are important components of this new strategy.

Nestled along the Columbia River in south-central Washington in Hanford, with its famous B-Reactor, PNNL produced the plutonium for the world's first atomic explosion, the Trinity Test, on July 16, 1945, at Alamogordo, New Mexico. The B-reactor also produced the pluto-



Nicholas Butler and Douglas Dyer examine a piece of equipment used in anti-proliferation efforts

onium for the atomic bomb dropped on Nagasaki on August 9, 1945. This reactor and its other plutonium production reactors have long been shut down, but the infrastructure that supported the nuclear endeavors still functions today, with the very different goal of creating ways to eliminate the very materials they used to produce.

The US effort to deal with nuclear nonproliferation is spread across several agencies, including the Department of Defense, the Department of State and a semi-autonomous organization within the Department of Energy: the National Nuclear Security Administration Office of Defense Nuclear Nonproliferation. An innovative world leader in nonproliferation and storage and handling of nuclear waste, the lab is working with the federal government to find environmentally and strategically sound means of creating and providing energy to communities. PNNL's successful evolution from producer of weapon components to producer of nonproliferation technologies illus-

trates the potential possessed by other nuclear sites around the world.

Russia's "closed" nuclear cities such as Arzamas-16, Semipalatinsk-16 or Zlatoust-20 closely resemble the once "secret city" PNNL occupied in Hanford, Washington, which explains why the lab pays particular attention to Russia's nuclear situation. The abundance of idle and still active nuclear reactors operating in these Russian cities is also of particular concern to nonproliferation experts worldwide. Most of these reactors are still in operation, not because of a desire to continue to produce plutonium for weapons, but because these reactors provide the sole power and heat sources for thousands of nearby residents.

Doug and I work on different aspects of nuclear security, but have both found the subject extremely interesting and in line with our regional and academic interests. My position is part of the recently created Office of Global Threat Reduction. The Office identifies, secures, removes and/or facilitates the disposition of vulnerable

© NICHOLAS BUTLER

nuclear and other radiological materials and equipment around the world that pose a threat to the US and to the international community. The office approaches this task through several programs, including the Radiological Threat Reduction Program (RTR), the Russian Research Reactor Fuel Return Program (RRRFR), the Foreign Research Reactor Spent Nuclear Fuel Acceptance Program, the Reduced Enrichment for Research and Test Reactors Program and the BN-350 Spent Fuel Disposition Project. I initially worked on the RTR program, co-managing a project to upgrade security at various sites in Kenya. This afforded me the opportunity to travel to Kenya to see the program's work first hand. Upon returning from Kenya, I joined the RRRFR Program and the BN-350 Project.

Doug's office, the Office of Nuclear Warhead Protection (ONWP), works closely with the Russian Navy to secure Russian warhead-storage sites in various areas on the Pacific and Arctic Oceans, as well as the Baltic Sea. This project involves large investment in new entry-

control points, physical barriers, perimeter gates as well as interior systems that restrict access to materials of interest and force would-be thieves to negotiate multiple control systems in order to exit the facilities. The program is notable for its attempt to invest in local, Russian resources to sustain new security systems after US funding expires. To encourage this, Russian equipment and Russian labor are used from the beginning of the process whenever possible. Additionally, initial assessments by the US Department of Energy through PNNL, Sandia National Laboratory, Oakridge National Laboratory and Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory in addition to the Russian Ministry of Defense, attempt to identify any effective indigenous security systems. This process helps to assure that Russia will accept and implement the systems. Doug will travel to sites in Russia, complete briefing reports, participate in conferences and trainings and learn how the government operates and interfaces with contractors.

Thus far, our new jobs with NNSA have

been extremely rewarding. Doug and I are both learning about the way the government functions on the ground, the intricacies of the budget process, and the challenges of Washington, DC politics. It has been extremely interesting to make the transition from classroom analysis of foreign policy and proliferation issues to dealing with them first hand.

We both remain dedicated Russophiles with a desire to see an equitable and fair Russian-American relationship, starting in the first place with mutual respect and genuine cultural and political exchange. This is, of course, most important in regard to the two countries' nuclear posturing and overall security attitudes toward one another. The REECAS program at University of Washington and PNNL's NGP program have given us wide latitude to pursue our goals of broadening Russian-American friendship in the future. ♦

Nicholas Butler and Douglas Dyer received their MAs from REECAS in Spring 2004.

THE JACKSON SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES PRESENTS:

Documentary Film Workshop:

Teaching Diversity and Cross-Cultural Understanding Through Film

Saturday, December 4, 2004, 8:30am – 4:30pm
Kane Hall, University of Washington

This one-day workshop will show educators how to use documentary film to teach students about cultural diversity and cross-cultural understanding. The morning session will be conducted by Carol Hermer, President of the Society for Visual Anthropology and film curator Seattle Art Museum, who will provide techniques and strategies for making effective use of film in the classroom. The afternoon will focus on film from specific regions of the world including: East Asia, Southeast Asia, South Asia, the former Soviet Union and Canada.

All videos previewed at the workshop are available for classroom use from the Jackson School outreach centers at no cost to educators. Video catalogues will be distributed and instructors receive eight clock hours at no additional charge. Downloadable registration forms at:

<http://jsis.artsci.washington.edu/04filmworkshop.pdf>

PARTICIPANTS WILL RECEIVE:

Eight clock hours, continental breakfast, box lunch, video resource catalogues and bibliographies.

To register, send a check for \$40 payable to the "University of Washington" to: Canadian Studies Center, Box 353650, University of Washington, Seattle WA 98195. Students enrolled in teacher training programs pay only \$20. For more information, telephone 206-543-6269, or email: canada@u.washington.edu.

Remembering Toregeldy Tolubaev

BY HEATHER SALFRANK

Toregeldy Tolubaev (REECAS MA, 2003) died in a car accident while visiting family and friends in his hometown of Karaganda, Kazakhstan on August 20, 2004.



© MARIANA MARKOVA

Toregeldy Tolubaev

Memorials are difficult to write. I am afraid that my words will not capture the beautiful person that Toregeldy was. Sitting here typing, however, I can see his wide,

bright and ready smile in my mind. A smile that was emblematic of his personality — it projected kindness and generosity, depth of character, a passion for life, sincerity, brilliance and wit. It was also infectious. Toregeldy's warm and giving character spread like a comforting warm blanket, covering everyone with whom he interacted. Over the past few weeks, I have received numerous emails and letters marked for his family in Kazakhstan in which colleagues and professors have expressed remembrances.

Toregeldy had a brilliant mind and a brilliant future ahead of him. After

working short-term for the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe office in Almaty, he decided that he needed a more solid background in economics in order to contribute effectively to civil society development in Kazakhstan. Toregeldy dedicated his weekends to studying in the local university library. One month later, he passed an exam with the prestigious international auditing firms Ernst and Young and Price Waterhouse and was offered jobs with both companies. He was due to start his position at Price Waterhouse this past September.

I first got to know Toregeldy at University of Washington's Suzzallo library while pouring over microfiches of Russian newspapers, circa 1913. He generously offered to help me decipher the pre-revolutionary Cyrillic script and I quickly understood that speaking four languages fluently (Kazakh, Russian, Turkish and English) at the age of 24 was merely one of the many things that impressed me about him. Toregeldy approached his life and ideas with a sincerity of thought and a depth of insight that rivals few. He asked hard questions, academically and personally, and was never satisfied with

routine answers. As one REECAS colleague recently mentioned, an excellent question from Toregeldy at the end of a mundane lecture session could turn the tide of the entire hour. He fully engaged ideas, was hungry to learn as much as he could, and was passionate about his subjects, the world, his country and his relationships. Toregeldy deeply cared about the things he discussed and about people with whom he interacted. He was committed to affecting change in the world and, more particularly, about using his education to enact positive, civil society building change in Kazakhstan. We had long discussions over coffee and tea, in Seattle and Almaty, on civil society development and democracy building — and what they really mean — and on Kazakh history, culture and language. In Kazakhstan, he opened up his home, his family and his country to me. Toregeldy became a good friend and later, when I went to Almaty, a brother. I am grieved at our loss, but grateful for the opportunity to have known so well such a beautiful, sincere and gifted person. In his short life, Toregeldy affected many people and he will be deeply missed. ♦

Toregeldy Tolubaev as a Student and Scholar

BY STEPHEN E. HANSON

All of us here at the University of Washington who had the chance to work with Toregeldy during his two years in Seattle will never forget his intellectual curiosity, his warmth and his generosity. Really, there are no words to describe the profound personal impact Toregeldy had on everyone he met. Even after he returned home to Kazakhstan, I felt sure that we would be in touch for the rest of our lives.

As Toregeldy's professor and advisor, I want to emphasize something else about him: he was absolutely brilliant. In all my years of teaching here at the University of Washington, I have never encountered a student who without any previous experience in Western academia at all so

quickly understood the full complexities of academic theory, and who could so powerfully and creatively connect theory to the realities of his own social milieu. Toregeldy's Master's thesis, entitled *Imagining Homeland: Mobilization of Russian Speakers in the Former Soviet Union Republics (1989-1991)*, examined the different levels of political mobilization of Russian minorities in post-Soviet Estonia, Moldova, Crimea and Kazakhstan. It is one of the best works on this topic I have ever read. His argument that the semi-autonomous institutional status of Transnistria and Crimea in early Soviet history generated a kind of "imagined" regional community among Russian speakers in these regions, while the lack of any

separate institutional status for Russians in the Baltics or Central Asia made their post-Soviet mobilization comparatively difficult, struck me as novel, persuasive and powerful. Nor am I alone in this assessment. Shortly after Toregeldy presented his main argument at a conference on Central Asia at Indiana University in the spring of 2003, my colleague at Indiana, Henry Hale, wrote to me directly to tell me how impressed everyone was with Toregeldy's paper. Henry could not believe that Toregeldy was only a Master's student! Both Henry and I strongly encouraged him to get his doctorate in political science at some point in the future. It is a wonderful thing that we have Toregeldy's completed

continued next page

thesis in our library as a testament to his deep intellectual insight.

I have no doubt that Toregelyd would have been a huge success in academia, given his quick conceptual mind, his

prodigious work ethic and his genuine love of scholarship. But, of course, Toregelyd was going to be a success in anything he decided to pursue. I am so grateful that I had the chance to work

closely with him and to get to know him as a person. His loss leaves a gaping hole in the REECAS community and also in my heart. ♦

REECAS NEWS

REECAS graduate **JONATHAN CARVER** (MA, 2004) was recently hired as the Program Manager for the Washington-Sakhalin Law Enforcement Partnership at the Foundation For Russian-American Economic Cooperation (FRAEC).

VANNI D'ALESSIO, Assistant Professor of Modern History in the Political Science Department at the University of Naples "Federico II", visited UW this summer. Dr. D'Alessio spent six weeks researching the cultural, political and ethnic problems connected with the collapse of the Austrian Empire. This research follows up his doctoral research, *Beginning of Nationalism and Political Mobilization in 19th Century Istria*.

KATARZYNA DZIWIWREK, Associate Professor in the Slavic Languages and Literatures Department, Barbara Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk and Anthony McEnery recently published "Polskoangielska gramatyka kontrastywna konstrukcji zlozonych oparta na jezykowym materiale korpusowym – projekt badawczy". In *Wroclawska Dyskusja o Jezyku Polskim Jako Obcym*. For a list of the upcoming Polish events in the Slavic Department, visit the website: <http://depts.washington.edu/slavweb>.

KAREN FREEZE, Visiting Scholar, REECAS, and Coordinator for Central and Eastern Europe, *Tensions of Europe: Technology and the Making of Europe*, a European Science Foundation Network, was program chair of TOE's first plenary conference, held in Budapest in March at the Central European University. At the conference, Freeze presented a paper on an unknown chapter in British-Czech collaboration in the textile machine

industry during the height of the Cold War.

STEPHEN E. HANSON is now Senior Advisor for Eurasian Policy Studies at the National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR); he has contributed a chapter on "Russia: Evil Empire or Strategic Partner?" for NBR's annual edited volume *Strategic Asia*. Hanson was also invited to participate in the Fall 2004 Roundtable in *Slavic Review* devoted to a discussion of Stephen Cohen's essay on the reformability of the Soviet system.

REECAS graduate **A. MAHIN KARIM** (MA, 2004) was recently hired as the Assistant Director for the Eurasia Policy Studies Program at NBR.

STEPHEN T. KERR, Associate Dean for Academic Programs and Professor in the College of Education and Olga Makhovskaia, a Senior Researcher at the Institute of Psychology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, recently published an article in *Rossiiskaia Gazeta* entitled: "A New World for Those 16 and Older. Schools in Russia and the US: Are They Better or Worse?" In Spring 2004, Dr. Kerr was honored with a UW award for dedication to lifetime learning.

REECAS graduate **MARIANA MARKOVA** (MA, 2004) is pursuing a PhD at UW in the Anthropology Department.

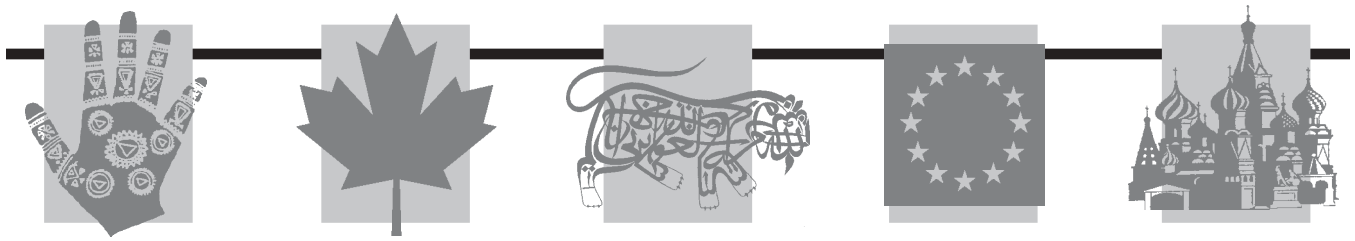
KAZIMIERZ Z. POZNANSKI'S book, *Negative Globalization: Expropriation of National Capital in Eastern Europe*, about privatization in the post-communist Eastern Europe, is now slated for publication in China. The book addresses not only Eastern Europe but also Russia and

China, thus providing a comparative framework for analyzing transition models. A seminar was organized at the Academy in Beijing to discuss the book.

SARAH ABBREVAYA STEIN, Associate Professor, Department of History and the Jackson School of International Studies. Her book, *Making Jews Modern: the Yiddish and Ladino Press in the Russian and Ottoman Empires* (Indiana University Press, 2004) won the Salo Wittmayer Baron Prize for Best First Book in Jewish Studies for 2003. Stein has been awarded a National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship and a Charles A. Ryksamp Research Fellowship from the American Council of Learned Societies for work on her new book, *Colonialism's Forgotten Cultures: European Jews in Sub-Saharan Africa, c. 1870–1930*.

GEORGE WRIGHT was invited by the US State Department to give a seminar on Central Asia entitled "Why is Uzbekistan Committing 'Economic Suicide'?" He reviewed current Uzbek economic policy and argued that its defiance of prescriptions put forth by international financial institutions was not solely the result of domestic political considerations, but had its own internal logic that responded to perceived goals and constraints. A two-hour discussion centered on the proposition that since lecturing the regime was clearly not working, we should consider reengaging in discussions rooted first in how best to achieve Uzbek priorities.

REECAS graduate **EMILY SCHUCKMAN** (MA, 2004) is pursuing a PhD at UW in the Slavic Languages and Literatures Department.



International Updates 2005

TRENDS AND TRANSITIONS IN YOUR WORLD

A lecture-dinner series addressing current international issues: we offer the latest insights from top university scholars, convenient early evening programs and buffet dinners featuring catered international cuisine.

Sponsored by the Outreach Centers in the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies and the Global Business Center in the School of Business Administration, University of Washington, Seattle.

INTERNATIONAL UPDATES SERIES, 2005

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 23

Western Europe & Global Business

Social Entrepreneurism in Europe

Speaker TBA

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 2

Russian, East Europe and Central Asia & Canada

Ancient Trade Networks Between Canada and Russia

Tom Mexsis Happynook, Founding Chairman, World Council of Whalers

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 9

East Asia and Southeast Asia

Tourism in China and Northern Vietnam

Duong Bich Hahn, UW Anthropology Doctoral Candidate

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 16

Middle East and South Asia

Social Narcotics: Betel Nut [in India] and Qat [in Yemen]

Mathew Schmalz, Assistant Professor, Department of Religious Studies, College of the Holy Cross
Robert Burrowes, Lecturer, Middle East Center and Political Science, UW



INTERNATIONAL UPDATES REGISTRATION, 2005

LOCATION: Walker-Ames Room, Kane Hall, University of Washington, Seattle

TIME: 5:30 – 8:30 p.m.

COST: Lecture-Dinner fee is \$25.00 per session, per person. Check or money order only, payable to the University of Washington.

DEADLINE for registration is one week prior to each session. Please register early, as space is limited. Participants are eligible for 3 clock hours per session. They will receive clock hour forms at each dinner. For more information, call 206-221-6374 or e-mail canada@u.washington.edu.

Please mail registration form and fees of \$25.00 per session, per person (payable to the University of Washington) to:

International Updates Registration
c/o Canadian Studies Center
University of Washington
Box 353650
Seattle, WA 98195-3650

International Updates 2005: Trends and Transitions in Your World

LAST NAME		FIRST NAME
ADDRESS		
CITY	STATE	ZIP CODE
DAYTIME TELEPHONE		FAX
EMAIL		
Teachers also please indicate:		
SCHOOL/SCHOOL DISTRICT		GRADE LEVEL TAUGHT

Please mark the dates for which you are registering:

- ☐ Wednesday, February 23: Western Europe & Global Business (TBA)
- ☐ Wednesday, March 2: Russian, East European and Central Asia & Canada (Happybrook)
- ☐ Wednesday, March 9: East Asia and Southeast Asia (Duong)
- ☐ Wednesday, March 16: Middle East and South Asia (Schmalz & Burrowes)

Check if:

- ☐ Vegetarian meals are desired
- ☐ Clock hours are desired (no additional charge)

The University of Washington is committed to providing access, equal opportunity and reasonable accommodation in its services, programs, activities, education and employment for individuals with disabilities. To request disability accommodation, contact the Disability Services Office at least ten days in advance at 206-543-6450 (voice); 206-543-6452 (TTY); 206-685-7264 (fax); or dso@u.washington.edu (email).

UPCOMING REECAS-RELATED EVENTS

JANUARY 11, 18: REECAS Performance Series with Sherman Clay & Company

Please join us for two piano concerts with REECA regional music at Sherman Clay, 1624 Fourth Avenue, Seattle. Concerts will be held at 7:00 p.m.

FEBRUARY 7: REECAS Speaker Series

"The Rise and Fall of the Brezhnev Doctrine in Soviet Foreign Policy." Matthew Ouimet, US Department of State. Thomson Hall, Room 317, 3:30 p.m.

FEBRUARY 2: REECAS Speaker Series

"Authoritarian State Building and Regime Dynamics in Belarus, Moldova, Russia and Ukraine." Lucan Way, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Temple University. Communications Building, Room 226, 7:30 p.m.

FEBRUARY: Film and Discussion Series on the REECAS Region

Following each film, a professor will lead a discussion about the film and provide a political and cultural context. In conjunction with Edmonds Community College at the Edmonds Floral Center on Tuesdays, 4:30p.m. and 7:00 p.m.

MARCH 2: REECAS-Canadian Studies Center International Updates Lecture

"Ancient Trade Networks Between Canada and Russia." Tom Mexsis Happynook, Founding Chairman, World Council of Whalers.

Kane Hall, Walker-Ames Room, 5:30-8:30 p.m. See p. 23 for more information.

APRIL 9: 11th Annual REECAS-NW Conference at Reed College, Portland, OR

"Politics and Culture in the Post-Communist World." From 9:00 a.m. –6:00 p.m. See p. 6 for more information.

APRIL 11: The Donald W. Treadgold Memorial Lecture

"Remaining Relevant After Communism: The Role of the Writer in Eastern Europe, 1989–2004." Andrew Wachtel, Chair, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, Northwestern University. Parrington Hall Forum, Room 309, 3:30 p.m. A reception will follow.

APRIL 13: Jackson School – Extensions Program Series: Hot Spots in our World

"Kosovo Final Status: Independence or Something Less?" Dr. Fredrick Lorenz, Adjunct Professor, JSIS, UW. See p. 16 for more information.

MAY 6–7: Islam, Asia, Modernity Conference

Kane Hall, Walker-Ames Room. This event will include speakers from Central, East, South and Southeast Asia as well as experts across the US.

For more information on these and other events, go to the REECAS website: <http://depts.washington.edu/reecas>.



REECAS NEWSLETTER

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