

Central Asia and the US After September 11

BY AMBASSADOR JOSEPH A. PRESEL

This is an excerpt from a speech given by Ambassador Presel at the University of Washington.

Thank you for the opportunity to speak at the University of Washington where I know there is a lot of interest in and understanding of Central Asia. Since Seattle is one of the gates to the East, I hazard that your view of the region is more relevant to its future than what we in the eastern US see.

Today I will try to be provocative about how our view of the region has changed as a result of September 11 and what it means for the US Government and for the US in general in our interaction with this important and varied region.

Prior to September 11, the relationship between the United States and Central Asia was quite stagnant. We knew little about the region: its history, psychology, culture or ethnic makeup. Many of us knew neither where Central Asia was nor what it was and had still less of an idea about what it might become. Academic interest in the area was mostly in its history, archeology, art and sociology. Within the US Government, the main issue was merely how to divide the area bureaucratically: in the State Department, the National Security Council and the CIA, the five states "belonged" to the former USSR, Afghanistan to South Asia, Iran to the Middle East. We tended not to consider the Islamic aspect of the region, nor did we differentiate among the five independent states that emerged from the USSR. This was a mistake: some are big, some small, some rich, others poor. One has a strong Slavic connection, one is Persian, others Turkic; some nomadic societies, others sedentary. All were victims of Stalin's nationality policy with synthetic cultures and irrational borders. To many, they were just "the stans".



At the market in Samarkand

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Our economic interests in the area were not overwhelming: oil and natural gas investment, mining and cotton production. The economic heritage of 75 years of communism and regional instability limited our potential involvement. Also, there was little cultural exchange or tourism and the absence of diasporas in the US meant no constituency to agitate for activity and involvement.

The US government's goals for the area were mostly in development and ameliorative "soft" aspects of policy: encouraging a market economy, civil society, democratic institutions, human rights, regional cooperation, exchanges, etc. Assistance was humanitarian, technical and environmental. There were a few "hard" elements as well: getting

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Kazakhstan to give up its nuclear weapons, helping Uzbekistan to clean up the Soviet legacy of chemical and biological weapons and working with all five countries to fight drug trafficking and terrorism. There were also political, intelligence and military relationships to nurture and crime and corruption to fight.



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Accountability? Deloitte and Touche meets traditional Uzbek crafts in a Samarkand carpet factory

We thought about Central Asia mostly in its Cold War context; the USSR was the enemy and we looked on its demise as a plus for the area, one without minuses.

September 11 meant an historical shift in our relations with Central Asia. The Uzbek Foreign Minister told me of their astonishment that within hours of the Uzbeks taking the decision to allow American use of Khanabad air base, the US Air Force had C-5s and C-141s arriving in twenty minute intervals at the Tashkent airport and disgorging huge quantities of equipment. The sheer magnitude of American power and the speed with which it can be exerted was mightily impressive. It has made all five countries look at the US in new ways; we matter a lot more to them now than before.

It was not just the impact of military involvement that has increased the specific gravity which the US and all its manifestations have. CNN's attention to the five countries was equally unexpected and *The New York Times* and *Washington Post* have, between them, at least an article a week on the region. This attention has had an immediate impact on these countries and they have begun to look at themselves in new ways. They

have also begun to reassess their relations with other countries in the region: Russia, China, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India, Iran and Turkey.

Looking from the US perspective at the long term prospects for the government's official relationship with these nations, I am not terribly optimistic. The US tends to attempt to solve problems — it is not just the government, it is a cultural thing — by throwing money at them. Quite often, where other countries have policies, we have enthusiasms. I like to make the analogy of our foreign policy with the American idea of “the flavor of the month” for marketing ice cream. I should make clear here that I do not at all single out the present Administration, it is an approach that Administrations of both parties consistently adopt.

The problem of sustaining US interests in Central Asia is especially clear when viewed on a global scale. It is commonplace to say that the US is the only superpower, but even a superpower cannot do everything, everywhere. We are discovering this now in the wake of the war in Iraq. Our continued engagement in Iraq will mean that resources committed to Afghanistan, and consequently Central Asia, will inevitably diminish. Furthermore, once we eventually declare an end to the fighting part of our Afghanistan mission, it is hard to see combat forces remaining for any length of time in its neighbors. At most, we will wish to keep the bases, especially the one in Uzbekistan, ready and available for US forces on a continuing basis. I believe that this will be far healthier than having our forces stationed there in large numbers, but it also will mean that Washington will take less of an interest in the region.

From the US official side, there will be less money and more advice. Our economic assistance increased sharply after September 11, but it is unlikely to continue at the present level, even if cooperation in combating drugs and terrorism continues at its high level. At the same time, the presence of our troops and the need for cooperation in the anti-terrorism fight has caused us to downplay criticisms of what we take to be shortcomings in these states on human rights, the market economy and anti-corruption measures. This too will likely change.

Of course it is in America's interest that

the community of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and of business continues to grow. I can say with confidence that this will happen. The countries are increasingly full of smart, English-speaking young people, accustomed to computers and the Internet as well as to questioning the existing government and social institutions. As a result, we can expect more disputes about religion or the repression of Islam and human rights violations, which in the long term is in the interests of the US and of the countries themselves.

On the economic front, US investment in oil and gas and other extractive industries will continue to grow. It is unlikely that there will be any major American investment in the manufacturing and services sectors, as we are doing in China or India. This is in part due to the physical isolation and the lack of knowledge of the area, but more to the fact that the countries have yet to promote real market economies or the banking, legal and other systems that western companies require. As for US exports, while fifty million people is a good-sized market, the population is poor and divided among five countries. Finally, the profusion of corruption remains a barrier to foreign investment.

I hope that we begin to look at the region differently, to fit it into a broader region, one that includes Pakistan and Iran. Additionally, we must think about how waning Russian (previously Soviet) influence and an increasing Islamic one has already changed the five countries and how it will do so in the future. As we do this, we will need all the help we can get, especially from the academic world.

I will leave it to your questions and comments to help me to judge to what extent our academic interest in and cooperation with the five countries will change in the next few years. I am hopeful that it will grow, that exchanges will increase in both directions, that more Americans study the languages and societies that are in many ways fundamentally different from ours and where the overlay of the Marxist approach to life still has influence. ♦

Joseph Presel served as Ambassador to Uzbekistan from November 1997 to October 2000.

A View From Afar

BY AIDA BORISOVNA LOMINADZE

"The crimson rose bloomed, proud and unhurried" BULAT OKUDJAVA

In Georgia, 2003 ended with a wave of rallies, protests and demands for the resignation of President Eduard Shevardnadze and for the annulment of the parliamentary election results. The leaders of the "United National Movement" under the direction of Mikhail Saakashvili protested that last October's elections to Georgia's sixth parliamentary session were illegitimate with violations committed by the election committee.

The surprisingly well organized opposition demonstrated from November 2–22: they were disciplined, civil and politically ethical. 100,000 people from almost every corner of Georgia participated in the rally, which reached its boiling point on November 22. On that day, the deputies began assembling for the new session in the parliament building. The resulting scene was paradoxical. Rallying near the parliament building, the public demanded the unconditional resignation of the president. In the meeting hall, seemingly unaware that the public demonstration was even happening, the president and deputies prepared for the opening of the parliamentary session. "At two o'clock in the afternoon, the leader of the nationalist movement, Mikhail Saakashvili, delivered president Shevardnadze a one-hour ultimatum — to resign or to be ousted — the end of the hour coincided with the opening of the meeting of the new parliament."ⁱ

The tension in the square reached such a peak that it was hard to restrain the crowd from action. But in the meeting hall, president Shevardnadze opened the session and proceeded to read his speech. "The president, from whom the majority of the population expected an assessment of the occurring events and a clear compromise, began to report about the success of democracy and plans for the future...at that exact place and at that exact time in the midst of a dull speech that promised nothing to the public, the 75-year-old president Shevardnadze's 30 year political career moved towards its

close."ⁱⁱ At the same time, the star of Mikhail Saakashvili began to eclipse Shevardnadze's in Georgia. Encouraged by supporters, the leaders of the opposition put their hands on their heads to indicate they were unarmed. They then entered the place where deputies chosen by the people belong, the place where the destiny of the country should be determined. It was an attempt to restore the self-worth of a humiliated people, whose interests had been ignored for years and whose voice had been "a voice in the wilderness" for the past 20 days.

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Georgia's parliament building in Tbilisi

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REECAS

203B Thomson Hall, Box 353650
University of Washington
Seattle, WA 98195-3650
PHONE: 206-543-4852
EMAIL: reecas@u.washington.edu

REECAS on the Internet:
<http://depts.washington.edu/reecas>

Stephen E. Hanson, Director and Program Chair,
EMAIL: shanson@u.washington.edu

Marta B. Mikkelsen, Assistant Director and
Outreach Coordinator
EMAIL: martam@u.washington.edu

Carrie O'Donoghue, Program Secretary
EMAIL: codonogh@u.washington.edu

Emily Schuckman, Newsletter Editor
EMAIL: schucks@u.washington.edu

Nicholas Butler, Outreach and Website Assistant
EMAIL: butlern@u.washington.edu

Glennys Young, Editor, Treadgold Papers
EMAIL: glennys@u.washington.edu

Douglas Dyer, Managing Editor, Treadgold Papers
EMAIL: treadgld@u.washington.edu

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Paying no heed to heavy security in the meeting hall and around parliament, the opposition leaders peacefully entered the premises with roses in their hands. Nobody was injured; only the seat of the president was damaged. The meeting of the sixth session of Georgia's parliament opened with the national anthem and closed shortly thereafter with occupation by the protestors.

On November 24, 2003, President Shevardnadze resigned. While attending Shevardnadze's resignation, former Chairman of the Parliament Zurab Zhvania noted, "He closed the final chapter and set the seal on what had happened so selflessly and beautifully over the past few days."ⁱⁱⁱ This departure completed Georgia's historic November as "The Rose Revolution".

Presidential elections took place in Georgia on January 4, 2004. None of Mikhail Saakashvili's five contenders could compete with his charisma, political influence, popularity with the people and personal reputation. US Ambassador Richard Miles declared, "The presidential elections took place in democratic conditions."^{iv} 97% of voters supported Mikhail Saakashvili. The ex-president of Georgia, along with the people, cast his vote for his young rival. His action confirmed the wise Georgian saying: *The homeland is happy when the son grows to be wiser than the father.* In other words, the best of human qualities develop from generation to generation — intellect, valor, honesty, conscience and love of the people. The opposition of two rivals was over. The older left his post without a single bullet fired by his security guards, in contrast to the tragic experience of recent years. The younger came to the post of president with a rose in his hand and the weight of difficult economic and political problems and separatist trends on his shoulders. The unprecedented credit of the people's trust in the new president signifies, "Today people have linked their serious hopes for the betterment of the country with the change of the regime and attach that hope to a particular person, a particular leader."^v

On January 25, 2004, the day of his inauguration, Mikhail Saakashvili, drove, walked and flew around Georgia giving credit to his supporters. The day began at



Burial site of King David IV the Builder at the Gelati Monastery

the Gelati Monastery (1106) in Kutaisi. Here he pledged a solemn oath near the tomb of the celebrated Georgian King David IV the Builder, who ascended the throne at 16 and devoted his entire life (36 years) to the unification of Georgia.^{vi} This king is close to President Saakashvili's heart, because when he took the throne in 1089, the very existence of Georgia was similarly threatened.

Slowly but surely, David the Builder freed Georgia from the Persians, the Arabs and the Turks. Through his constructive efforts, he restored Georgia's borders and defeated internal and external enemies. Maybe this example of service to the country from our distant ancestor was and will be the inspiration for the young president.

The inauguration ceremony took place in Tbilisi in front of a tremendous gathering of people as if all of Georgia had gathered in the capital. At the same place he had stood as a protestor not long ago, Mikhail Saakashvili appeared in a new capacity. Before the people stood a president whose first decree — on the new state flag — was signed in the presence of everyone. After a solemn oath, David the Builder's victory flag — white with a red cross extending its whole length and four small

crosses in each of its corners — was raised over the country to the sound of the Georgian national anthem. To the finale of Beethoven's ninth symphony, the European Union flag was then raised as a symbol and sign of Georgia's affiliation with the civilized world. President Mikhail Saakashvili directed his words to all the citizens collectively and individually. "Georgia must become the home of free, proud and educated people" — words of gold. Time will tell whether they remain only a resounding phrase or become reality.^{vii} The clock is ticking on the presidential term of Mikhail Saakashvili. We wish him every success.

These remarks make no claim to be a political commentary. You could call them vignettes of the political events that have taken place in their author's homeland — a distant stirring of the spirit. ♦

Aida Borisovna holds her doctorate in philology. She received her PhD from the Gorky Institute of World Literature in 1982 and taught Russian, Georgian and Caucasian literature there from 1988–2002. She also taught at the Lomonosov Moscow State University from 1982–1997. A native of Georgia, she has a great passion for the country and follows the events there closely. Regular communication with writers in Georgia and Russia keep her abreast of literary developments and current events in these countries. Dr. Lominadze is currently teaching a Georgian language course at UW and a course on the role of the Caucasus in Russian literature.

This article was translated from the original Russian by Emily Schuckman with assistance from Dr. James West.

i Kvali, www.kvali.com/kvali.

ii *ibid.*

iii *ibid.*

iv Radio Liberty, www.rferl.org.

v *ibid.*

vi www.parliament.ge/GENERAL/HISTORY/pergamdav.JPG.

vii Jaba Devdarini. "Saakashvili Relies on Combination of Old and New to Assert Authority." *Eurasianet*, January 26, 2004. www.eurasianet.org/departments/insight/articles/evav012604.shtml.

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Privatization in Transition Economies: The Case Study of Balkan Airlines

BY MINA KIRILOV

Born in Bulgaria and having lived there until 1996, I was awed at the transformation my country underwent following the collapse of communism and the rapid pace at which the economy and society changed. Economic restructuring, which made the privatization of state assets one of its main features, was, and still is, extremely difficult. Privatization was particularly controversial because it implied with near certainty that the process would result in huge inequities. By analyzing the experience of Balkan Airlines, I hope to show an example of how privatization did not work to the benefit of society but instead catered to private special interests.

The goals of privatization were to remove state subsidies from underperforming enterprises and to create incentives for entrepreneurship. It was also meant to eliminate the allocation of power by the state, which many thought was responsible for inefficiencies in the economy and the diffusion of corruption. Achieving the goals of privatization was a daunting task. Although much had been written about transitioning from capitalism to communism, in the early days of reform few countries had actually tried to convert a command economy into an efficient and functioning market economy. Therefore, it is not surprising that instead of creating efficiency and accountability, privatization sometimes led to disastrous results.

The Bulgarian Government, with help from the Soviet Union, created Balkan Airlines in 1949. This centralized, large, state-owned enterprise owned 50 Russian-made aircrafts, all airports and travel bureaus in Bulgaria (and many around the world), two hotels and educational and recreational facilities. It serviced roughly 50 international destinations including cities in Europe, Africa and Asia as well as charter destinations, reaching all continents.

Although the company suffered from inefficiencies and inadequacies, it nevertheless had established an international presence. Following the collapse of communism, the airline expected to benefit greatly from the development of the tourism industry. Beach resorts on the Black Sea, ski resorts in the mountains of Rila, Pirin and Rodopi, as well as sites rich with cultural and historical heritage were attractive markets for Balkan Airlines. In fact, during the past fourteen years of transition, tourism is one of the few industries that has grown consistently. Unfortunately, Balkan Airlines' financial issues excluded them from this travel boom.

Following the disintegration of the communist system, Balkan Airlines desperately needed structural, technological and financial realignment. The company leased several Boeing aircrafts to renew its fleet, attempted to streamline operations and took steps toward privatizing the company. Despite these efforts, the company reported a loss of \$22 million in 1993.ⁱ

As a result, the government



A Balkan Airlines Tu-154 airplane

decided to postpone privatization. By 1997, following a substantial reform of its cost structure and growth in Bulgaria's economy, the airline's finances had improved.ⁱⁱ The Privatization Agency decided to sell the company while it was performing well, in order to obtain a more profitable deal.

The goals of privatization were to remove state subsidies from underperforming enterprises and to create incentives for entrepreneurship.

The Bulgarian government sought a strategic investor, interested in the future development of the company, rather than one concerned only with financial gain. The Zeevi Group of Israel won the bid to buy Balkan Airlines in August 1999. Although the company had no previous experience in managing an airline, it entered negotiations partnered with Arkia, one of Israel's leading vacation travel airlines. That, however, was the end of Arkia's involvement. During preliminary negotiations, the new owners agreed to expand the airline's cargo activity and its network of international, regional and local passenger flights.

Zeevi Group acquired Balkan Airlines for \$150,000. In privatization deals, the purchasing price is usually nominal as the buyer is obligated either to invest in the company and/or to assume past



A Balkan Airlines Postcard from the mid-1970s

debts. For example, Austrian Airlines offered to pay a nominal fee of \$1 to acquire Balkan Airlines in the mid-1990s. Zeevi Group agreed to repay \$30 million of the company's debt and invest \$100 million in the airline over the next five years. According to the deal, Zeevi Group held 75% of the company's stock, the Bulgarian government 20% and the employees 5%. The company would continue to be the national carrier. Soon after the sale, Zeevi claimed that assets described in the deal were missing and that debts were higher than reported. In response, they began selling assets — airplanes, lucrative time slots at foreign airports and real estate in foreign countries. The number of destinations was reduced from 55 to 23. Many perceived the company's actions as an indication of its lack of interest in the future of the national carrier. It seemed that Balkan Airlines had been sold to an enterprise whose only goal was to make a quick profit, exactly the kind of buyer they had tried to avoid. In early 2001, Zeevi sued the Bulgarian government for misrepresenting the assets of the company and the government countersued for fraudulent bankruptcy. Balkan Airlines was grounded for two and a half months, incurring a loss of \$1.1 million. In March 2001, the courts annulled the privatization deal and declared Balkan Airlines insolvent. The creditors of Balkan Airlines again became creditors of the state, as it assumed the company's debts. In the end, the Bulgarian taxpayers had to pay the bill.

In the case of Balkan Airlines, privatization proved disastrous due in large part to errors made by the government either out of inexperience or out of personal interest.

At its liquidation, Balkan airlines owned one Tu-154, leased one from the Czech airlines and leased capacity from other Bulgarian Airlines such as Air VIA. Its assets were sold at public auctions and the new national carrier, Balkan Air Tour, took over its operations. A former travel agency, Balkan Air Tour had been created



© MINA KIRILOV

The author took an early interest in Balkan Airlines. Mina explores the cockpit of a Tu-154 in 1988.

in 1991 and privatized shortly thereafter. This enterprise renamed itself Bulgaria Air in late 2002. The company experienced early difficulties with the renegotiation of contracts and agreements signed by the management of Balkan Airlines. As predicted, the new company incurred losses in the first year of its operation. With financial help from the government, it was able to lease additional airplanes. By early 2003, Bulgaria Air recovered enough to start service on some of its regular routes, such as Moscow, Rome and Amsterdam. It now flies to fourteen regular destinations. In 2003, its revenues grew by 13.6% over the previous year and the number of passengers carried increased by almost 20%.ⁱⁱⁱ

The Bulgarian government has put together a new strategy for privatizing Bulgaria Air. According to this strategy, 51% of the airline's stock will be sold directly with another 25% offered on the Bulgarian stock exchange. The financial situation for the new carrier is quite precarious as the failure of the previous attempt at privatization will make attracting foreign investors more difficult. Also, there is dissent among government officials as to whether or not the current plan is the best method for privatization.

The fates of the Czech (CSA), Hungarian (Malev) and Romanian (Tarom) airlines were very different. Although there were talks of privatization in their respective governments, these airlines remained state-owned. CSA and Malev have experienced continuous growth and expanded operations to include destinations such as New York, which have proved quite profitable. Tarom has not grown, but has maintained its existing business. The differences between these airlines and Balkan Air can be attributed to a number of factors, but crucial among them is the interest of the governments to preserve and to expand their business and to ensure a viable future.

In the case of Balkan Airlines, privatization proved disastrous due in large part to errors made by the government either out of inexperience or out of personal interest. The level of government corruption is still not fully known. In 2001, the government began investigating the privatization of Balkan Airlines and 200 other suspicious cases. This investigation was in part stimulated by the firing of the Executive Director of the Privatization Agency, Zahari Zheliazkov, in November 2000. He was later put under criminal investigation in connection with the privatization of several companies, including Balkan Airlines.^{iv} In addition

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“For What Purpose Did an *American* Come to *Lal’sk*?”

BY DANIEL C. WAUGH

So read the sensational front-page headline in *Severnaia Pravda*, the local newspaper of the Luza Region at the northern tip of Kirov *oblast’*, on July 24 of last year.ⁱ Indeed, what sinister (or innocent) purpose brought this American and his wife Charlotte, whose photos graced that front page, to Lal’sk, a place about which few people have ever heard?

trip was our week in Lal’sk.^{iv} We had been invited to join a group of university history majors from Kirov who were doing a summer practicum there under the supervision of our ethnographer acquaintance Professor Irina Iurevna Trushkova. We traveled north on the local train, which passed through the nearly featureless landscape of swampy

local cemetery and the more sizeable Church of the Annunciation are still used for services. We seem to have made a favorable impression on the parish by standing through all three hours of the Sunday service. The sacristan gave us a tour of the imposing shell of the Cathedral of the Resurrection — in Soviet days a tractor driving school — whose restoration is proceeding fitfully due to lack of funds. A century ago, Lal’sk was still prosperous. The largely wooden architecture of the town includes several substantial houses that had belonged to its pre-revolutionary entrepreneurs. One of them now houses the town museum, which, like so many of these small museums in remote Russian towns, provides a fascinating snapshot of local life and history.

Irina Iurevna’s students were there to begin an archaeological excavation on the location of the original, medieval settlement of Lal’sk and to do ethnographic work into the dying culture of this now remote region. The students “camped out” in the dormitory-style rooms of what had been a local technical school, spent long days shoveling dirt and shared the responsibility for kitchen duties. For those who had grown up spoiled by city life in Kirov, all this was something of a cultural shock — the students for the most part had finished high school just the year before. We found them to be delightful company, the hope for Russia’s future, if only the economy would eventually recover enough to provide them with jobs.

We joined in some of the interviews with the widowed grandmothers, who seem to



The sad remains of the Lal’sk Church of the Epiphany, 1711–1715, now the heating plant for the town bathhouse.

The trip was part of a very interesting month we spent in Russia last summer, most of it in Kirov (formerly Khlynov and then Viatka) and Lal’sk, the better part of 1000 kilometers northeast of Moscow. The occasion was the publication in Russia of my book on the “literary culture” of Viatka in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a book that is of some interest to regional history enthusiasts, because it contains a great deal of new material about the cultural life and in particular historical writing in that period. We brought with us copies of my *The History of a Book: Viatka and “Non-Modernity” in Russian Culture of the Petrine Era*.ⁱⁱ At a formal presentation ceremony in the fine regional library, I talked about the project; the event was newsworthy enough for reportage on the two local TV stations that evening. Indeed, even in the regional capital Kirov, Americans are rare visitors.ⁱⁱⁱ

While my continuing work in the library and archives of Kirov on local cultural history was fruitful, the highlight of the

evergreen forests typical for this part of the Russian north. The drive from Luza to Lal’sk was on a semi-paved road. As Lal’sk came into view from one of the rolling hills around the town, its striking early eighteenth-century Cathedral of the Resurrection glowed in the last rays of the late evening sunset of the long northern days of mid-July. The second and third Americans ever to visit Lal’sk had arrived.

In earlier times, Lal’sk enjoyed some importance for its location on one of the major roads leading from Velikii Ustiug to Siberia. Today, it is a struggling town of no more than 3000 inhabitants whose main local industry is forestry and wood processing. One indication of its earlier prosperity was that at the beginning of the eighteenth century several masonry churches had been built. Some were subsequently destroyed in the Soviet period or their decaying remains converted to other purposes: one houses the heating plant for the town bathhouse, another a bar and a third the local cultural center. The small church in the



Russia’s future: students from Kirov University

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Excavating Lal'sk's medieval past in the summer of 2003

make up a substantial portion of the population. Valentina Severianova showed us how she had harvested flax by hand back in the 1930s — flax production and weaving of linen were important in the local economy. She and many of the other women still possess traditional embroidery, which they had inherited from their grandmothers. The designs incorporate elements of pre-Christian culture, which survived into modern times. She plays a mean balalaika and

In earlier times, Lal'sk enjoyed some importance for its location on one of the major roads leading from Velikii Ustiug to Siberia. Today, it is a struggling town of no more than 3000 inhabitants whose main local industry is forestry and wood processing.

sings in one of the two local dance ensembles, which put on a special dress rehearsal performance in our honor. Their professionalism has garnered them awards in competitions outside the region. Today, the Valentina Severianovas of Lal'sk survive on small pensions and the produce they grow in their kitchen

gardens and gather in the woods to preserve for the long winter months.

We also took a day's excursion with the students to Velikii Ustiug, one of the most important of the historic commercial centers of the Russian north, located at the intersection of three rivers where they form the Northern Dvina that flows into the White Sea. We drove there on the same road that would have been used by the merchants of the late Muscovite period and even managed to spot in one place the cobblestones with which it had been paved centuries ago. The now unpaved road winds through small towns, where often one sees a partially collapsed but still imposing eighteenth- or nineteenth-century masonry church. Ustiug is a sizeable town of stunning churches, many of them nicely restored, and lovely homes from the era when the entrepreneurial reach of its merchants extended as far as Russian America. The rich architectural legacy of Ustiug certainly merited a longer visit.

One of the highlights of our time in Lal'sk was a visit to a remote village Zabor'e (literally "Beyond the Woods"), which could be reached only via a deeply rutted dirt road. A cluster of the large peasant log houses of the Russian north is still inhabited, but there are no longer enough hands to grow and to harvest flax or even to do much in the way of haying. Another section of the village, a kilome-

ter away, was abandoned when its last inhabitants died. Its houses are already falling into ruin. We learned later from a librarian in a nearby town that this pattern is to be found all over the region — the number of inhabited villages is shrinking rapidly. Even though the abandoned houses are probably quickly stripped of anything of real value, a striking number of them contain the kinds of artifacts which can contribute to the ethnographic collections of the local museums. Irina Iurevna's students came back with quite a haul — pieces of looms, hand-wrought hinges, buckets made of birchbark.... One of the most interesting aspects of these remote villages is the traditional "black" bathhouses, heated by stoves with no chimneys so that their interiors are indeed black from the smoke. Some are still being used in Zabor'e.



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The songs of yesteryear: Valentina Severianova accompanying herself on the balalaika in her home, Lal'sk

Our travels in the Russian north reinforced my growing interest in serious study of that vast region, whose history embodies so much of the mainstream experience of Russia down through the centuries. The salons of St. Petersburg or the industrial enterprises clustered around Moscow in the Imperial Period are hardly representative of the larger Russia, where life revolved around the agricultural cycle, local crafts and industries and where the Church so often dominated local culture. We have so much yet to learn about the once flourishing centers such as Ustiug, Lal'sk and Luza, Kirov itself, or its neighboring

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town of Slobodskoi. These towns offer a rich panorama of the intersection between tradition and innovation in Imperial Russia and today bear witness to the tragedies that often were the consequences of Soviet rule. We lived and interacted with the last representatives of a generation, which lost its relatives to the purges, struggled through collectivization, experienced the hunger and human sacrifices of the Second World War and more recently has lost its young men in the Afghan and Chechen wars. As a recent article in the *New York Times* reminds us, the Zabor'es of Russia are many.^v A way of life is passing, making its study all the more imperative before it is gone forever.

For a slideshow of additional pictures from Dr. Waugh's visit to Lal'sk, please visit: <http://depts.washington.edu/reecas/waugh>. ♦

Daniel C. Waugh is a Professor of History, International Studies and Slavic Languages and Literatures.

- i A. Kuznetsova. "Zachem amerikanets priekhal v Lal'sk," *Severnaia Pravda: Obshchestvenno-politicheskaia gazeta Luzskogo raiona Kirovskoi oblasti*, no. 88 (10225), July 24, 2003, pp. 1, 3.
- ii *Istoriia odnoi knigi: Viatka i "ne-sovremennost'" v russkoi kul'ture Petrovskogo vremeni* (St. Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 2003).
- iii On my previous visit to Kirov/Viatka, see my "Discovering Viatka," *REECAS Newsletter*, Winter 1997. <http://depts.washington.edu/reecas/newsletter/winter97/waugh.htm>.
- iv Some of the fruits of my continuing work on Viatka's history will be found in: "Religion and Regional Identities: the Case of Viatka and the Miracle-Working Icon of St. Nicholas Velikoretskii," *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte*, 2004 (forthcoming), an expanded version of a paper delivered at a conference on Russian regional history hosted by Prof. Andreas Kappeler at the University of Vienna in June.
- v Seth Mydans. "All Around, Dying Villages, Lodging the Forsaken Old," *The New York Times*, February 5, 2004, p. A4.



The tragedies of Chechnia and Afghanistan: Kirov's monument commemorating its war dead

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Repairing the ravages of Soviet anti-religious policies: the interior of the Cathedral of the Resurrection, Lal'sk

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Observing the 2003 State Duma Elections in Russia

BY HOLLY RUTHRAUFF

On December 7, 2003, the Russian Federation held elections to the State Duma. These were the fourth State Duma elections since the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the first under President Vladimir Putin.

For these elections, the intergovernmental Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) deployed a six-week election observation mission (EOM) to track election-related developments and sent over 500 observers around the country on election day. The OSCE includes 55 participating States who have committed themselves to a series of human rights principles, among them to conduct genuinely democratic elections. As part of this mandate, the OSCE's Warsaw-based Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) regularly organizes EOMs such as the one to the Russian Federation in response to an invitation by the State.

As an Election Adviser at the ODIHR, I was responsible for coordinating the observation effort in the Russian Federation. In fact, this was to be my first EOM since taking up the position in March 2003. I initially found the challenge of organizing the observation of elections in a country as vast and complex as the Russian Federation to be a little intimidating. While I had done my graduate studies in REECAS, my focus



Voters casting ballots in Moscow on December 7

processes among Russian citizens and the international community.

The ODIHR has developed a standard methodology for observing elections. The foundation of this methodology is that elections are not a one-day event, but a process, and the observation of an election must therefore follow the events leading up to an election, as well as election day and the post-election period. This approach is based on the under-

in the context of established international standards and commitments for democratic elections. The ODIHR observes elections to identify those areas in which participating States should better meet their commitments and often offers assistance to States that want to improve their election process, particularly through election law reform projects.

Approximately three months prior to the Russian elections, the ODIHR sent a Needs Assessment Mission (NAM) to Moscow that met with a broad range of election actors, including government officials, election authorities, political party leaders, civil society representatives and media. The purpose of a NAM is to recommend whether the OSCE should observe an election and what the scope of such an effort should be. The NAM also produces a report that begins to identify key election issues and recommends to the participating States how many observers they should contribute.

As suggested by NAM, an 18-member multi-national "core team" of election experts arrived in Moscow and we officially opened the EOM on November 2. Prominent German politician and former parliamentary speaker Rita Süssmuth led the core team and retired

I initially found the challenge of organizing the observation of elections in a country as vast and complex as the Russian Federation to be a little intimidating...Despite this initial hesitation, I survived my Russian assignment and, together with our team, carried out a project that helped to shape the perception of Russian elections and democratic processes among Russian citizens and the international community.

had been Slovak nationalism, rather than Russian politics, and Cyrillic remains to this day a mystery to me (I studied Czech). Despite this initial hesitation, I survived my Russian assignment and, together with our team, carried out a project that helped to shape the perception of Russian elections and democratic

standing that pre-election processes such as voter registration, candidate nomination and the campaign period can affect the fairness of an election as much as what happens on election day.

Throughout the observation, the ODIHR assesses the quality of an election process

United States Ambassador Robert Barry served as the deputy head of mission. The core team would remain in Moscow to analyze developments in the process and to set up arrangements for the observers. Each core team member was responsible for following a different aspect of the election process — political, legal or technical election issues. In addition, much of this team's job was logistical — after all, we were responsible for sending hundreds of international observers across the Russian Federation. A security officer was also part of the team.

We chose to base our operations in the Hotel Ukraina, one of the seven Stalinist towers that dominate the Moscow skyline. The Hotel Ukraina has over 800 rooms and therefore easily accommodated hundreds of observers.

For election day, the OSCE/ODIHR deployed over 500 people from 42 countries to visit polling stations and to watch the voting and counting processes across the Russian Federation.

A week after the mission opened, 38 long-term observers (LTOs) arrived in Moscow. The LTOs had two days of briefings by the core team and then were deployed in teams of two to 17 locations across the Russian Federation, including such diverse locales as Vladivostok, Rostov-na-Donu and the very cold Novosibirsk. The LTOs were to be the “eyes and ears” of the EOM, meeting with local officials, candidates, journalists and others to collect information on election-related developments at the local and regional levels. LTOs regularly reported their findings to headquarters.

LTOs around the country soon began receiving reports about the use of so-called administrative resources to benefit candidates of the pro-presidential United Russia party. For instance, governors and other officials campaigned openly for United Russia without resigning from their positions, as required by law. At the same time, other political parties complained that they did not have equal

access to public buildings or spaces for campaign purposes and, in some cases, campaign workers were arrested.

Also serious were reports that several candidates in certain single-mandate races had been de-registered on what appeared to be spurious grounds. In perhaps the most egregious case, the former procurator general was barred from running because he had not specified that he was both a professor and the head of the department at a university.

Another dominant trend that surfaced was bias in the media, especially in the

parties and candidates by broadcast and print media outlets. In addition, the media team analyzed regional media coverage that had been videotaped and sent to Moscow by the LTO teams.

For election day, the OSCE/ODIHR deployed over 500 people from 42 countries to visit polling stations and to watch the voting and counting processes across the Russian Federation. These short-term observers (STOs) had been briefed on the political situation and trained to observe elections after their arrival in Moscow. The STOs included a



An elderly voter registers to cast her ballot for the Russian State Duma elections

State broadcast media, which favored United Russia and its allies at the expense of other parties. In particular, the Communist Party of the Russian Federation received mostly negative coverage. The right of the voter to receive information so as to make an informed choice at the ballot box is fundamental in any democratic society. In order to assess media behavior during an election, the ODIHR routinely sets up a media monitoring unit as part the observation effort. In the case of Russia, two experienced international media monitoring experts hired a team of six journalism students to measure both qualitatively and quantitatively the treatment of

large number of parliamentarians from the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly and the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, as well as some representatives of the local diplomatic community. Together, OSCE/ODIHR observers visited 2500 polling stations.

Observers were given checklists to record their findings at each polling station, which they faxed back to Moscow headquarters at the end of the day. They were instructed to watch the opening of a polling station, to circulate to different polling stations over the course of the day to observe voting procedures, to watch the closing of a polling station and

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the vote count and then, if possible, to observe the tabulation process at the next level of election administration. Observers pledged to abide by the code of conduct that forbids them to interfere with either voters or election officials. This was no holiday — polls opened at 8am and officials often did not finish the counting process until after midnight. Despite long hours and hardships associated with some of the more remote locations, observers generally returned enthusiastic about their experience and the job they had done.

The day after the election, the OSCE/ODIHR held a press conference to present its preliminary statement on the election process. In the statement, we concluded that while the elections were generally well-administered, they failed to meet international standards for democratic elections. According to reports received from observers, election day generally went well, although voting outside of polling booths or with more

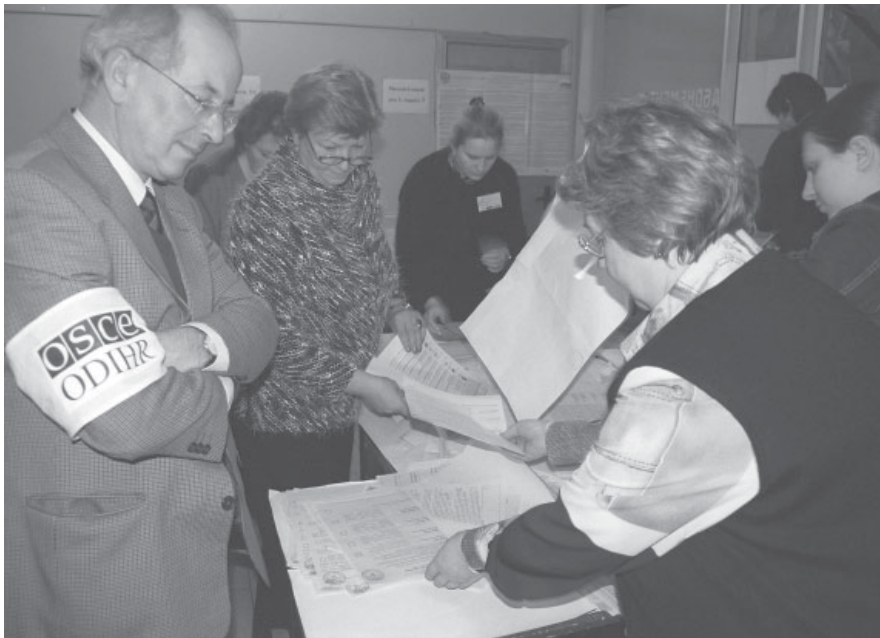
than one person in the booth jeopardized the secrecy of the vote. In particular, the preliminary statement pointed to the use of state resources and the state-funded media to benefit the so-called “party of power”. The OSCE/ODIHR found that these advantages of incumbency distorted the process and did not allow other political forces to compete fairly.

The preliminary statement caused quite a stir in the international and domestic media. For about 48 hours, the OSCE/ODIHR’s criticism of Russia’s election process dominated headlines on such media as BBC, CNN, the *Washington Post*, *Agence France-Presse*, the *Financial Times*, NPR and others. Soon after, the US Embassy and the White House supported the OSCE/ODIHR conclusions.

Why did our assessment of the Russian elections attract so much attention? In my view, it was due to a combination of factors. Although Russia-watchers and political scientists often refer to Russia as

a “managed democracy”, Russia had rarely been criticized by the international community. Only human rights activists frequently highlight atrocities in Chechnya. The October arrest of business tycoon Mikhail Khodorkovsky and the freezing of his assets in the Yukos oil company demonstrated to many in the West the weakness of the rule of law in Russia. It also opened space for criticism of other aspects of Russia’s governance, including elections and the wider political environment. Finally, the results of the elections, including the failure of the liberal democratic Party of Rightist Forces and the Yabloko party to remain in the Duma and the sudden popularity of the nationalist Motherland party, came as a surprise to the international community and raised further concern about the future of Russian democracy.

All eyes were on Russia’s March presidential election in which Putin ran for reelection. OSCE/ODIHR was busy preparing to monitor the March election at the time this article was published, the results of which can be found on their website. ♦



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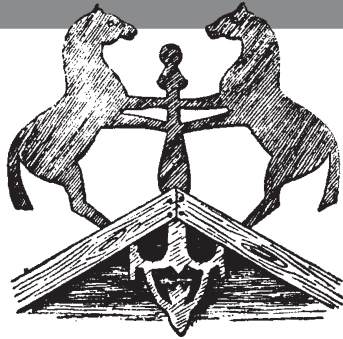
An OSCE observer watches officials count ballots after the polling station closed

The OSCE/ODIHR released its final report on the December 7 State Duma elections in the Russian Federation, available at www.osce.org/odihr. The report details OSCE/ODIHR’s findings and includes recommendations on how Russia can strengthen its election process.

Interested in observing elections for the OSCE/ODIHR? OSCE/ODIHR observers are seconded by participating States of the OSCE, including the United States. Visit the ODIHR website at www.osce.org/odihr/?page=elections&div=observers to find out how to apply.

Holly received her REECAS MA in 1997. She has served as Elections Adviser at ODIHR in Warsaw since March 2003.

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Saturday, April 17, 2004

8:30AM–5:00PM, SULLIVAN HALL, SEATTLE UNIVERSITY, SCHOOL OF LAW

SESSION 1 (9:15–10:15am)

“In Memory of A.A. Akhmatova”
Legislating Human Rights
Baltics: Then & Now

SESSION 2 (10:30am–12:00pm)

Russian Far East
Identities in Southeastern Europe
Perceptions: Russian and Western

PLENARY SESSION (1:00–2:30pm)

Law, State and Society in the Imperial,
Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia

SESSION 3 (2:45–3:45pm)

Early Soviet Culture
REECA-China Perspectives
Polish Writers

SESSION 4 (4:00–5:00pm)

Soviet Art and Literature
Issues Facing Central Asia
Late Soviet Policies

CLOSING RECEPTION (5:00–6:00pm)

Courtesy of the School of Law

For more information or registration, please call the REECAS office 206-543-4852.

Central Eurasian Information Resource Unveiling

Since March 2000, the grant-funded Central Eurasian Information Resource project (CEIR) based at UW has been developing a number of original and information-rich online resources to support the study and teaching of post-Soviet societies and cultures at the secondary, college and graduate levels. CEIR staff hosted an inaugural presentation of project resources on April 8 in the Allen Auditorium of Suzzallo-Allen Library on the UW main campus. In addition to UW students, administrators and faculty, educators and students from local schools and colleges were invited to attend the event.

Links to pilot versions of selected CEIR resources — including the CEIR portal, the Central Eurasian Interactive Atlas, and the William Brumfield Russian Architecture Collection — are available on the UW Libraries Slavic and East European Section web page (www.lib.washington.edu/Slavics) under “Projects”.

Support for CEIR has been provided from 1999 to present by grants from the US Department of Education’s Title VI Program for Technological Innovation and Cooperation in Foreign Information Access, the Gladys Kriebel Delmas Foundation, the UW Libraries’ 21st-Century Fund, and the IFS Family Foundation. Questions or comments about the project are welcome and may be sent to slavinfo@u.washington.edu. ♦

REECAS Welcomes...

JOSE ALANIZ and **BARBARA HENRY** joined the faculty this year as assistant professors in the Slavic Languages and Literatures Department.

Dr. Alaniz received his PhD in Comparative Literature from the University of California at Berkeley in 2003 and is fluent in Russian and Spanish. He is also proficient in Czech, Italian and Mandarin Chinese. His research interests include late/post-Soviet Russian culture, cinema, death and dying, disability, eco-criticism and comics. His article “Particularities of National Death: Russian Hospice” will see publication in *Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie* in 2004. Outside of teaching, Jose enjoys drawing and working on languages and translation.

Dr. Henry specializes in 20th Century Russian and Soviet Literature and Jewish Studies and is fluent in Russian and proficient in Yiddish. She received her doctorate from Oxford University in 1998, and is currently working on a study of Yiddish writers’ treatments of the classic Russian literary canon. Her other research interests include Russian and Yiddish drama and theatre, comedy, literature and medicine and folklore. Dr. Henry enjoys photography and playing chess with her 6-year-old son. ♦

Trafficking in the Russian Far East

BY EMILY SCHUCKMAN

It had all the elements of a scintillating Russian travelogue: The Trans-Siberian railroad, a covert vodka purchase, promiscuity and police bribery. In the fall of 2000, I met Ira and Katya on a train ride from Khabarovsk to Vladivostok in the Russian Far East. The women purchased a bottle of vodka at the first stop from a babushka selling fish, salads and other foods — a difficult transaction given that vodka is not allowed to be sold by unlicensed vendors. A few shots into the bottle, I discovered that the two women, one a university student, the other a mother, were making the trip to obtain visas to be “dancers” in South Korea. From the nods and giggles, it was clear that there was more to “dancing” than was stated. Our festivities were interrupted when two young officers rapped at the door, informed us that they had observed the illicit vodka purchase and proceeded to file a report. Mid-statement, we came to our next stop where the girls left with the young officers for about fifteen minutes. They returned to explain that no report would be filed and that the officers would be joining us to finish off the bottle. They did. We talked for a few hours and then they left, presumably to resume their shift. I said goodbye to the women in

Vladivostok, regaled friends with my adventure and thought little more about the encounter.

Six months later, my best friend in the village where I taught English as a Peace Corps Volunteer asked me what I knew about working in Korea. She had decided to answer one of the countless ads that scroll daily along the bottom of television screens, flash on the internet and fill the local newspapers recruiting women to work in China, Korea or Japan as hostesses or dancers. These ads are usually specific enough to request an age range of 18–26, attractive, thin, etc. My friend, a 25-year-old mother, ran a local shop with her husband. She was frustrated with working 14-hour days, not counting her domestic duties, and barely earning enough to make ends meet. With few options for employment given her lack of education and village isolation, she was excited about the prospects of financial gain and adventure in Korea. She even agreed to a lower pay rate, since she was older and therefore harder to market to club owners. A friend who had lived in Korea for several years warned her of the risks associated with these entertainment jobs, but Nastya dismissed them; her agency was legitimate. She and her husband were excited about the

promised income of as much as \$1000 per month and were making plans to purchase an apartment upon her return. She left in June 2001, telling friends that she was going to study.

After Nastya’s departure, I heard numerous stories of girls going abroad for these jobs and gossip about the “real” nature of this employment. It seemed everyone knew that being a “hostess” or a “dancer” likely involved sexual favors, but few mentioned any association with violence or criminality. As my awareness level increased, so did my horror at what was becoming a viable, if not an acceptable, career path for young women.

Trafficking is defined by the US State Department’s 2003 *Trafficking in Persons Report* as “the transporting of a person by fraud, force or coercion from one country to another.”ⁱ The State Department estimates that approximately 800,000 women worldwide are trafficked yearly, while the Russian government officially estimates that 7500 come from Russia. However, experts at the Institute of Social and Economic Studies at the Russian Academy of Sciences speculate that the number of women transported from Russia could be as high as 160,000, with over 50% involved in the sex trade.ⁱⁱ In support of that speculation, the UN has stated that more women are trafficked from Russia than from any other country.ⁱⁱⁱ In their 2003 Report, the State Department gave Russia a tier two rating in their three tiered system (three being the lowest) of evaluating a country’s activism in combating trafficking. The report states that Russia is not only a major source country for traffickers, but also a transit and destination point. Russia does “not fully comply with minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking,” according to that report. The country earned their elevation to the second tier, after ranking in the bottom tier in both 2001 and 2002, due to efforts by the government to address the issue. President Putin has recently signed into law mechanisms to punish traffickers. He has called trafficking “a modern form of slavery, which is accompanied by the most flagrant and cruel violations of human rights.”^{iv}



Women participating in a professional skills training organized by the Women’s Center in Magadan

© WINROCK INTERNATIONAL

Dubbed “the Natasha trade”, the selling and re-selling of women is the third most lucrative illegal trade behind arms and drugs, yielding billions in profits annually. Trafficking in people is also relatively low risk, since offenders are often not punished or not pursued because of inadequate resources.^v The rise in unemployment after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the devaluation of the ruble, poor border control and an increase in criminal activity have created a climate conducive to trafficking in everything from drugs to people. Many women are lured into trafficking rings by promises of legitimate work abroad, uninformed about the day to day activities that their job will entail. They rarely speak the language of their destination country. Women aware of the potential for prostitution expect to have some degree of control over their actions. Many more are simply willing to ignore the risks, desperate to escape their economic entrapment.

Once under the control of a trafficking ring, the women are often locked in a room, their passports confiscated and their contact with the outside world strictly controlled. Told that they must pay off their debt to the sponsoring agency, which can range from \$500–\$20,000, they are forced to perform the duties demanded of them or risk physical abuse.^{vi} Many trafficking victims simply disappear or return home only after escaping or being released due to a pregnancy or the contraction of a sexually transmitted disease. Russia has one of the fastest growing HIV infection rates in the world, with high transmission rates among needle users and sex industry workers and an increase in transmission among lower risk populations.^{vii} The phenomenon of trafficking threatens to accelerate the spread of the virus. Trafficked women also deal with tremendous emotional and psychological trauma and are at high risk for alcohol and drug abuse.

The Russian Far East (RFE) is an area where women and girls are particularly vulnerable to traffickers, given the region’s high unemployment rate and close proximity to China, Korea and Japan. While most scrolling television ads for young women have been eliminated in Moscow and St. Petersburg, they



Young women participating in a training session in Irkutsk.

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continue to run daily on television stations in the RFE. According to one report, 73 companies in Khabarovsk recruit about 2000 young women every year to work abroad and about 25–35% of female trafficking victims are college students.^{viii} Unlike the western part of the country and Eastern Europe, many women in the RFE go abroad for three months to a year, return home, recruit new women and often go back to the host country. Those that return home are still at risk of being trafficked as they remain subject to their manager’s control and sometimes opt to go abroad again, sometimes with a different company that makes a more lucrative offer. Because women in the RFE will likely return home, they are often not classified as victims of trafficking by law enforcement agencies. Even if they were, the ineffectiveness of the current legal structure makes prosecution of traffickers almost impossible.^{ix} The situation is further complicated by the fact that women frequently talk only of the money they have earned, their independence or ability to buy an apartment. They often do not mention abuses or the acts in which they were forced to take part out of shame or fear. The risk of violence is very real for these women as was recently evidenced by the dramatic December 2003 escape of two women from a Chinese brothel to Russia across the frozen Amur river; the women had been lured there as “hostesses” and then beaten and forced into prostitution. The women, who ran over the ice-covered Amur, were questioned by the police for crossing the

border illegally, but released to their families with no charges.^x

The profile of women willing to risk this journey is not what one might expect, as I discovered from Ira, Katya, Nastya and countless other girls and women. While the biggest groups at risk for trafficking are the poor, the uneducated and the orphan population, many well educated young women are increasingly turning to local prostitution and working abroad as a means of earning money to pay college tuition, to care for children or simply to see the world. Most are not professional prostitutes. Few think force or violence will be involved in performing sexual services and the majority do not foresee a future in prostitution. Also, short term work as opposed to marriage or emigration is the primary goal for these women since many have husbands and children in Russia. One of my male acquaintances told me that he knew of at least four women in his university class that worked in Korea or Japan for the summer to pay tuition in the fall. No available credit to fund their education means that young women have no way to meet skyrocketing tuition costs. Traffickers lure them by promising high wages and free pre-departure services such as visa procurement. In the RFE, the promise of short work periods in the nearby Pacific Rim adds appeal and makes the option seem less intimidating. Increasingly, women from the RFE are being trafficked through Moscow to Israel, Italy and other European countries where they are harder to find.

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Last summer, I returned to Khabarovsk to work for a trafficking prevention project run by Winrock International and funded by the United States Agency for International Development. The project works to combat trafficking by directly supporting Russian nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that provide job and entrepreneurial skill and self-esteem training for

victims. Many NGO leaders lament the fact that they receive almost no support from local government officials, university administrations and law enforcement agencies. In fact, there is a disturbing amount of anecdotal and documented evidence that law enforcement agents are often complicit in the problem by accepting bribes from the traffickers,

summer. Over many cups of tea, she described the empowerment she felt as a dancer, the men who showered her with expensive gifts and her desire to return. I listened as she told me of her plans to leave her husband, her indecision over what to do with her son when she returns to Korea and her general malaise at once again being trapped in village life. When I asked about the dangers of her work, she explained that she was lucky. Her manager allowed her to do what she wanted and let her choose the clubs in which she would dance. Nevertheless, she acknowledged that this was unusual, that she knew of many girls who were beaten, locked up and otherwise abused. My conversations with Nastya served as a powerful reminder of the destructiveness, contradiction and human emotion involved in this issue. It was also a reminder that these women are not simply anonymous "Natashas"; they are Iras, Katyas and Nastyas, daughters, mothers and wives. ♦

Emily is a second year REECAS MA student.



© EMILY SCHUCKMAN

Author (front row, left) with the staff of Winrock International's Trafficking Prevention Project in Khabarovsk

girls and women as well as psychological, legal and career services. These NGOs conduct educational sessions at secondary schools and universities about the risks of working abroad. While there is a relatively active network of NGOs in Western Russia, Ukraine and Eastern Europe, the problem is just coming to light in the RFE and is gradually being addressed in public forums such as newspapers, television reports and public round tables. The NGOs in the RFE are working to engage local law enforcement officials not only to recognize the problem, but to help with its prevention.

Despite the positive steps taken by the government and Russian and international organizations, there are disturbing trends in society that work counter to their efforts. Awareness of trafficking as a problem both by the general public and local officials is much lower in the RFE than in Western Russia or Eastern Europe and little empathy is felt for the

denying assistance to, or abusing victims or helping to procure illegal documents.^{xi} Blame also falls on the countries where these women work in strip clubs and brothels. Many of the men that visit these places are law enforcement officials, federal agents and military servicemen, both local and foreign. The US military recently acknowledged that servicemen based in South Korea were unwittingly supporting the illegal sex trade by visiting massage parlors and brothels near their bases.^{xii} Indeed, many men are not aware that the women are working against their will as they are punished severely if they reveal their plight to clients. Women who do seek work abroad, either out of economic need or a desire for adventure, must also be educated about their rights and the risks of their decision as well as about ways to research the legitimacy of organizations promising work opportunities.

I never saw Ira or Katya again, but Nastya and I met in Khabarovsk last

- i Brian McCarthy. "US State Department Releases Third Annual Trafficking in Victims Report," *International Enforcement Law Reporter*, August 2003, vol. 19, no. 8.
- ii Nick Paton Walsh. "Moscow Targets Sex Trade at Last," *The Guardian*, February 20, 2003, p.17.
- iii Marisa Mizus, Maryam Moody, Cindy Privado, Carol Anne Douglas, et al. "Germany, US Receive Most Sex-Trafficked Women," *Off Our Backs*, July/August 2003, vol. 33, is. 7/8, p. 4.
- iv US Department of State. "Trafficking in Persons Report," The Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons. June 11, 2003. www.state.gov/g/tip/tiprpt/2003/21262pf.htm.
- v "Trafficking in Persons Report", op.cit., p. 4.
- vi "Forced into Prostitution," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, October 3, 2003. vol. 50, is. 6.
- vii UNAIDS. www.unaids.org/en/geographical+area/by+country/russia.asp.
- viii Bryon MacWilliams. "Forced into Prostitution," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, Oct 3, 2003.
- ix "Trafficking in Persons Report", op.cit.
- x Irina Stepura. "Po tonkomu l'du" *Rossiiskaia gazeta dal'nii vostok*, 10 dekabria 2003.
- xi Bryon MacWilliams, op. cit.
- xii Rachel Cornwell. "Deploying Insecurity," *Peace Review*, September 1999, vol. 11, is. 3, p. 409.

Visiting REECAS Scholars

BY EMILY SCHUCKMAN

Dr. Yong-Chool Ha



© EMILY SCHUCKMAN

Dr. Yong-Chool Ha is a visiting professor from South Korea at the invitation of the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies for the 2003–2004 academic year. A longtime friend of the University, Dr. Ha has given several lectures to UW audiences since the 1980s.

After receiving his PhD in Soviet Studies from UC

Berkeley in 1986, Dr. Ha returned to Korea to teach International Relations (IR) at Seoul National University. He focuses specifically on comparative studies between the Soviet Union, South Korea, Japan and Prussia during the late industrial period. Additionally, he teaches more general IR classes on comparative politics between Russia and Korea. Dr. Ha is currently writing a book on the social consequences of state-led industrialization, comparing the four countries mentioned above.

While at UW, he is teaching a course which examines the changes which strong states undergo in the course of industrialization in countries such as the Soviet Union, Japan and South Korea. The rapport that Dr. Ha has developed with his students is one of the highlights of teaching at UW. He explains that he has learned a lot about the American system and ways of thinking while teaching. According to him, "Students here are more engaging and hard-working. What is impressive is the fact that most students combine work and study. Under the circumstances, I find them really energetic and doing their best. I appreciate their efforts." ♦

Dr. Ileana Marin



© ILEANA MARIN

Dr. Ileana Marin received her PhD in Comparative Literature from the University of Bucharest in 2000. Her dissertation focused on the battle between word and image in pre-Raphaelite works, specifically looking at literature and paintings from an iconological approach. Upon completion of her degree, she

began teaching comparative literature at Ovidius University of Constanta. In addition to her interests in literature and iconography, Dr. Marin examines Romanian perspectives on American history and culture and recently presented a paper on that topic at a conference in Stockholm.

Drawing on her experiences as a Fulbright scholar at UW this winter and spring, she hopes to enlarge the scope of her research to include American perspectives on Romania. This is her first time in the United States and she explains, "As I discover the country, I discover myself."

American iconography is also of great interest to Dr. Marin. She is currently writing a book in which she will compare American and Romanian methods of expressing themselves through their icons. One key difference that she has noticed is the massive size of American symbols such as Mount Rushmore and the Statue of Liberty versus the small dimensions of Romanian icons. She believes, "The way a country constructs its icons is emblematic of how a culture views others and constructs values." While at UW, Dr. Marin is teaching advanced Romanian and enjoys sharing the language and the culture of Romania with her students. ♦

Balkan Airlines continued from page 7

to the problem of corruption, many privatization deals were doomed to fail given the inefficient and opaque structure of Bulgarian governmental institutions. The Balkan Airlines case illustrates the government's unwillingness or inability to assume the role of custodian and manager of state assets at the very time their support was vital both to the company and, ultimately, the country as a whole. Although Bulgaria has succeeded in becoming a market economy with over

70% of the country's gross domestic product generated by the private sector, it still suffers from unaccountable and weak government institutions.^v We can only hope that as transition advances, government institutions will adapt to market needs and the new national carrier will face a better fate than that of Balkan Airlines. ♦

Mina is a second year REECAS MA student.

- i "Balkan Sale Off: Bulgarian Government Postpones Privatization of Balkan Bulgarian Airlines," *Airline Business*, February 1994, p. 17.
- ii Peter Bennet. "No Balking at Balkan bid," *Airline Business*, July 1998, vol. 13, no. 3, p. 18.
- iii www.bgnewsnet.com – viewed on November 16, 2003.
- iv "Monitoring the EU Accession Process: Corruption and Anti-corruption Policy in Bulgaria," Open Society Institute, 2002, p. 107.
- v Anders Aslund. *Building Capitalism*. (Cambridge University Press, 2002) p. 279.

Visiting Scholars from Uzbekistan

BY JONATHAN CAPES

UW recently received a three year educational partnership grant from the US Department of State. The grant provides for scholar and student exchanges in order to develop a lasting relationship between UW and partner institutions in Uzbekistan. Fostering the exchange of ideas relating to cultural and comparative religious studies is the main priority. UW is currently hosting two scholars from partner institutions in Uzbekistan; Saidakbar Agzamkhodjaev from the Department of the Theory and Practice of the Construction of Democratic Society at Tashkent Islamic University and Elyor Karimov from the Institute of History of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences.

Dr. Agzamkhodjaev's research includes socio-political processes and Islam in Central Asia during the 20th Century. While at UW, he hopes to utilize the

library facilities to collect texts, films and maps on the history of world religions and Islam as well as religion in the US. He also hopes to become acquainted with religious communities in Seattle to study religious traditions and ceremony in the US. Dr. Agzamkhodjaev has been attending lectures in the Department of Comparative Religion and, when he returns home, plans to develop curriculum for teaching comparative religion in Uzbekistan.

Dr. Karimov is primarily interested in how research and teaching methods can be compared, shared and developed via a direct connection between the institutions. Upon his return to Uzbekistan, he will begin writing a textbook on the history of the various religions in Central Asia. Although this is his fifth visit to the US, he notes that this trip has been by far the most productive. He has a tight



© JONATHAN CAPES

Visiting Scholars from Uzbekistan: Elyor Karimov (left) and Saidakbar Agzamkhodjaev

schedule of activities, in order to accomplish both his and the grant's goals. ♦

Jonathan Capes is an undergraduate student in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Cultures and has assisted this year with the State Department grant.

DEPARTMENT OF NEAR EASTERN LANGUAGES AND CIVILIZATION

Sixteenth Annual Nicholas Poppe Symposium

INNER/CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES

CALL FOR PAPERS

SATURDAY, MAY 22, 2004, 8:30 AM – 6:00 PM
DENNY HALL 215 AND 215A

Papers from students and faculty pertaining to Inner or Central Asia are being solicited. Topics on religions and beliefs in Central Asia are particularly welcomed. Please submit abstracts (250 words maximum) by April 30, 2004 to:

Ilse D. Cirtautas
Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilization
Denny Hall, Box 353120, University of Washington, 98115
Phone: (206) 543-9963 / Fax: (206) 686-7936
e-mail: icirt@u.washington.edu

ORGANIZED BY the UW Central Asian Studies Group (subgroups: Uzbek Circle and Kazakh and Kirghiz Studies Group)

SPONSORED BY the Department of Near Eastern Languages & Civilization; Russian, East European and Central Asian Studies (REECAS) and Middle East Studies in the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies.

For information about attending the conference, please contact Dr. Cirtautas as well.

DEPARTMENT OF NEAR EASTERN LANGUAGES AND CIVILIZATION

Uzbek Language and Culture Program

June 21 – August 20, 2004

This summer, Intensive Advanced Uzbek will be taught as well as a Translation Workshop. Under the guidance of Dr. Muhammad-Ali Akhmedov, distinguished Writer of Uzbekistan, and Professor Ilse D. Cirtautas, students will work on translations of Uzbek literature and historical texts. Selected translations will be read to an invited audience of faculty, students and members of the Seattle-Tashkent Sister City Association. The most outstanding translation will be awarded with the Nicholas Poppe Prize for the Best Translation of Oral or Written Central Asian Turkic Literature.

A wide selection of Uzbek films and documentaries will be available for viewing. The Program will also include lectures (in Uzbek) by visiting scholars from Uzbekistan.

FELLOWSHIPS ARE AVAILABLE

For information, contact:

Ilse D. Cirtautas, Director of the Central Asian Turkic Program,
Department of Near Eastern Languages & Civilization,
229 Denny Hall, DH-20, University of Washington, Seattle, WA
98115; tel: (206) 543-9963; e-mail: icirt@u.washington.edu

Honoring the Memory of Academician Dmitrii Sergeevich Likhachev

BY DANIEL C. WAUGH

In November 2003, I had the privilege of being the only American participant in an international conference in St. Petersburg, Russia, honoring the late Academician Dmitrii Sergeevich Likhachev (1906–1999). Likhachev was a towering figure in the study of early Russian literature and culture, for decades heading the Division of Early Russian Literature in the Russian Academy of Science's Institute of Russian Literature. He had been incarcerated in the *gulag* in the 1920s on the remote Solovki Islands in the White Sea; even in his prestigious later years, his defense of traditional Russian cultural values at times put him at odds with the authorities. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, a public opinion poll in St. Petersburg named him the most respected citizen of the city. When the pre-revolutionary Order of St. Vladimir was re-established, Likhachev became its first recipient.

The theme for the conference was “Historical Narrative in Early Rus,” a topic close to Likhachev’s heart. My paper summarized and extended the research in my recent book on Viatka. The subject was the ways in which a historic “tradition” was “invented” there



Candles in the snow: The Likhachev family graves at Komarovo

in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, especially in the veneration of a famous wonder-working icon of St. Nicholas. It was a mark of some distinction that they scheduled my paper as the concluding one in the last plenary session. The final day of the conference focused on commemorating Likhachev. We made a pilgrimage to pay respects at his grave in suburban Komarovo. It was a moving occasion; we stood in the snow with candles under the evergreens for a brief prayer service. Another service followed in the St. Vladimir Cathedral back in St. Petersburg, and then a series of speakers back in the main hall of the Institute reminisced about Likhachev.

Participants in the conference — the second such to be held since Likhachev’s death — came from several European countries, Japan and the US. It was particularly valuable for me to meet scholars from the Novosibirsk branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences, since several of them have been publishing work that connects with my ongoing

research about the literature of the Russian north. I also met for the first time some of the new generation of specialists on early Russian historical texts. Perhaps the deepest personal satisfaction was to visit with those who had inspired me during my graduate student days in Leningrad more than three decades ago. Among them was Professor Nataliia Sergeevna Demkova, who had served as the supervisor of my work in the Philological Faculty of Leningrad University. Nataliia Sergeevna invited several of us to attend a concert by the Terem Quartet, a musical group playing arrangements of classical music on traditional folk instruments. The conferees also had the opportunity to visit the Catherine Palace at Tsarskoe Selo (Pushkin) to see its recently-restored Amber Room and to visit the Constantine Palace, which is now used for various state occasions such as the meeting of presidents Bush and Putin last year. ♦



Gelian Mikhailovich Prokhorov in front of a photograph of Academician Likhachev

REECAS NEWS

REECAS graduate **KATE BROWN** (MA, 1993, PhD History, 2000) and current Assistant Professor of History at the University of Maryland published *A Biography of No Place: From Ethnic Borderland to Soviet Heartland* (Harvard University Press, 2004). The book focuses on the borderland between Russia and Poland, a dynamic and multicultural region in 1925 that was destroyed by the 1950s. Brown uses recently opened archives, ethnography and oral interviews to reveal Stalinist and Nazi history from the perspective of the remote borderlands.

KATARZYNA DZIWIWREK, Associate Professor in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literature, recently published, in conjunction with Barbara Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, "A Class of Adverb/Adjective Controlled Infinitival Constructions in Polish and English – A Corpus-Based Study" in *Research in Language*, vol. 1, 2003. Also, with Agnes Burdzy, "50 years of Polish at the University of Washington: Celebrating

Polish-American Heritage Speaker Series" in *Good News* (The American Institute of Polish Culture, Inc., 2003). At the Annual Meeting of the American Association of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages conference in December 2003, Dr. Dziwiewrek gave a presentation entitled, "Syntax and Semantics of Polish and English Expressions of Emotions: A Corpus Study." At the conference, she also spoke in a roundtable on teaching Polish as a foreign language.

KAREN FREEZE, Lecturer in the Jackson School of International Studies, was the Chair of the First Plenary Conference of the European Science Foundation Network called "Tensions of Europe: Technology and the Making of 20th Century Europe." She presented the paper, "A Czech-British Connection When Europe Was De-Linked: Global Contributions to the Textile Machine Evolution in Communist Czechoslovakia."

SETH GRAHAM, a lecturer in the Slavic Languages and Literatures Department, accepted a two-year post-doctoral humanities fellowship at Stanford University, to begin in September 2004. He will be teaching courses in Russian culture and writing a book on Russian humor.

REECAS Director and Associate Professor of Political Science, **STEPHEN E. HANSON** received UW's 2004 Distinguished Teacher Award for the rank of Associate Professor. This award is based on nominations and supporting letters from colleagues and students, and is judged through an annual campus-wide competition.

SARAH ABBREYAYA STEIN, Assistant Professor in the History Department and the Jackson School of International Studies received a National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship for 2004–2005 to work on her new research project, "Colonialism's Forgotten Cultures: European Jews in Sub-Saharan Africa, c. 1870–1930." ♦

Exciting Acquisitions to the REECAS Outreach Collection

We are pleased to present these additions to our outreach collection. They are available for checkout to the UW community, K-12 teachers and the general public. For a full listing of materials, please visit or contact the REECAS Center.

Film (documentaries unless *italicized*)

Armenian Genocide
Assassinations that Changed the World
Autumn Spring (Czech)
Beirut to Bosnia: Muslims & the West
Brat I (Russian)
Genocide: The Horror Continues
Gypsies and the Freedom to Hate
Hungarian Uprising: 1956
Introduction to Russian Literature
Islamic Resurgence & Holy War
Kosovo: Of Blood & History
Lenin: Voice of Revolution
Mark of Cain (Russian prison tattoos)
Out of the Present (cosmonaut returns to a new country)
Russia: Facing the Future
Russia: Land of the Tsars (4 volumes)
Russia Today: 10 Years after the Fall of the USSR
Russian Ark (Russian)
Russian Avant-Garde
Silk Road: An Ancient World of Adventure (18 volumes)

Silk Road Lecture Series (6 volumes)
Stalin: Red Terror
Stars' Caravan (Kyrgyzstan)
The Cuckoo (Russian, Finnish, Lapp)
There Was Once a Town (Poland/Lithuania)
Videograms of a Revolution (Romania)
Window to Paris (Russian and French)
Women & War

Curricular Materials & Books (Grades)

First World War & Its Consequences (HS–College)
Balkans: Ethnic Conflict (7–12)
Big Book of Russian Activities (4–8)
Calliope: "The Silk Road" (3–6)
Central Asia: Islamic Diversity, Mongols – Present (7–12)
Christmas in Russia (7–12)
Dust of Empire
End of the Soviet Union (HS–College)
Families of Russia (K–4)
Historical Atlas of East Central Europe (HS)
I Am Eastern Orthodox (K–4)
Inside The Cold War (HS–College)

Jihad: The Rise of Militant Islam in Central Asia
Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan & Uzbekistan: Country Studies
Life in Communist Russia (6–12)
Look What Came From Russia (2–4)
Mapping Russia: Geographic & Cultural Diversity (7–12)
Nuclear Legacy (7–12)
Preventing Deadly Conflict: Toward a World Without War (10–Adult)
Russia the Land, the People, the Culture Series (3–8)
Silk Road (7–Adult)
Silk Road Encounters Education Kit (Teaching Resource)
Sourcebook on Asian Trade in the Middle Ages (HS)
Troubled Century (HS–College)
World War II: Global Conflict (7–Adult)
Western Amerykanski: Polish Poster Art & the Western



2004 SUMMER SEMINAR FOR EDUCATORS, GRADES 6 AND UP

LIVING IN OUR WORLD

Environmental Challenges and Solutions of the 21st Century

JUNE 29-30, 2004
KANE HALL, WALKER-AMES ROOM
UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON, SEATTLE CAMPUS

The Outreach Centers at The Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies invite you to attend the annual Summer Seminar for educators, June 29-30, 2004. This year's seminar, "Living in Our World: Environmental Challenges and Solutions of the 21st Century," will bring scholars and master teachers together to address the environmental challenges we face in today's world and to explore some of potential solutions. Learn about important world areas and develop practical teaching skills related to contemporary world societies.

Registration deadline: June 22, 2004

Registration Fee: \$80 includes parking vouchers, coffee/tea, morning pastries, lunch and 16 WA state clock hours (you must attend the entire seminar to receive clock hours). Please make checks payable to the "University of Washington." Special travel stipends are available for teachers coming from 75 miles or more.

Registration validation: Registration can only be accepted by mail and must include payment in full.

Mail forms to: The Southeast Asia Center, Box 353650, University of Washington, Seattle 98195.
Questions or inquiries, please call: 206-543-9606 or contact seac@u.washington.edu. You will receive a confirmation packet with a receipt, map, driving and parking directions and program details.

REGISTRATION FORM

Name _____

Mailing Address _____

Daytime phone _____ Email _____

School _____ Grade level _____

Do you wish to receive clock hours? ____ Travel stipend? ____ Seattle bus fare? ____

UPCOMING REECAS-RELATED EVENTS

APRIL 17: 10th Annual REECAS-NW Conference at Seattle University, Sullivan Hall

"Law, State and Society in Postcommunit Eurasia," 9:00am–5:00pm. See <http://depts.washington.edu/reecas/events/conf2004/regconf04.html> for more information.

APRIL 19: The Donald W. Treadgold Memorial Lecture

"Perils of Pankratova: Some Stories from the Annals of Soviet Historiography." Reginald Zelnik, Professor, Department of History, UC-Berkeley. 3:30pm, Parrington Hall Forum. A reception will follow.

APRIL 21: A Special FRAEC 15th Anniversary Gala Event

5:30pm Reception, 7pm Dinner at Teatro ZinZanni. For ticket information, visit www.fraec.org.

APRIL 24: Seattle International Children's Festival Mosaics

Program for K-8 grade teachers to prepare for the Children's Festival, 9:00am–5:00pm. Presented with the Outreach Centers of the Jackson School of International Studies and Washington State Council for the Social Studies.

MAY 3: Stalin: The Court of the Red Tsar

Book discussion and signing by Simon Sebag Montefiore, 7pm, Kane Hall, 110. Cosponsored by the UW Bookstore.

MAY 5: Europe Undivided: Democracy, Leverage and Integration After Communism

Milada Anna Vachudova, Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of North Carolina Chapel Hill. 12:30–2:00 pm, Thomson Hall, 317.

MAY 6: Afghan Communities in Post-Soviet Central Asia: Case Study of Uzbekistan

Natalya Khan, Visiting Scholar at the University of British Columbia. 3:30 pm, Communications 202 (The Simpson Center).

MAY 10–15: Seattle International Children's Festival

See www.seattleinternational.org/seattle for information and tickets.

MAY 20–JUNE 13: Seattle International Film Festival

www.seattlefilm.com for information on film schedules and tickets.

MAY 26: Teachers Event in Spokane

Looking East: EU and NATO Enlargement, 4:00–7:00pm at Whitworth College. See <http://depts.washington.edu/reecas/events> for more information.

JUNE 29–30: Summer Seminar for Teachers

Living in Our World: Environmental Challenges and Solutions, see p. 23 for more information and registration.



REECAS NEWSLETTER

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