

REECAS NEWSLETTER

JACKSON SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES | UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

Central Asian Waters: Issues for the Future

BY BRETT WALTON

For you and me, the weather is a topic of idle chatter, or perhaps a benign salvo leading to discussion of weightier matters. But in Central Asia, elemental forces like sun and rain are the stuff of heavy debate. The region is one of many in the world in which changes in the weather track closely with political and social stability. A cold winter, as in 2007–08, can overwhelm domestic energy sources, strain cross-border trade agreements and relegate residents to burning furniture for fuel. A dry summer like last year's can cause a collapse in agricultural output, a restriction on crop exports and panic over food shortages.

For an arid region such as Central Asia, the importance of water is difficult to understate. The Uzbeks have scores of proverbs reflecting this. *Suv bor yerda hayot bor* — In a place where there is water, there is life.

The tie that binds these scenarios is water. For an arid region such as Central Asia, the importance of water is difficult to understate. The Uzbeks have scores of proverbs reflecting this. *Suv bor yerda hayot bor* — In a place where there is



The author, with Ak-Sai glacier in Kyrgyzstan's Ala-Archa National Park behind him.

© BRETT WALTON

water, there is life. *Ariqdan suv uzilmasa, savatdan non arimac* — If water stops coming from an ariq, bread will disappear from the baskets.¹ The problem with water comes from its uses outside of human consumption. If we only needed water for drinking and sanitation, quantity would never be a concern because humans use such a small fraction. Problems arise with sectoral demands on water — that is, water for agriculture and industry. More than 90 percent of the water in the Aral

Sea basin is used for irrigation.² This is where competing uses, political interests, efficiency and infrastructure collide.

This article will lay out several important issues for the waters of Central Asia in the coming decades. Climate change, transboundary management and infrastructure development are three factors affecting the future of the resource. Note that these are not the only concerns, but rather the ones that are most pressing.

(continued on page 2)

INSIDE THIS ISSUE

Ellison Center News.....	5
Recent Acquisitions in the REECAS Outreach Collection.....	6
REECAS NW Conference.....	7
From Tashkent to Kazan: Reconstructing the Debate on the "Muslim Question" in Late Imperial Russia.....	8
UW Intensive Language Programs.....	11
Staring Back: The Field Work Experience of a Graduate Student of Color in Latvia.....	12

Nicholas Poppe Symposium on Inner/Central Asian Studies Call for Papers.....	14
The Donald W. Treadgold Studies.....	15
Holding onto the Past: Bulgaria 20 Years after Communism.....	16
New Faculty and Visiting Scholars.....	20
Summer Seminar for Educators.....	22
Campaign UW.....	23
Upcoming Ellison Center Events.....	24



(continued from page 1)

Climate Change

The effects of climate change are expressed in various shades of uncertainty. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change uses dozens of models to account for variability in climatic and human use patterns. Average temperatures have risen regionally by 1.85 degrees C in the winter and 0.69 degrees C in the summer for the period from 1983 to 2002.³ The extensive irrigation network seems to be moderating summer temperatures, producing the same effect the Aral Sea once had. There is a consensus that more water will be available in the short term for Central Asia. An increase in evapotranspiration of surface water will be offset by a slight increase in rainfall and an increase in glacial melting.⁴ Glaciers in the Tien Shan and the Pamirs are decreasing in area at an average rate of one percent per year.⁵ This is a potentially dangerous situation for long-term use. The short-term increase will lead to an eventual decrease in river discharge as the glacier mass recedes. If water managers use present flow rates as a basis for long-term allocations, there will be future shortages, as no long-term models show an increase in water flow.

Climate change will also disrupt historical hydrological flow patterns. Glaciers act as natural reservoirs, releasing winter snow slowly throughout the summer. Climate models predict that higher winter temperatures will lead to more winter floods and an earlier spring melt, moving river discharge peaks earlier in the year. This will mean less water available in the peak summer irrigation months of July

If water managers use present flow rates as a basis for long-term allocations, there will be future shortages, as no long-term models show an increase in water flow.

and August. One response is to build more dams to hold the earlier snowmelt, the ramifications of which will be explored later.

Another consequence of glacial melting is an increased risk of glacial lake outburst

floods. Thousands of lakes sit in glacial cirques in the mountains of Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. Rapidly increasing meltwater will increase the volume of these lakes and may cause natural earthen dams to break and to flood unprepared downstream villages. High seismic activity in the area also increases the risk. Lake Sarez in Tajikistan is the most threatening such lake. It holds 16 billion cubic meters of water, enough to flood 55,000 km² and displace six million people.⁶ Because of their remoteness, monitoring these lakes is difficult, and the Central Asian governments do not have the financial resources for sophisticated monitoring systems. Satellite monitoring is one possible, albeit imperfect, way to collect data.

Transboundary Management

The main transboundary river systems of Central Asia are the Amu Darya, Syr Darya, Irtysh and Ili. The Amu Darya begins in Tajikistan, flows along the Tajik-Afghan border, and meanders between Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan before ending at the Aral Sea. In dry years, water does not reach the sea.⁷ The Syr Darya has its headwaters in Kyrgyzstan before flowing through Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan again, and southern Kazakhstan, draining into the northern Aral Sea. The Irtysh is shared by China, Kazakhstan and Russia; the Ili is shared by China and Kazakhstan and drains into Lake Balkhash. This article mainly deals with the Amu Darya and Syr Darya.

During Soviet rule, Central Asia was managed as one hydrological unit despite the existence of republic boundaries. Reservoirs were placed in upstream Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan to be used for storing water to irrigate the cotton crop in the summer. Dams were built with hydroelec-



An urban ariq in Bukhara.

© BRETT WALTON

tric capacity, but as a secondary use. In exchange for irrigation water, downstream republics bought excess electricity generated by the hydroelectric plants in the summer and provided natural gas and oil for winter heating in upstream republics.⁸ Because irrigation was the primary focus, Uzbekistan was allocated approximately 60 percent of the water in the Aral Sea basin, even though less than 10 percent of the basin's water resources drain from its territory.⁹ Centralized control from Moscow ensured that the system functioned.

After independence in 1991, the newly formed states decided to keep the Soviet management and allocation system in place, more to maintain stability than to satisfy governments. Since then, rivalries between states, economic realities and international donor competition caused initial cooperation to breakdown. Uzbekistan was the locus of the scientific, technical and administrative water institutions during the Soviet era and it sought to maintain that dominance. International donors and multi-lateral agencies (USAID, the

World Bank, United Nations Development Program and the European Union) had trouble centralizing any institution, not wanting to alienate one state at the expense of another. The result was the creation of redundant institutions with competing interests and no clear definition of purpose. Two bodies oversaw the Aral Sea rehabilitation program, but they could not function properly because member states were not providing promised funds to sustain them. The barter system of summer irrigation water for winter energy supplies also collapsed as energy-rich states sought payment in global market prices, which poorer upstream states could not afford. While no large-scale interstate conflict has come to pass because of water, numerous localized conflicts have occurred.

A negotiated agreement for basin-wide water management will have to balance upstream and downstream demands and provide incentives for cooperation. Irrigation practices in Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan are extremely inefficient. Furrow irrigation is used most widely, causing waterlogging and salinization, and requiring extra water to leach minerals out of the soil before planting. Introducing more efficient drip irrigation would increase water savings by 18 to 42 percent depending on climatic conditions, according to one study.¹⁰ The problem is that

After independence in 1991, the newly formed states decided to keep the Soviet management and allocation system in place, more to maintain stability than to satisfy governments. Since then, rivalries between states, economic reality and international donor competition caused initial cooperation to breakdown.

downstream countries already have a large allocation of water and have no incentive to invest in water-saving technology if the gains will accrue solely to the upstream countries. Nor do farmers themselves have an incentive to invest, as they receive heavily subsidized water. Upstream countries have proposed that they receive payment for water, but this is anathema to downstream states who have always received free water. Upstream countries also want to develop their hydroelectric capacity, but downstream countries are demanding a hand in the management of the dams so that their irrigation water supply is not altered.

The wildcard in the search for a management regime is Afghanistan. The northern part of the country is riparian to the Amu Darya, providing between 10

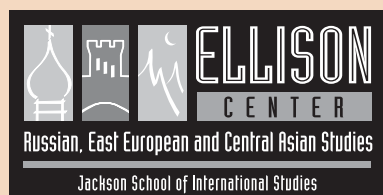
and 20 percent of the average annual flow.¹¹ Years of war and instability have limited development, but there are plans for expansion of irrigated agriculture. The effect these future withdrawals will have on the basin's water balance is uncertain. Afghanistan has not been party to post-Soviet basin management discussions, but it will need to be included in subsequent negotiations for any durable management regime to emerge.

Infrastructure Development

The heart of the water problem in Central Asia is the nexus of water, agriculture and energy. Downstream countries have established historical water-use patterns and a social and political structure built around agriculture. Upstream countries want to develop their hydroelectric resources for profit and for the social stability that comes with secure energy supplies. Tajikistan has the highest hydroelectric power potential per capita in the world, but the country still has to import electricity.¹² As of this writing, electricity shipments from Turkmenistan to Tajikistan were suspended because of a transit fee dispute between Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. Tajikistan retaliated by threatening to reduce summer water supplies.¹³

The Tajik government is desperately trying to complete the Rogun dam on the

(continued on page 4)



203B Thomson Hall, Box 353650
University of Washington
Seattle, WA 98195-3650
PHONE: 206-543-4852
FAX: 206-685-0668
EMAIL: reecas@u.washington.edu

The Ellison Center on the Internet:
<http://jsis.washington.edu/ellison>

James Augerot, Director and Program Chair
EMAIL: bigjim@u.washington.edu

Marta B. Mikkelsen, Associate Director
EMAIL: martam@u.washington.edu

Allison Dvaladze, Assistant Director for Outreach
EMAIL: dvaladze@u.washington.edu

Carrie O'Donoghue, Program Coordinator and Treadgold Managing Editor
EMAIL: codonogh@u.washington.edu

Julia Hon, Newsletter Editor
EMAIL: reecasnl@u.washington.edu

Chad Close, Outreach and Website Assistant
EMAIL: ecweb@u.washington.edu

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

REECAS EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

James Augerot, Ellison Center Director and Chair; Professor
Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures

Bojan Belic, Lecturer
Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures

Michael Biggins, Head Librarian
Slavic and East European Section, UW Libraries

Galya Diment, Professor and Chair
Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures

Diana Pearce, Senior Lecturer
School of Social Work

Guntis Smidchens, Assistant Professor
Department of Scandinavian Studies

Glennys Young, Associate Professor
Department of History, Jackson School of International Studies



(continued from page 3)



© BRETT WALTON

The Ak-Sai glacier in Kyrgyzstan's Ala Archa National Park.

Vakhsh River, a tributary of the Amu Darya. The dam was conceived by Soviet engineers and construction began in 1976 but was halted once the USSR collapsed. The completed dam would be the world's tallest at 335 meters. Financing has been the problem. Tajikistan can not afford the \$2–3 billion required to finish the project, and has been looking for investors. The Tajik government had reached an agreement with Rusal, the Russian aluminum giant, in 2004, but Rusal has since withdrawn. In May 2008, President Rahmon asked state employees to voluntarily give up two weeks pay to help raise money for the dam, even though full participation would provide a negligible fraction of the funds. The current global financial crisis has further reduced potential sources of funding.

Uzbekistan is firmly opposed to Tajik plans for the Rogun dam. It fears that the added dam would give its neighbor too much control over the resource, even though Rogun may actually increase water availability downstream. Rogun is part of a cascade of dams on the Vakhsh located upstream from another mega-dam, Nurek. Operating the dams in tandem, with Rogun generating hydroelectric power in the winter and Nurek holding the runoff for summer irrigation, would provide a net benefit to the basin as a whole. The power

generated in the summer from Nurek could be exported south to India with transmission line investment since India has peak energy use in the summer months, as opposed to Central Asia's winter peak.

Dams are not without their problems, though. Rogun has an enormous price tag for Tajikistan and the country could be encumbered by equivalent debt. High siltation rates, like those in the geologically-young Pamir mountains, decrease the productive life of a dam. Sub-optimal reservoir levels require a greater amount of water to produce an equivalent amount of energy than if the reservoir levels were higher — a concern with climate change increasing the variability of water runoff. Furthermore, export capacity may not be as high as envisioned. Seismic activity in the area is another concern.

The heart of the water problem in Central Asia is the nexus of water, agriculture and energy.

Conclusion

Water will remain a headline topic in Central Asia in the coming decades. Resolution of the issues presented here will be difficult and progress will be slow. A water management regime with the flexibility to adapt to changing climatic conditions is needed. There are clear benefits to cooperation, but political will to do so is presently lacking. ♦

Brett Walton is a second-year graduate student in the REECAS program studying water politics in Central Asia. He is also involved in a State Department project on climate change and transboundary water management in Central Asia.

1. An *ariq* is a small canal for irrigation or urban climate moderation.
2. R. Kulmatov. (2008). "Modern problems in using, protecting, and managing water and land resources of the Aral Sea basin." In *Environmental Problems of Central Asia and their Economic, Social and Security Impacts*. Edited by J. Qi and K. T. Evered. Springer, 16.
3. J. Jarsjo, S. M. Asokan, Y. Shibuo and G. Destouni. (2008). "Water scarcity in the Aral Sea drainage basin: contributions of agricultural irrigation and a changing climate." In *Environmental Problems of Central Asia and their Economic, Social and Security Impacts*. Edited by J. Qi and K. T. Evered. Springer, 99.
4. J. Jarsjo, S. M. Asokan, Y. Shibuo and G. Destouni, 105.



© BRETT WALTON

The Orto-Tokoy reservoir in Kyrgyzstan in September after summer irrigation.



- 5 R. Perelet. (2007). "Central Asia: Background paper on climate change." UNDP Human Development Report 2007–2008, 10.
- 6 Diagnostic Report on Water Resources of Central Asia. (2002). Report presented at the 10th session of the Project Working Group "Energo" on rational and efficient use of energy and water resources in Central Asia. 26–28 Nov
- 7 The desiccation of the Aral Sea is a tragedy too large to give full respect to in this space. The sea, once the fourth largest inland body of water in the world, nearly disappeared due to Soviet irrigation practices. The sea has trifurcated, and the northern section in Kazakhstan (the Little Aral) is slowly being rehabilitated by a dam cutting off flow to the southern Big Aral.
- 8 Upstream states are Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan; downstream states are Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan.
- 9 T. Altiyev. (2005). Water for development in Central Asia. Paper presented at sub-regional workshop, Implementation of integrated water resources management for well-being and future development in Central Asia. Almaty, Kazakhstan, 31 Oct–2 Nov.
- 10 N. Ibragimov, S. R. Evett, Y. Esanbekov, B. S. Kamilov, L. Mirzaev, J. P.A. Lamers. (2007). "Water use efficiency of irrigated cotton in Uzbekistan under drip and furrow irrigation." *Agricultural Water Management* 90, 112.
- 11 Estimates vary because of the lack of detailed studies.
- 12 "Onwards and Upwards." (2008). *Water Power Magazine*. www.waterpowermagazine.com/story.asp?storyCode=2049809
- 13 "Tajikistan: Water is weapon in Uzbek electricity talks." (2009). eurasianet.org, 21 January. www.eurasianet.org/departments/briefs/eav012109.shtml

ELLISON CENTER NEWS

JOSE ALANIZ (Assistant Professor, Slavic Languages and Literatures) published the essay "I Want': Women in Post-Soviet Russian Comics" in *Ulbundus*, No. 10 in December 2008.

We wish **PROFESSOR STEVE HANSON** the best in his new position as the University of Washington's Vice Provost for Global Affairs and warmly welcome **JIM AUGEROT**, Professor of Slavic Languages and Literatures, as the new Director and Chair the Ellison Center and REECAS Program. Jim is a specialist in Slavic linguistics with a focus on South Slavic languages; he is a past Interim Director of the Ellison Center, Treasurer of the Southeast European Studies Association, former President of the Society for Romanian Studies and has also chaired the Slavic Department, so he enters his new position with considerable administrative experience.

In August 2008, **ILSE CIRTAUTAS** (Professor, Near Eastern Languages and Civilization) participated in the International Babur Conference organized in Andijan, Uzbekistan, by the Uzbek Babur Foundation on the occasion of the 515th anniversary of Babur's birth. She presented a paper on "The Genre of the Memoir in Central Asian Turkic Oral and Written Literature and Babur's Memoirs (Baburname)." While in Tashkent, she took part in the festivities in honor of the 35th Anniversary of the Sister City Relationship between Tashkent and Seattle, a relationship that Professor Cirtautas had helped to start and maintain.

WILL LASKY (MAIS 2008) recently published his first short story, a satire of Christian fundamentalism, entitled, "The Prismatic Cathedral." The story, published in *The Ampersand Review*, can be found, along with many other stories and works of poetry, at www.ampersandreview.com.

AUTUMN LERNER (MAIS 2002), director of the International Visitor Program at the World Affairs Council in Seattle, has been selected as one of 53 American recipients of the prestigious Marshall Memorial Fellowship. In May 2009, Lerner will join the other Marshall Fellows to spend 24 days traveling to five cities across Europe, learning about the institutions and people that drive Europe's cities, regions, countries and multilateral systems through meetings with local counterparts.

HAIDEH SALEHI-ESFAHANI (Senior Lecturer, Economics) has published her paper, "Rule of Law: A Comparison between Ancient Persia and Ancient Greece" in the December 2008 Issue of *Iranian Studies*.

GLENNYS YOUNG's (Associate Professor, History and JSIS) essay "Emotsii, politika osparivaniia i obshchestvennaia pamiat': iz istorii Novoherkasskoi tragedii," ("Emotions, Contentious Politics, and Historical Memory: A Story from the Annals of the Novoherkassk Tragedy") will be published later this year in Marc Elie, Jan Plamper and Schamma Schahadat, eds., *Emotsii v russkoi istorii i kul'ture* in a

volume published by Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie. This volume includes papers from a conference held at INION (the Institute of Scientific Information for Social Sciences) in Moscow in early April 2008. Young also presented papers at the AAASS and AHA on her project *The World the Refugees Made: Los Niños de la Guerra in the USSR and Beyond*.

The **UW POLISH STUDIES ENDOWMENT COMMITTEE** (UW PSEC), together with the Los Angeles Consulate General of the Republic of Poland, Washington State Holocaust Education Resource Center, and UW's Ellison Center, Jewish Studies Program, History and Slavic Departments, organized and sponsored the photo exhibit and lecture series *Polish Heroes: Those Who Rescued Jews*. The exhibit was displayed at the Suzzallo-Allen library between January 13 and February 17, 2009, and was accompanied by a five-week lecture series on campus. Featured speakers included Stanlee Stahl, Executive Vice-President, Jewish Foundation for the Righteous in New York; Martha Golubiec, UW PSEC; Prof. Przemyslaw Chojnowski, Adam Mickiewicz University and current UW PSEC Fulbright Scholar; Henry Friedman, a Holocaust survivor; and Prof. Keely Stauter-Halsted, Michigan State University. The lectures covered the history of Jews in Poland, the heroic efforts of Poles who rescued Jews during the Nazi occupation, survival during the Holocaust and the dynamics between Jewish and Polish communities residing in the countryside.



Recent Acquisitions to the REECAS Outreach Collection

The Ellison Center is pleased to present a selection 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 Ellison Center in 203B Thomson Hall, University of Washington; telephone us at (206) 543-4852; email reecas@u.washington.edu; or check our website: <http://jsis.washington.edu/ellison>.

Teaching Resources

Art from Many Hands: Multicultural Art Projects

(ELEMENTARY-HS) 2002

This book contains detailed instructions, illustrated with numerous photographs, for projects inspired by the arts of places around the world.

Firebird

(GRADES K-6) 1994

The gilded illustrations for this opulent version of the famous Russian folktale echoes the fine craft of cloisonné and the intricacies of Faberge. The visual riches help carve out a niche for the book amongst the recent spate of retellings of this tale of the feckless archer Dimitri who, with the help of his magic Horse of Power, captures the Firebird and embarks on a chain of ever more difficult quests.

Global Studies: Russia, the Eurasian Republics, and Central/Eastern Europe

(GRADES HS-COLLEGE) 2008

This is one in a series of volumes that provide readers with concise background information and current world press articles on the regions and countries of the world. Included in this edition are country reports and statistics for Albania, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic and Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Russia, the Eurasian republics, and the republics of the former Yugoslavia, with essays discussing the regions as a whole. In addition, a wide selection of carefully selected articles from newspapers and magazines from around the world are reprinted in this volume.

Kazakhstan: Nomadic Routes from Caspian to Altai

(COLLEGE) 2008

A country larger than Western Europe, Kazakhstan's vast expanse encompasses the Great Steppe, the heights of the Tien Shan in the south, the exquisite lakes and valleys of the Altai mountains in the northeast, and in the far west the archo-

logically rich desert coast of the Caspian Sea. With independence and the discovery of oil has come huge change, yet Kazakhstan remained unknown to many until the movie *Borat* took the world by storm in 2006. Now, this land of rich history, welcoming people and whirling bazaars shares its wonders with a curious world.

Russia's Sakhalin Island: When Oil, Nature, and Politics Collide

(CAUSES OF CONFLICT - HIGH SCHOOL CBA) 2008
ALLISON DVALADZE

In this unit, students will examine the development of gas and oil fields on Russia's Sakhalin Island within the context of the Russian government's complex relations with the various stakeholders involved. From environmental issues to economic issues, from the multinational oil companies to the local island population, this is a rich topic that touches on a variety of important social studies concepts. Includes vocabulary terms and links to terrific online resources.

Return of a Super Power: How History Can Help Us Understand the Role of Energy in Russian Foreign Policy Today

(WHY HISTORY? - MIDDLE SCHOOL CBA) 2008
ALLISON DVALADZE

Over the past ten years, changes in the Russian economy have come at an astounding pace. Recently, Russia has been called a "petro-bully," and some Europeans have become concerned about relying on Russia for their energy supply. Through the resources and activities in this unit students will explore the role of oil and natural gas in Russia's economic rise and in Russian relations with other countries.

Trying to See the Light: Georgia's Struggle through Post-Soviet Transition

(GRADES 6-12) 2008
ALLISON DVALADZE

This unit looks primarily at the situation concerning energy supply in the country of Georgia. It will help students examine the importance of energy in daily life and what happens when traditional modes of supply are suddenly severed, or no longer available

at previous levels of supply. While the focus is on Georgia, this problem is not unique to Georgia. (Can be used in conjunction with the film *Power Trip*, available from the center.)

Whaling Around the World

(GRADES 5-HS) 2004

Since time immemorial, people have looked to the sea for sustenance, and in the process have defined themselves in terms of culture, nutritional needs and economies. This book's lavish illustrations capture the extraordinary variety of practices and techniques associated with modern whaling, from the skin boats of Greenland to the diesel-powered fishing boats of northern Norway. Just as rich in variety are the methods for preparing whale meat, and the art forms crafted from by-products.

Books, Journals & Pamphlets

Uzbekistan: The Golden Road to Samarkand

(TRAVEL GUIDE) 2002

From the blue-tiled splendor of Tamerlane's Samarkand to the holy city of Bukhara (which boasts a mosque for each day of the year), Uzbekistan lays claim to a breathtaking architectural legacy. Bound by sand and snow, these fertile oases have attracted travelers, traders and conquerors. This guide focuses on sites and legends at the heart of Central Asia, plus excursions covering the major attractions of neighboring republics Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan.

Vagabond Life: The Caucasus Journal of George Kennan

2003

In 1870, Kennan became the first American to explore the highlands of Dagestan, a remote Muslim region of herders, silver-smiths, carpet weavers and other craftsmen of west Chechnya, only a decade after Russia violently absorbed the region into its empire. Edited by Frith Maier with contributions by Daniel C. Waugh, this journal covers

Kennan's journey to the Caucasus.
Published by University of Washington Press.

Traveling Exhibits

Baltic American Community

(Available to Schools)

UW LIBRARIES

The UW Libraries Special Collections recently developed an exhibit featuring members of the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian communities in King County. The full exhibit of nineteen framed pieces can be borrowed from Special Collections for use in schools and other venues. Additionally, Special Collections has created a hardbound book of the exhibit panels and the personal statements of the participants, which can

be loaned for classroom use. For more information, contact Nicolette Bromberg, UW Libraries Special Collections, at (206) 685-2968 or nxb@u.washington.edu.

Individuals who immigrated from Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—many immediately following World War II—and their families have contributed to the cultural, business and civic life of King County. As Americans, they have also preserved their cultures through community associations, musical and dance groups, and family traditions. This exhibition tells the story of nineteen members of the Baltic community in King County through current portraits by award-winning Northwest photographer Mary Randlett, photographs from their personal collections, and their own words.

Chernobyl, Twenty Years – Twenty Lives

(GRADES 9 – COLLEGE) 2006

MADS ESKESEN, PHOTOGRAPHER

25 COLOR PANELS 30 X 30 INCHES EACH

Chernobyl, 20 Years – 20 Lives is a photo documentary journey through the lives of 20 people whose lives were altered forever by the devastating nuclear explosion at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant on April 26, 1986. In an attempt to understand the implications of the catastrophe, Eskesen traveled in the affected regions, conducted interviews and took pictures of the everyday life. These trips resulted in 20 moving stories about human destinies that have been radically changed by the accident.



THE 15TH ANNUAL NORTHWEST REGIONAL CONFERENCE FOR
RUSSIAN, EAST EUROPEAN AND CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES

Ecological, Cultural and Political Change in Russia, East Europe and Central Asia

Saturday, April 18, 2009

9:00 AM – 6:00 PM, UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

REGISTRATION (9:15–10:00 am)

SESSION 1 (10:00–11:30 am)

- Identity and Diversity in Russia, East Europe and Central Asia
- Changing Politics, Institutions and Perceptions in the Post-Communist Arena

LUNCH & PLENARY (12:00–1:30 pm)

- Ecological, Cultural and Political Change in Russia, East Europe and Central Asia

SESSION 2 (1:45–3:15 pm)

- Regulating the Environment: Concepts of Wilderness and Conservation
- Culture and Memory: Film, Music and Media
- Slavic Languages and Literatures

SESSION 3 (3:30–5:00 pm)

- Challenges to Change: Security, Agriculture and Urban Planning
- Developments in Central Asian Literature

CLOSING RECEPTION (5:00–6:00 pm)

For more information or to register, please visit <http://jsis.washington.edu/ellison/>, call the Ellison Center at (206) 543-4852 or email reecas@u.washington.edu.



From Tashkent to Kazan: Reconstructing the Debate on the “Muslim Question” in Late Imperial Russia

BY ELENA CAMPBELL

In the fall of 2008, I visited Tashkent, Uzbekistan and Kazan, Russia. The goal of my trip was archival research for my book project on the “Muslim question” in late imperial Russia. Working with periodicals and governmental materials from the time of imperial Russia, I discovered that many of the authors in the late 19th and early 20th centuries were concerned with something they formulated as the “Muslim question.”

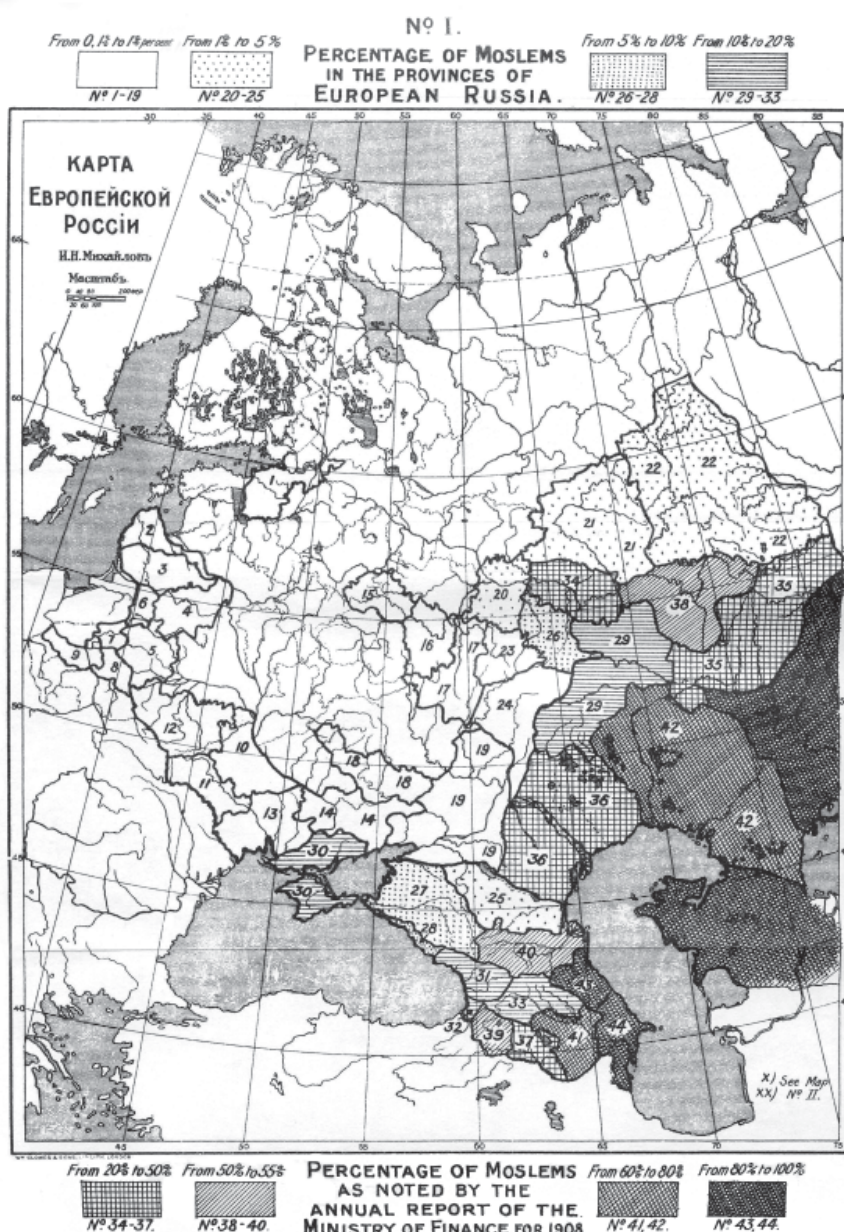
Despite the growing amount of literature on Islam in Russia and Russian nationalism, the “Muslim question” itself has not been a subject of much research. Scholars have mentioned the Russian “Muslim question,” but do not explain who raised this question in Russia and why, or what, exactly, this question was about.¹ My work is an attempt to analyze the circumstances under which the Muslim subjects came to be viewed in Russia as a political problem and investigate different perceptions of this problem. I started with the proposition that a “problem” such as the “Muslim question” emerges precisely through the process of its formulation, taking on in this way an active and determinant life of its own. I thus look at the “Muslim question” as a historical concept with quite different authors, interpretations and meanings for those who used it. My work suggests focusing on the concepts generated by the imperial actors as a way to understand how Russians thought of and managed the diversity of their empire.

By the beginning of the 20th century, the number of Muslims in the empire amounted to nearly 15% of the total population, forming the largest non-Orthodox group. Muslims lived in small numbers in nearly every part of Russia, but the greatest number inhabited the south-eastern imperial borderlands: the Crimean peninsula, the region from the middle of the Volga to the Ural Mountains, Central Asia and the Caucasus. The Russian Muslims constituted a heterogeneous community. This was preconditioned by many factors,

such as their geographical location, cultural diversity, the timing and the nature of their incorporation into the empire, and different forms of imperial governance.

Yet despite this diversity, the political framework of the empire facilitated the connections of different Muslim groups

with each other and with other imperial communities. Therefore, Russian attitudes toward Islam cannot be fully understood without taking into account these interactions.² Indeed, the object of Russian policies was not a particular imperial community, but rather the relations between



A map from the article “Moslems in Russia” by Sophy Bobrovnikoff in *The Moslem World* ed. S.M. Zwemer, 1911, Vol. 1, #1.

different groups. The empire was tied together through the administrative practices of the Russian ruling elite and their perceptions. For instance, Russian civil and clerical administrators served in more than one region during their careers. These “traveling officials” transferred their understanding of imperial situations as well as the ruling practices from one region to another. These connections become apparent when Russia’s attitudes and policies toward Islam are analyzed through the prism of the “Muslim question.”

The “Muslim question” was formulated and discussed as one of several so-called “alien questions” (*inorodcheskie voprosy*), among which were the Polish, Jewish, Finnish and Baltic “questions.” The importance given to issues concerning non-Russians by both ruling circles and the public may be taken as evidence of

I look at the “Muslim question” as a historical concept with quite different authors, interpretations and meanings for those who use it. My work suggests focusing on the concepts generated by the imperial actors as a way to understand how Russians thought of and managed the diversity of their empire.

the anxieties felt among educated Russians concerning the integrity of the empire and the stability of the state. To a large extent, these anxieties became especially strong due to the challenges presented by state-sponsored modernization and the spread of nationalistic ideas in the Russian empire in the middle of the 19th century. A nation-centered ideology was a challenge to the basic organizing principles that had defined the Russian empire for centuries: an estate-based social structure, an autocratic government and imperial patriotism based on loyalty to the dynasty. Nationalism also presented a threat to the territorial integrity of the empire, whose subjects belonged to different ethnic and religious groups. In the 19th and 20th century, almost all of the ethnic groups in the



A photograph by S.M. Prokudin-Gorskii, taken between 1905 and 1915, of four men on a horse-drawn cart on the upper reaches of the Syr-Darya.

© SERGEI MIKHAILOVICH PROKUDIN-GORSKII

Russian Empire passed through a phase of nationalist mobilization, though the degree of mobilization differed substantially from one group to another.

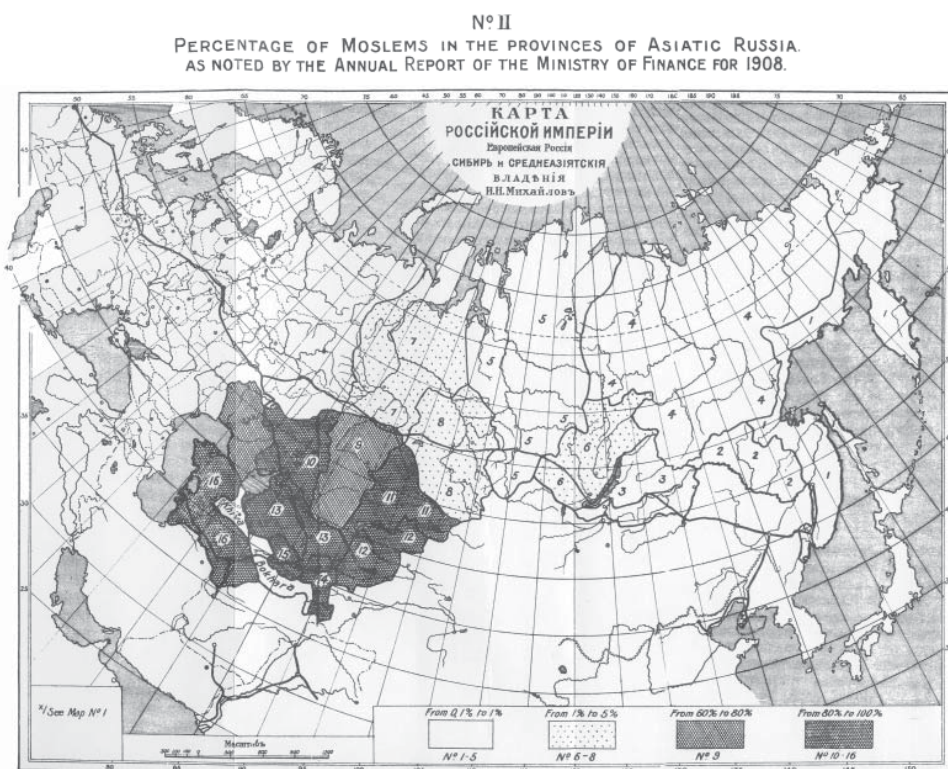
The Polish Rebellion of 1863 was the first national movement that shook the Russian empire and gave the problem of state unity a particular urgency. The Polish rebellion had an impact on the development of Russian nationalism and the national movements among the other nationalities of the empire. The essence of the “Polish question,” as it was understood by Russian nationalists, was not just the political separatism of Poles, but also their cultural influence among the neighboring non-Polish population in the Western borderlands. The Polish rebellion drew Russian attention to other non-Russian minorities. The public and bureaucratic discussion of the “Muslim question” took shape within the discursive framework created by the debates on the other “alien questions,” in particular the “Polish question.” For instance, in 1867, the new archbishop Antonii (Amfiteatrov) came to Kazan from Smolensk and saw in Islam a force similar to Catholicism in the western pro-

vinces. Along this line, the nationalistically-thinking part of Russian society and the Russian government re-conceptualized the religious and ethnic diversity of the Volga-Ural region, in particular the so-called “apostasy” of the baptized Tatars to Islam and the spread of Islam among the neighboring animist groups. The problem of what the Russian observers saw as “Islamization” and “Tatarization” constituted one of the most important aspects of the “Muslim question.”

The acquisition of Central Asia in 1880s increased the portion of the Muslim population that had not yet been considerably integrated into the empire. The military resistance of Muslims to Russian rule led to worries among imperial authorities concerning the loyalty and prospects for integration of the new subjects into the empire. No less important were the concerns about the connections of these new communities with other imperial groups. For example, the government reconsidered the role of Tatars: once the Russians’ imperial agents in Central Asia, by the late 19th century they had become viewed as

(continued on page 10)

(continued from page 9)



A map from the article "Moslems in Russia" by Sophy Bobrovnikoff in *The Moslem World* ed. S.M. Zwemer, 1911, Vol. 1, #1.

the Russians' primary competitors. This issue was complicated at the beginning of the 20th century by the development of nationalistically-tinted political movement among the Volga Tatars. The rise of Russian nationalism coincided with the expansion of the empire's boundaries and competed with non-Russian nationalistic projects. Thus, Russian fears of Islam were mixed with hope, and Muslims were viewed not only as a threat but also as models.

The brunt of the initiative in the formulation of the "Muslim Question" in late imperial Russia came from circles outside of official St. Petersburg: the public, as well as local church and civil authorities. Thus, I went to the Central State Archive of Uzbekistan in Tashkent and the National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan in Kazan to review materials related to the debate on the "Muslim question." How did these archival collections enrich my understanding of this issue, which I had reconstructed on the basis of central historical archives in St. Petersburg and Moscow? The answer is that the materials from Tashkent and Kazan allowed me to reconstruct the local contexts within which the

concerns about Islam were articulated, and to uncover the multiplicity of actors whose voices and perceptions were either lost or reinterpreted in the final policy proposals or reports submitted by the local authorities to St. Petersburg.

One of the most important dimensions of the imperial relations that I am trying to reconstruct in my work is perception. Therefore, I paid special attention to personal documents such as diaries and letters. Especially interesting for me were the private papers of Nikolai Ostroumov.³ Ostroumov (1846–1930) was one of the "authors" of the "Muslim Question." He studied Islam and Turkic languages at the Kazan Theological Academy, where he continued teaching after his graduation in 1870. In 1877, he came to Tashkent, where he served in various capacities within the Domain of the Ministry of Education until 1917. Ostroumov extensively published on issues related to Islam in Russia, but it is his diary that reveals the complex nature of his anxieties related to the "Muslim question." His thinking about Russian Muslims was bound by reflections about the nature of Russianness and concerns

about the Russians' role in the changing empire. Russian administrators in Turkestan turned to Ostroumov for information about Islam and the Muslim people under their jurisdiction. Ostroumov's diary provides insights into the decision-making process of the Imperial administration about Islam. These details illustrate the dynamics of knowledge and power in the Russian empire which cannot be reduced to straightforward interdependency.⁴

Today, Tashkent is the capital of the independent Republic of Uzbekistan and Kazan is the capital of the Republic of Tatarstan (a federal subject of the Russian Federation). In order to gain access to the archival materials of the Central State Archive of Uzbekistan, foreign citizens need the permission of the Uzbek government. The improvement in Uzbek-Russian relations during the last few years proved

[T]he materials from Tashkent and Kazan allowed me to reconstruct the local contexts within which the concerns about Islam were articulated, and to uncover the multiplicity of actors whose voices and perceptions were either lost or reinterpreted in the final policy proposals or reports submitted by the local authorities to St. Petersburg.

to be favorable for my scholarly endeavor. As a Russian citizen, I was able to obtain such permission thanks to the support of the Russian Ambassador to Uzbekistan, Farit Mukhametshin.⁵

Although most of my trip was devoted to archival research, visiting places where the past events took place and were interpreted by contemporaries is also important for a historian. Being in these places helps to recreate the atmosphere within which historical documents were created. I only regret that I traveled from Tashkent to Kazan by plane rather than by train, which prevented me from getting a sense of spatial connection between the two regions.

When I had the opportunity, however,

Once I mentioned that I was from Russia, my interlocutors would recall their experiences related to our common Soviet past. Whether positive or negative, these memories created a sort of solidarity between us.

I eagerly entered into conversations with the people I met during my trip. Once I mentioned that I was from Russia, my interlocutors would recall their experiences related to our common Soviet past. Whether positive or negative, these memories created a sort of solidarity between us. Sometimes, this found its expression in unexpected ways. After telling me a personal story about the corruption of Soviet educational institutions in Russia, the cashier at a historical museum in

Samarkand decided to sell me an entrance ticket for the same price as the locals.

Arriving in Kazan from Tashkent, I found myself with time to wander through the city, as it was a Sunday and the archive was closed. Still influenced by the positive impressions of my trip to Tashkent, I found myself eating at an Uzbek restaurant and conversing with the seasonal sellers of dried fruit from Samarkand at the Kazan market. But by the next day, I had left contemporary Kazan and was back at the archive with my mind in the late 19th and early 20th century, trying to understand the ways that Russians reconceptualized the empire in the face of a nationalistic challenge. ♦

1 See: V. Diakin, "Natsional'ny vopros vo vnutrennei politike tsarizma (nachalo 20 vv.)" *Voprosy istorii*. 1996. 11/12; A. Bennigsen, *Musul'mane v SSSR*. Paris, 1983; D.Iu. Arapov, *Imperatorskaia Rossia i musul'manskii mir*. Moscow, 2006. p. 10;

Tsentral'naia Azia v sostave Rossiiskoi imperii. NLO, 2008. p. 334.

- 2 Nicholas Breyfogle pointed to the interconnected nature of the Russian empire in his historiographical essay: N. Breyfogle, "Enduring Imperium: Russia/Soviet Union/Eurasia as Multiethnic, Multiconfessional Space." *Ab Imperio* (1) 2008.
- 3 Central State Archive of Uzbekistan, Tashkent, f. 1009.
- 4 On Orientalism in the Russian context see: N. Knight, "Grigor'ev in Orenburg, 1851–1862: Russian Orientalism in the Service of Empire?" *Slavic Review* 59:1 (Spring 2000), pp. 74–100, and Discussion in: *Kritika* 1(4), Fall 2000, pp. 691–727
- 5 Mr. Mukhametshin has been a diplomat since 1990. He was Deputy Director of the Foreign Ministry's Department for the Russian Region's Affairs, the Parliament and NGOs. From 1995 to 1999 he worked as Plenipotentiary Envoy of the Republic of Tatarstan under the Russian President. From 1999 to 2003 headed the Department of the Federal Assembly Affairs, NGOs and Religious Communities under the Russian Government's Executive Office. From 2003 to October 2008 was Russia's Plenipotentiary Envoy to Uzbekistan. He is currently the Director of the Federal Agency for Commonwealth of Independent States, Compatriots Abroad and International Humanitarian Cooperation.



JUNE 22nd - AUGUST 21st 2009

Earn one year of foreign language credit in **NINE WEEKS** - an excellent way to learn a new language! Our immersion program offers over 100 hours of classroom instruction. In addition, students attend activities such as films, lectures, sing-a-longs, concerts, day trips, and picnics! Summer language courses offered by the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures in 2009 include:

CZECH
Intensive first-year

UKRAINIAN
Intensive first-year

RUSSIAN
Intensive first, second, and third-year

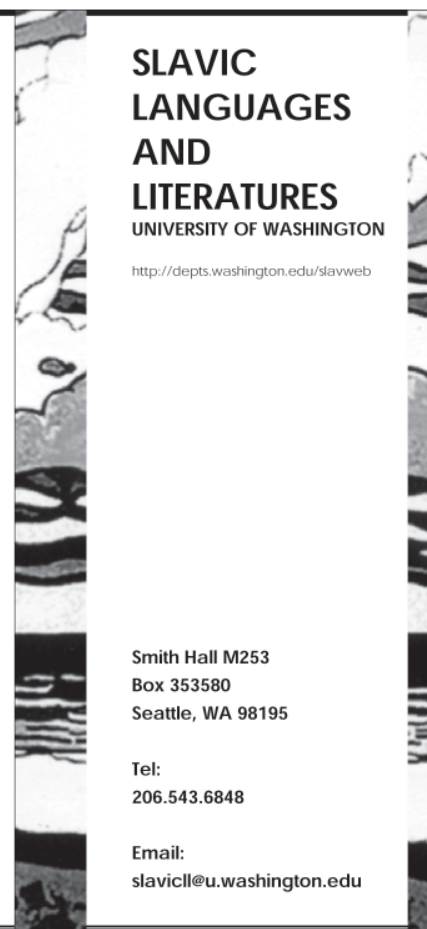
SLAVIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

<http://depts.washington.edu/slavweb>

Smith Hall M253
Box 353580
Seattle, WA 98195

Tel:
206.543.6848

Email:
slavicll@u.washington.edu



Staring Back: The Field Work Experiences of a Graduate Student of Color in Latvia

BY LAUREN MONSEIN RHODES

In August and September of 2008, I traveled to Riga, Latvia to conduct pilot field work on ethnic identity and immigration. What follows are entries from my journal as I sojourned into my first experience in the field as an anthropology graduate student. I had only been to Latvia once before, during a brief vacation two years ago. It was during that visit that I came upon my research interest: the relationship between immigrants of color in Latvia and Latvians — specifically, what makes a Latvian “Latvian”? As someone who defines herself as African American Ashkenazi Jewish with ties to Latvia, I was interested in learning more about the experiences of people of color in the land of my mother’s paternal grandfather. I was not sure how my subjects would receive me, or how my presence would be perceived in Latvia. While my first visit gave me some ideas to consider over the next year, it was my ethno-

graphic work this summer that allowed me to learn more about myself as an anthropologist and about the people that I have chosen to study.

It should be noted that statistics on how many people of color reside in Latvia are hard to find. There are a number of factors that contribute to this, some are cultural, some political and some personal. The number that is usually given for those of African descent is 300 (in all of Latvia), but the origins of that statistic are not clear. I also recently heard that number floated around for immigrants of Asian descent, as well. There are also foreign students (from various countries) studying at the Latvian universities. A recent article in the newspaper Diena puts this number as no more than 1500 students.¹ Some, including many of my informants, came to Latvia either as graduate students during the Soviet period or immigrated to Latvia to

live with their Latvian spouses. There is also the question of refugees and asylum seekers, which is complicated by Latvian policies on immigration and the recent establishment of a refugee contact point.² Actually, “it’s complicated” is perhaps the best answer to the questions “How many immigrants of color are there in Latvia?” and “Why are they in Latvia?” My research seeks to uncomplicate this answer, as well as to give a broader picture of the many individuals within this population.

While my first visit gave me some ideas to consider over the next year, it was my ethnographic work this summer that allowed me to learn more about myself as an anthropologist and about the people that I have chosen to study.



© LAUREN MONSEIN RHODES

Images of African American and hip-hop culture, such as this piece of wall art in Liepaja, are pervasive in Latvia. “Notorious” refers to the late rapper Biggy Smalls.

25/08/08
Riga

Today is my first full day in Latvia. I have not started my fieldwork yet, as I am waiting to buy a cell phone so that people will have a number to call. I feel that I am speaking more Russian and English than Latvian. Like Smadar Lavie [an anthropologist who did her fieldwork in the Sinai Peninsula], I get upset when people speak to me in my native tongue, even though I want to practice Latvian.³

26/08/08
Riga

My Latvian is subpar. I want it to be better, but only one year of study does not make me fluent. I get embarrassed when I order food and a waiter points to the menu and says “It has English.” I think that I am also experiencing culture shock. I am away from anything familiar. I am the alien. I



© LAUREN MONSEN RHODES

The author during her first trip to Latvia.

want to talk to people but do not know how. I want to ask questions about my research. I do not want to be seen as foreign or different. Do white anthropologists in Europe have the same problem? Do white anthropologists see themselves as different like I do? Maybe I should pretend that I am something else — varbut [maybe] French?

30/08/08

Riga

Last night was Balta Nakts.⁴ It was a beautiful sight. I turned to my friend and said “Tas ir kapec man patik Eiropa” (That is why I like Europe). It was incredible to see all of this free outdoor art and music with people of all types taking part in the festivities. I did not see a lot of people of color, but I did end up being asked about my hair [Note: this happened to me on several occasions while in Latvia. Sometimes, strangers even touched my hair (without asking). I have extremely curly hair, which is apparently not as common in Latvia as I had thought.] Later in the evening, a young Latvian man would exclaim “Woowow” upon hearing that I spoke Latvian and that my great-grandfather was from Latvia.

01/09/08

Liepaja

The staring sometimes gets to me. The not getting that I may speak and understand Latvian bothers me. I feel that I am my

own subject, that I am studying myself. This is the assumption that I am a foreigner. How will people react when I interview them?

14/09/08

Riga

People get excited, if not curious about my research. My colleague at one of the human rights NGOs said that she was happy to see that I was a person of color, especially one interested in Latvia. She saw me as a new generation. At the same time, I hear a lot of cynicism in the voices of my informants. There is this pervading sense that things will not change in Latvia.

Several common themes are arising from my interviews: 1) The Latvian government is ignoring the issue of racism; 2) The Latvian government is not thinking about the future and they do not think that there is presently any problem; 3) The Latvian government is not offering any solutions on how to deal with racism and problems related to a lack of social integration policy; and 4) The government wants to increase integration, but does not want to take any actions to improve the situation (they currently do not subsidize Latvian language classes for immigrants or third-country nationals). There is also what one of my informants called the “myth” of circular migration: that somehow all of the Latvians that have migrated to Ireland for better paying jobs will come back to Latvia...any day now (despite the bad economy). Therefore, there is no need to bring in guest workers or to encourage immigration because Latvians will return...eventually.

I also had an interesting run-in today with a fellow United States citizen working in Latvia. After hearing how I was interested in researching ethnic minorities of color in Latvia, he exclaimed “That’s easy! There are none!” He also told me to “be careful” as there had been some attacks on ethnic minorities as recently as two years ago and that I should be cautious. It was a memorable exchange that was made more memorable considering that standing next to me was my friend, who happens to be African American and lives in Riga. There is probably a lot of

fodder here for a deeper analysis into racial identity, politics and privilege, but the theory will come with the conference papers.

19/09/08

Riga

I am almost at the end of my time in Riga. As I sit here in the kafejnica [café] near KINO “Suns” [an art house movie theater in Riga], I feel relaxed. I am taking my time after the two manic hours of shopping for tzimmes ingredients.⁵

I now feel at home in Riga and am sad that I am leaving on Monday. I think that I have finally found my rhythm, built a community and have gotten acquainted with my surroundings. Yes, it is a small city and the stares do grate on me after a while, but at the end of the day I know where I stand — more than I have in any other city. I have found myself. This is where I have dreamed of being for the past ten years. [Note: I have been thinking about this research for a while, even prior to my trip to Latvia. My original intention was to study African communities in Russia.] The location may have shifted from Russia to Latvia, but this is what I have talked about, researched and visualized all of these years.

I think that I have finally found my rhythm, built a community and have gotten acquainted with my surroundings. Yes, it is a small city and the stares do grate on me after a while, but at the end of the day I know where I stand — more than I have in any other city. I have found myself.

It may also be the caffeine talking. I have had more caffeine these past few days than I have had all year: especially coffee — strong, European espresso. I keep on telling myself that I will not touch the stuff when I return to Seattle [I like the taste of coffee, but hate caffeine]. Drinking coffee in a café in the United States is a different experience. It feels more rushed.

(continued on page 14)



(continued from page 13)

You almost gulp the hot liquid down and then run out the door. Or, if you are a student, you buy a cup just so that you can justify the 20 hours that you sat in the café “working” on your paper or studies. Or you buy the coffee so that you do not feel guilty for using the internet while you scope out the room.

I still scope out the room in Riga, but this time it is about observing — observing people’s reactions to me, listening in on their conversations, counting pedestrians as they slide by the windows. ♦

Lauren Monsein Rhodes is a second year graduate student in the PhD program in Sociocultural Anthropology at University of Washington. She is a recipient of the Gordon C. Culp Fellowship from the Henry M. Jackson Foundation. Her research in Latvia this summer was made possible through a Boba Summer Research Fellowship.

1 Supstika, L. “Arzemju studentu Latvija ir stipri mazak, neka varetu but,” *Diena.lv*. Published January 31, 2009.

2 The other question that arises out of this relates to the dominant paradigm of “Latvian-speaking” vs. “Russian-speaking.” Ethnic groups are placed into either one of these categories without consideration for other factors. Therefore, an Uzbek immigrant is considered to be “Russian-speaking,” as is a Moldovan (even if their primary language is not Russian). Many current immigrants may not fall into either group upon arrival. I hope to find out how these immigration patterns will challenge the paradigm in the future.



DJs spinning at the 2008 Balta Nakts festival in Riga.

3 Lavie, S. (1990). *The poetics of military occupation: Mzeina allegories of Bedouin identity under Israeli and Egyptian rule*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

4 Balta Nakts was a night-long arts festival that took place throughout Riga. DJs spun records outside of the opera, National Theater and the Small Guild. There were art installations all over the city, as well as puppet shows, concerts and free trams decorated

with themes from the festival (nature, god and work). For more information, see www.baltanakts.lv/2008/

5 Tzimmes is a traditional Ashkenazi Jewish dish which has carrots as a main ingredient. My Latvian and Latvian American friends in Riga requested that I host a traditional Shabbat dinner on my last Friday in Riga. This dinner was preceded by a “Jewscursion” of Jewish Riga the day before.

Call for Papers

TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL

Nicholas Poppe Symposium on Inner/Central Asian Studies

Saturday, May 9, 2009

DENNY HALL 215 A • 8:30 AM – 6:00 PM

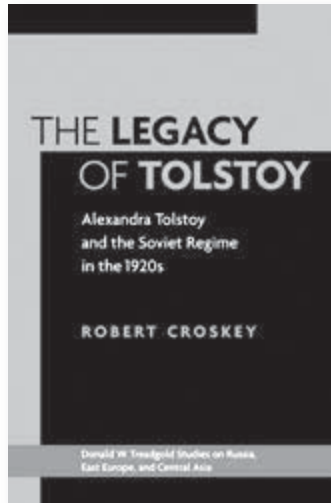
Papers from students and faculty pertaining to Inner/Central Asia are being solicited. Most welcome are papers that address the topic of *The Impact of Globalization on Turkic and Mongolian Culture and Society*.

Submit abstracts (250 words maximum) by April 18, 2009 to: Ilse D. Cirtautas, Department of Near Eastern Languages & Civilization, Denny Hall 229, Box 353120, University of Washington, Seattle WA 98195.

PHONE: (206) 543-9963 FAX: (206) 686-7936 EMAIL: icirt@u.washington.edu

DONALD W. TREADGOLD STUDIES

PUBLISHED IN CONJUNCTION WITH **UW PRESS**

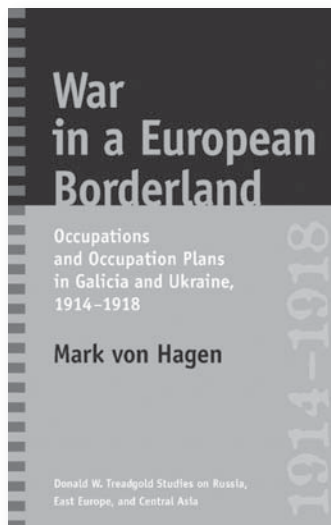


ROBERT CROSKY – *published 2009*

The Legacy of Tolstoy: Alexandra Tolstoy and the Soviet Regime in the 1920s

Drawing on extensive research in Russian archives, Robert Croskey examines how Alexandra Tolstoy, the youngest daughter of Russian writer Lev (Leo) Tolstoy, sought to preserve the work of her father after the Bolshevik Revolution in October 1917. Best known as the founder and lifelong president of the Tolstoy Foundation in New York, where she worked to assist Russian émigrés, Alexandra Tolstoy was determined to maintain her family's estate at Iasnaia Poliana as a museum and living memorial to her father's ideals; in addition, she was involved with the Tolstoy museums in Moscow and in preparing her father's manuscripts for publication. Croskey shows how Tolstoy's daughter drew upon patronage networks to sustain Iasnaia Poliana as ideologically hostile winds blew around her, and how and why a precarious accommodation with the Bolshevik government broke down. The story culminates with her emigration from Soviet Russia in 1929, when she was forty-five.

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON PRESS, ISBN 0-295-98877-1, \$22.50



MARK VON HAGEN – *published 2007*

War in a European Borderland: Occupations and Occupation Plans in Galicia and Ukraine, 1914-1918

War in a European Borderland examines the many regime changes that took place in occupied Ukraine during World War I. The decimation of people living between Austria-Hungary and the Russian empire — specifically Poles, Jews, Ukrainians, Belorussians and the population of the Baltic states — extended to the destruction of their homeland as well, where most of the fighting occurred. Mark von Hagen looks at the main occupations of Galicia and Bukovina between 1914 and 1918 and traces the similarities among the various occupying forces as well as the important differences that shaped the individual regimes. *War in a European Borderland* provides vital historical background to current events in Ukraine, and offers lessons on the problems faced by occupying powers. Further, the problems of the past remain sadly relevant for occupied civilian populations today.

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON PRESS, ISBN 0-295-98753-7, \$22.50

ORDERS: uwpor@u.washington.edu • 1-800-441-4115

Complete list of back issues available at: http://jsis.washington.edu/ellison/outreach_dwtavail.shtml

Direct orders for back issues to: Managing Editor, The Donald W. Treadgold Papers in Russian, East European and Central Asian Studies, Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington, Box 353650, Seattle, WA 98105.
Tel: 206-221-6348, Fax: 206-685-0668, Email: treadgld@u.washington.edu.

Submissions are welcomed. For information, contact Glennys Young, Editor, at glennys@u.washington.edu.

Holding onto the Past: Bulgaria 20 Years after Communism

BY MATT THOMPSON

At the top of a hill in a quiet neighborhood in Sofia stands a large granite statue of two soldiers. One soldier holds a machine gun while another hides behind him. I passed this statue almost every day on my way to my Bulgarian language lessons. At first glance, I thought it was just another World War II memorial, but one day I looked closer.

The soldier with the gun actually had a Soviet star on his hat and his foot was standing on a Nazi helmet. I realized this soldier was not Bulgarian, but actually Russian. Behind the statue a plaque decorated with small sickles and hammers read, "Glory to the World War Liberators."

Soon, I noticed all sorts of public displays devoted to Russian or former Communist glory throughout Sofia. I suppose this should not come as much of a surprise, but in comparison to other countries in Central and Eastern Europe, Bulgaria is still holding on to its Communist past in many ways. Despite becoming a member of NATO and the European Union, Bulgaria has maintained close ties with Russia. Regardless of political reforms and new outside investment, members of the former Bulgarian Communist Party remain the major players in politics and the econ-

What I observed is that, unlike many other former Warsaw Pact countries, Bulgaria remains caught between two worlds.

omy. And even though advertisements for Western products and the latest fashion trends decorate the landscape, many of the previous regime's monuments, statues and buildings remain.

This was my third trip to Bulgaria, but my first time living in the capital. From 2004 to 2006, I was a Peace Corps Volunteer living in a small Turkish village in northeast Bulgaria. I returned at the end of September 2008 as a Boren Fellow. My main objectives were to study Bulgarian



A statue celebrating the arrival of the Soviet Army with new Western advertising in the background.

and to research my Master's thesis on Bulgarian history textbooks.

Living in Sofia gave me a different perspective about Bulgaria; I was much closer to the political and mass media center. A more thorough knowledge of Bulgaria's history, improved reading skills and access to those close to the system allowed me a better understanding of the present situation in Bulgaria. What I observed is that, unlike many other former Warsaw Pact countries, Bulgaria remains caught between two worlds. Most of the country clings to the idea that a better quality of life lies in the West. However, the old guard, which ruled Bulgaria for 50 years and has retained its connections to Russia, is still entrenched in power. The result is a poor, dissatisfied and disillusioned public; a corrupt government; and a confused national identity.

Statues and Monuments

A quick jaunt through Sofia reveals a few things. Construction is happening everywhere. Soon after Bulgaria's entrance into the EU, investors were quick to jump at the

country's cheap labor and real estate. However, because of the financial crisis and Bulgaria's continued inability to fight organized crime and corruption, investment has slowed a bit.

Communism's legacy still remains in parks, buildings and public squares. There was much debate over what to do with socialist statues and monuments shortly after 1989. Some were removed. Some were stolen. But in many cases, cities, towns and villages struggled with what to do with these objects that were in many ways closely tied to Bulgarians' identity. While some monuments attract graffiti, others are protected and cleaned. Often this has sparked debate among those on the left (often dubbed "reds") and the right ("blues").

The monuments and statues also became the sites of many rallies during the 1990s. Despite the fact that these symbols had lost much of their previous ideological power, they now represented something else. To some, these statues embody the hypocrisy and evil of one of Eastern Europe's most brutal, totalitarian regimes.

To others, they stand for a time when Bulgaria modernized itself and established national pride.

Today, most Bulgarians seem oblivious to these symbols. According to a study done on Bulgarian national memory by Evelina Kelbecheva from the American University in Bulgaria, most Bulgarian youth have no idea what these monuments symbolize.¹ A story in *The New York Times* four years ago revealed that students who have grown up since the transition know almost nothing about the Communist past.

Because many of Bulgaria's monuments and statues were distortions of the truth framed by the socialist ideology, there is a danger that Bulgarians today will not have the opportunity to see multiple views of history, or have any real context for what these public displays actually mean.

Kelbecheva and others are concerned that too many young Bulgarians grow up learning history only from the media and family members. Because many of Bulgaria's monuments and statues were distortions of the truth framed by the socialist ideology, there is a danger that Bulgarians today will not have the opportunity to see multiple views of history, or have any real context for what these public displays actually mean.

Case in point is the Soviet Army monument in Borisov Park, not far from Sofia University. The giant statue stands 121 feet high. It showcases a soldier holding a machine gun high into the air, alongside a woman, a child and a worker. The scene symbolizes the Soviet Army's liberation of Bulgaria from the clutches of fascism when it entered the country on September 9, 1944. The Bulgarian Communist Party unveiled this so-called symbol of freedom on the 10-year anniversary of the event in 1954.

This monument, as well as many others, showed the Bulgarian people that the Soviets once again rescued their Slavic

brothers from a foreign invader. The first time came in 1878 when the Russian Army defeated the Ottomans in the Russo-Turkish War, which liberated the Bulgarians and gave them a modern nation-state. This time, the Russians saved the Bulgarians from the Nazis.

Many historians would disagree with this interpretation. Even though Bulgaria officially sided with the Axis powers, it brokered a deal not to fight the Soviets. By September, most German troops had left the country and Bulgaria had officially changed sides. The Soviets invaded anyway. It is true that the Soviet Army was welcomed initially. But that sentiment soon faded. There were no great battles as socialist history preached. The Fatherland Front swiftly and easily took hold of the government.

According to Nikolai Voukov, a professor at Central European University and an expert on socialist monuments in Eastern Europe, the sacred component of the socialist power of representation is its "specific utilizations of death and on the role of death in the constitution of the sacred."²

A large percentage of the population still links these symbols with part of their national identity. Many wash off graffiti and lay flowers on these Soviet war memorials. Although the younger generations could care less, older generations still hold on to these symbols. The terrible and uncertain economic conditions that still remain 18 years after the transition have made it easier for a large portion of the population to lament the present and to look at the past through rose-colored glasses.

Remembering the Past

The Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), formerly the Bulgarian Communist Party

(BKP), has tried to take advantage of this nostalgic sentiment. Last year, Bulgarian Prime Minister Sergei Stanishev and President Georgi Parvanov placed flowers on the Soviet Army Monument for "Victory Day over Hitlerism" on May 9. While the rest of Europe celebrated "Europe Day," Bulgarian leaders decided to turn toward Russia and toast Soviet nostalgia.

Earlier that month on May 1, BSP organized a huge rally for Labor Day. The event included a rock concert to help draw a younger crowd as well as the "red gran-nies" who waved banners reading "Fatherland Union," a reference to the coalition organization connected to the Communist Party.

BSP ran a television commercial advertising its 47th Congress, which took place last November. Stanishev drove an old tram car with the Minister of Culture, former actor Stefan Danailov. They surmise



© MATT THOMPSON

The author in the National History Museum outside Sofia. The museum used to be the official government "palace" where dignitaries and official guests came. The room pictured is where official meetings were conducted.

that life is not the same, but the party's ideals and dreams remain. Music from a popular Bulgarian show during the 1960s plays in the background as well.

All of these memories of the glory of socialism are a product of the newest generation of the old BKP. These were children of privilege — they received the best education and had opportunities to study or to travel in the West. Their view of that

(continued on page 18)

(continued from page 17)



© MATT THOMPSON

A small memorial honoring the victims of Communism. Not many people know that this memorial exists.

time is very different than that of the vast majority of Bulgarians.

BSP came to power in 2005 mostly on the promise that it could get Bulgaria into the EU. While the party did accomplish that goal, the country continues to wallow in economic troubles. Corruption and organized crime have worsened in recent years. Bulgaria ranked last among EU nations and even lower than countries such as Croatia and Turkey in fighting corruption.³ The price of goods has increased, while wages remain the lowest in the EU.⁴ A study recently reported that citizens in Albania and Macedonia had higher buying power than Bulgarians. In the past year, food prices increased 25 percent — more than any country in Europe.⁵

Much of the country's woes can be attributed to corruption — inside and outside the government. Some experts have estimated that Bulgaria lost around \$1.6 billion in 2007 because of corruption. Bulgaria has beefed up funding and overhauled its judicial system with the help of the EU. Yet no major convictions of any mob bosses or public officials have been made. A recent report from the Center for the Study of Democracy said that nearly 80 percent of all corruption investigations

started between 2004 and 2007 were suspended or terminated in the pre-trial phase.⁶

Bulgaria's corruption does not just involve mafia thugs with gold chains and bad haircuts. A lack of will to provide administrative support from the government has allowed corruption to continue. For example, Brussels warned the Bulgarian government in June that the government could not effectively fight corruption with its lack of transparency and inadequate accounting practices. No changes were made. Later in 2008, the EU froze nearly \$670 million in funding due to insufficient progress in fighting corruption.

Despite the criticism, Bulgarian politicians have been able to keep a lid on the corrupt environment surrounding government contracts by infiltrating local monitors. The Center for the Study of Democracy discovered that more than two-thirds of lawmakers and public ministers, as well as 90 percent of all Bulgarian mayors, serve on the board of directors for NGOs that are assigned to monitor illegal activity. The report also said that these NGOs receive considerable state funding but provide little information about their activities.⁷

The Future

The recent gas crisis between Russia and Ukraine did seem to spark the public's fury with the current government. Because of Bulgaria's long-standing relationship with Russia, 96 percent of Bulgaria's natural gas comes from Russia. Much of Bulgaria was without heat for several weeks in January.

Student groups, farmers and other grassroots organizations came together to protest their general dissatisfaction with how their country has been run. More than 3,000 attended a rally in front of the parliament on a cold, icy day in January. The result was the worst riots the country has seen since 1997. More than 150 people were arrested and 21 people went to the hospital after a flurry of violence between protesters and police.

It seems as though Bulgarians have had enough. Many citizens are reaching out to their neighbors in the Balkans and Western Europe. Students are mobilizing and organizing themselves to help find solutions to social problems. There is hope, but the road does not look smooth. Corrupt politicians have their tentacles in almost every aspect of society. In a visit to the UW last spring, Dr. Timo Summa,

Bulgaria's corruption does not just involve mafia thugs with gold chains and bad haircuts. A lack of will to provide administrative support from the government has allowed corruption to continue.

former director within the Enlargement Directorate General to Romania and Bulgaria, commented that former BKP members are so well organized and well connected that it is almost impossible to know where corruption begins and ends.

As the world sinks into an economic downturn, the Bulgarian economy will rely more heavily on its plan to transport Russian natural gas and oil. Two gigantic projects, the Burgas-Alexandroupoli pipeline and the South Stream gas pipeline, are scheduled to start construction soon. This

means more jobs, more money, and more influence from Gazprom. Although there are many benefits, Bulgarians must consider the costs of being at the mercy of a foreign power.

If you spend enough time in Bulgaria, it is easy to see that Bulgarians have not quite made up their minds about how to look back on Communism. Aside from radicals on the right and left, most seem to want to forget it.

If you spend enough time in Bulgaria, it is easy to see that Bulgarians have not quite made up their minds about how to look back on Communism. Aside from radicals on the right and left, most seem to want to forget it. Unlike many East European countries, Bulgaria was slow to open state archives and to oust former Communist Party members. During the 1990s, there was a push to prohibit those who had been involved in the state security service (*durzhavna sigurnost*) from holding any positions connected to the central banking system. None of these passed. State security files are still protected and only seem to be opened when it can be used as a political tool.

Today, there is little reflection or investigation into what happened during Communism. Unlike in the Czech Republic and Hungary, there is no museum of Communism. The National History Museum's displays conveniently end at World War II. Even the famous London umbrella murder of Georgi Markov, a dissident journalist who died from a poisonous pellet injected into his leg, remains a mystery. A prominent Bulgarian journalist claims he has found the killer through evidence in the state archives, but government officials are unconvinced.

Bulgarian citizens need more opportunities to discuss, to reflect and to learn from what happened during Communism. That seems to be happening now, albeit on a limited basis. A project called "Remembering Communism" is underway. Led by

Maria Todorova, this international, interdisciplinary project is directed at looking at today's memories of Communism in an attempt to understand the legacy of the system.

This kind of approach is needed. Other Balkan historians are coming together to critically look at history education. The Joint History Project, sponsored by the Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe, has led several conferences and teacher training sessions throughout the Balkans.

Changing is happening, but slowly. Many are quick to demonize everything that happened under Communism in Bulgaria, while others deny that any problems existed. For example, last fall, the Bulgarian Parliament passed the Prague Declaration, an initiative that denounces the atrocities committed in Eastern Europe during Communism. All parliaments in



The Soviet Army Statue in Borisov Garden.
This monument has been a symbol of controversy in the past, but now is home to skateboarders and teenagers.

Europe were urged to support it. Sixty of BSP's 81 representatives voted against the initiative. A member of parliament from BSP, Ivo Atanasov, perhaps summed up the problem best: he voted against the initiative, because "this declaration condemns the calmest, richest and most secure period in our 1,300-year history." Like him, many in Bulgaria still have their eyes on the past. ♦

Matt Thompson is a second-year graduate student in REECAS. His Master's thesis looks at the role of nationalism in Bulgarian history textbooks after 1989. More of his writing on Bulgaria can be found at his blog, <http://backinbulgaria.blogspot.com/>.



© MATT THOMPSON

Another Soviet statue.

- 1 Presentation at the American Research Center in Sofia, Bulgaria (October, 2008).
- 2 Voukov, Nikolai. "Death and the Desecrated: Monuments of the Socialist Past in Post-1989 Bulgaria". *Anthropology of East Europe Review*. Volume 21, Number 2, 2003.
- 3 "Bulgaria slips in corruption ranking, says watchdog." *Southeast European Times*. Sept. 24, 2008 http://www.setimes.com/cocoon/setimes/xhtml/en_GB/features/setimes/features/2008/09/24/feature-01/.
- 4 "Bulgaria Average Monthly Salary BGN 484 for 2008." *Sofia News Agency*. 17 May 2008 www.novinite.com/view_news.php?id=93213
- 5 Food Prices Watch: <http://foodprices.wordpress.com/category/markets/>. Further information can be found at the Statistical Office of the European Communities: <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/>.
- 6 "Report highlights lack of political will to fight corruption in Bulgaria". *Southeastern Europe Times*. Feb. 2, 2009. www.setimes.com/cocoon/setimes/xhtml/en_GB/features/setimes/features/2009/02/02/feature-02/.
- 7 Ibid.



The Ellison Center Welcomes New Faculty and Visiting Scholars



Mawkanuli (left) at the Chorsu bazaar in Tashkent while doing fieldwork in Uzbekistan in 2007.

The REECAS program would like to welcome **Talant Mawkanuli**, who joined the University of Washington in September 2008 as a lecturer of Uighur language and literature in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilization. Mawkanuli is a specialist in Turkic languages and cultures, as well as in language materials and curriculum development. He has been engaged in both practical and scholarly projects on Turkic languages for more than two decades. He has his PhD in Turkic Linguistics and Central Asian Studies from Indiana University.

Mawkanuli has taught Kazakh, Uighur and other cultural and linguistic courses at Indiana University and University of Wisconsin-Madison as both a visiting professor and in summer intensive language courses. He also prepared and taught a Kazakh course using distance language learning for students at the University of Michigan, Michigan State University and Indiana University. He served as the associate director of the CAILS (Central Asian Interactive Listening Series) program at UW-Madison, where he developed an online Kazakh and Uzbek cross-language training program.

Mawkanuli's major areas of research are in Turkic Linguistics and Sociolinguistics. His current work involves the Jungar Tuvan Language, as well as Turkic language pedagogy, particularly in the areas of technology and distance learning. Recently Mawkanuli has authored books and articles on Jungar Tuvan, Turkic linguistics, and sociocultural aspects of Turkic languages; he has also done extensive fieldwork in Central Asia and China.

During his first quarter at the UW, Mawkanuli taught courses on the Uighur language and has been developing new courses on the peoples and cultures of China's Inner Asia and Central Asia. In the coming years, he hopes to contribute to the Central Asian program by publicizing the importance of the region and its cultural diversity and by strengthening outreach programs to attract more students. "Seattle has one of the strongest programs in the nation," says Mawkanuli, and he would like to see distance education and web-based courses used to open the courses up to students across the country.



Nargiza Akramova comes to the UW from Uzbekistan as a Fulbright Language Teaching Assistant for 2008–09 in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literature. She works with Professor Ilse Cirtatus to assist students of Uzbek by organizing tutoring hours and language circles. Akramova was a teacher of English at Ferghana State

University in Uzbekistan, where she also served as the Executive Officer of the Ferghana branch of the Uzbekistan English Teachers Association.

As part of the Fulbright exchange, Akramova is also taking courses in the School of Education. She hopes to use the knowledge she gains to organize a program to provide pedagogy and professional development training to village teachers in Uzbekistan who have graduated from English language courses. This is

Akramova's second trip to the United States: during the first, in 2005, she participated in a teacher training program for international students.

Akramova also assists the UW's Central Asian Studies program by giving presentations on her home region, the Ferghana valley, often called "the pearl of Uzbekistan" for its beautiful landscape. She has found much to like about Seattle as well, including the fresh air, trees, open-minded people and plentiful materials in Suzzallo library. During the coming months, Akramova plans to get involved with a community service learning project. She would like to learn how such projects are organized with hopes of replicating the experience for students in Uzbekistan: "Just by doing service," she says, "they will have already learned something."



Andrejs Berdnikovs comes to us from Riga, Latvia as a Fulbright Fellow studying the mobilization of social movements and information and communication technologies. Berdnikovs, a PhD candidate in the Department of Political Science at the University of Latvia, is investigating the structure of the Direct Action Network (DAN), a coalition

of affinity groups that participated in the globalization protests in Seattle in 1999. Berdnikovs is interested in exploring why this structure, which had been used in anarchist movements in the past, revitalized the anti-globalization movement. He also looks at the role that the internet and global communication plays in stimulating the DAN model.

Berdnikovs is working with Professor Kirsten Foot of the Department of Communication to conduct research during his

six months at the UW. While in Seattle, he plans to collect data for his dissertation and to write a working paper incorporating interviews and data from the WTO history project. Berdnikovs has also been invited to participate in Professor Guntis Smidchens' course on the Baltic States, where he will give guest lectures on the Russian-speaking community in Latvia and on civil society in Latvia and the United States.

"Seattle is a remarkable city," Berdnikovs remarked. Much of his attraction to Seattle comes from his research interest in the city and its recent history, but as a first-time visitor to the United States, he was also impressed with the area itself, especially its diversity of political views and culture: "In Latvia, this is tolerated, but not celebrated." Upon his return to Latvia, Berdnikovs plans to continue writing his dissertation, as well as working at the Institute of Economics at the Latvian Academy of Sciences, where he is a researcher.



Przemyslaw Chojnowski joins the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures as a Fulbright Fellow for 2008–09. Originally from Olsztyn in northeastern Poland, Chojnowski comes to us from the Adam Mickiewicz University of Poznan, where he is an Associate Professor in the Department of Polish Philology. Since 2005, he has been

working at the Collegium Polonicum Campus at the Polish-German border and conducted projects with colleagues from Viadrina European University at Frankfurt (Oder) in Germany, where he received his MA and PhD.

Chojnowski's research background is in cultural and translation studies; his doctoral research concerned the work of Karl Dedecius, a translator of Polish and Russian literature into German, who learned Russian as a German prisoner of war in WWII. Chojnowski has also taught Polish and German as foreign languages, and has worked as a Polish-German translator and interpreter.

As a Fulbright Fellow, Chojnowski is working with Professor Dzirwirek of the Slavic Department. Among the courses he is teaching in 2008–09 are Masterpieces of Polish Literature and Film and Polish Jews and the Holocaust. He says that discussions with students in his classes are enlightening: "It has been fascinating to enrich my knowledge with their point of view on Europe."

Aside from his teaching duties, Chojnowski participated in conferences in Philadelphia and San Francisco, and gave two lectures at the UW for the series "Polish Heroes: Those Who Rescued Jews." He is also conducting research on literary bilingualism and self-translation while at the UW. During his time in the United States, he also hopes to explore the archives of Polish immigrants, such as Czeslaw Miloz. In general, Chojnowski's goals for his stay at the UW are to learn new research and teaching methods from his colleagues at the UW, and to enjoy Seattle and the surrounding areas with his wife and son.



Marina Kulichikhina, a Russell Fellow at the UW this spring, comes to us from Saratov, Russia, where she is a graduate student in the Comparative Literature Department at Saratov State University. Kulichikhina, who focuses her studies on German Romantic literature and body theory, is researching the cultural body in the literature of that

period. "Romantic literature is known for its disembodiment," she says, but it is full of "artificial bodies" such as golems, puppets and monsters, the study of which can shed light on contemporary dilemmas of identity and artificiality, including scientific developments like cloning.

Although body theory was established as a field in the 1960s, it is a new topic in Russia, and Kulichikhina is grateful for the access to materials that she has here at the UW. She is working

primarily with Professor Marshall Brown of the Department of Comparative Literature for her research on Romantic literature, but has found additional courses on gender and sexuality, the avant-garde and Italian language to be useful for her studies and research. Kulichikhina also plans to attend the "Bodies in Motion" conference at the University of Rhode Island and the UW Graduate Conference for Interdisciplinary Studies this spring.

This is Kulichikhina's second visit to the United States; while in high school, she participated in an ecological exchange in Kentucky. During her time in Seattle, she has noticed the city's attention to environmental issues, and was also impressed by the opportunities available for disabled people, which she feels could serve as a model for other countries. After her stay in Seattle, she hopes to spend a semester at the University of Konstanz in Germany next fall after stopping home in Saratov.



UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON



CENTENNIAL 1909–2009
ENGAGING MINDS | ENGAGING THE WORLD

HENRY M. JACKSON SCHOOL
OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
OUTREACH CENTERS

2009 SUMMER SEMINAR FOR EDUCATORS, GRADES 6 AND UP

Liquid Planet: Exploring Global Water Issues

The Outreach Centers at The Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies invite you to attend the annual Summer Seminar for Educators, June 24-25, 2009. This year's seminar, "Liquid Planet: Exploring Global Water Issues" will focus on the major water-related issues affecting communities around the world. With presentations featuring anthropologists, political and marine scientists, environmentalists and more, this seminar will also encourage teacher-participants as they work together designing classroom strategies centered on the seminar's theme. This two-day seminar is designed for middle school, high school and community college educators.

Registration Deadline: June 10, 2009 (or until event is filled)

Registration Fee: \$95* (non-refundable) includes parking/bus passes, coffee/tea, morning pastries, lunch, and 16 WA state clock hours (you must attend the entire seminar to receive clock hours).

Travel stipends are available for teachers traveling more than 75 miles.

In order to receive clock hours, you must register by June 10, 2009.

****Registration can only be accepted by mail and must be paid in full. We are unable to accept cash or credit cards.***

For more information about the content of the program, please contact the Ellison Center at (206) 543-4852 or reecas@u.washington.edu. Your payment will be processed by Student Fiscal Services (SFS) at the University of Washington. SFS processes checks electronically using the information on the check to create an electronic funds transfer. Each time you send a check, you authorize a one-time transfer where funds will be electronically withdrawn from your bank account. You will not receive your cancelled check as SFS is required to destroy the check after it has been processed. Receipts will be available at the workshop.

To register, please mail the completed form and a check for \$95.00 payable to the University of Washington to:
Ellison Center, University of Washington, Box 353650, Seattle, WA 98195.

SUMMER SEMINAR REGISTRATION FORM

NAME(S)

PHONE

ADDRESS

SCHOOL

CITY/STATE/ZIP

GRADE(S) TAUGHT

EMAIL

☐ YES, I WOULD LIKE A VEGETARIAN MEAL.

☐ YES, I WOULD LIKE 16 CLOCK HOURS.

☐ YES, I WOULD LIKE A BUS PASS.

☐ YES, I WOULD LIKE A TRAVEL STIPEND.



CAMPAIGN UW: CREATING FUTURES

The Ellison Center for Russian, East European and Central Asian Studies at UW is one of the oldest and most prestigious programs of its kind in the country, promoting in-depth interdisciplinary study of all major post-communist regions.

Help us sustain the excellence of the Ellison Center by making a gift today! Your gift can help create futures by supporting students, providing outreach to the community, rewarding excellence in teaching and research and offering other Ellison Center activities.

Thank you for your support.

Yes, I wish to contribute!

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

EMAIL _____

☐ Enclosed is my check for \$ _____, payable to the UW Foundation.

☐ Please charge my gift to the Ellison Center to ☐ VISA or ☐ MasterCard, for the amount of \$ _____.

ACCOUNT # _____

EXP. DATE _____

SIGNATURE _____

NAME ON CARD (PLEASE PRINT) _____

If your employer has a matching gift program, please provide the name of the corporation below:

Please check which endowment you would like to support:

- ☐ **The Herbert Ellison Endowment** to increase outreach, to offer new courses and to pursue other new initiatives.
- ☐ **The Titus Ellison Endowment** to grant graduate student fellowships.
- ☐ **The Vladimir Gross Endowment** to support undergraduate students studying the Russian language.
- ☐ **The Imre Boba Fellowship** to fund graduate student travel to Eastern Europe and Central Asia.

To give on-line, please visit our website <http://jsis.washington.edu/ellison> and link to Giving. Check the Ellison Center Endowment box or the Vladimir Gross Endowment box and complete the on-line form.

Thank you for supporting the Ellison Center! Your contribution is tax-deductible.

SEND DONATIONS OR INQUIRIES TO: Ellison Center for Russian, East European and Central Asian Studies • Jackson School of International Studies • University of Washington • 203B Thomson, Box 353650 • Seattle, WA 98195. reecas@u.washington.edu • (206) 543-4852



203B THOMSON HALL, BOX 353650
JACKSON SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON
SEATTLE, WA 98195-3650

RETURN SERVICE REQUESTED

Non-profit Org.
U.S. Postage
PAID
Seattle, WA
Permit No. 62

UPCOMING ELLISON CENTER EVENTS



APRIL 1: Hot Spots in Our World – “Russia, Europe, and the Redefinition of Eurasian Security after the Georgian War.” Professor Stephen E. Hanson, Vice Provost of Global Affairs. Walker Ames Room, Kane Hall, 7–9pm.

APRIL 7: International Classroom Workshop, Whitworth University “Waking up to Russia: A Look at the Russia-Georgia Conflict and US-Russian Relations.” Allison Dvaladze, Ellison Center. “China and Tibet: Centuries of Oppression or Salvation from Feudal Stagnation?” Eric Cunningham, Assistant Professor, Gonzaga University. Conference Rooms ABC, Hixon Union Building. 4–7pm.

APRIL 15: Ellison Center Lecture Series – “The Logic of Regime Change in Post-Soviet Eurasia.” Professor Henry Hale, Associate Professor of Political Science and International Affairs, George Washington University. Thomson Hall, Room 317. 2:30–4pm.

APRIL 18: 15th Annual REECAS-NW Conference – “Ecological, Cultural and Political Change in Russia, East Europe and Central Asia.” Thomson Hall, University of Washington Campus, 9am–5pm. A reception will follow. *See page 7 for more information.*

APRIL 20: The Donald Treadgold Memorial Lecture – “Warning of Global Warming? The Intertwined Nature of Ecological, Cultural and Political Change in Siberia’s Far East.” Professor Marjorie Balzer, Center for Eurasian, Russian, and East European Studies, Georgetown University. University of Washington Club, 4:30–5:30pm. A reception will follow.

APRIL 30: Ellison Center Lecture Series – “The Gatekeepers of Christendom: Religious Politics and the Challenge of Islam in the New West.” Professor Patrick Patterson. Allen Auditorium, Allen Library. 3:30–5pm.

MAY 9: 21st Annual Poppe Symposium on Inner/Central Asian Studies – “The Impact of Globalization on the Turkic and Mongolian Culture and Society.” A symposium on Inner/Central Asian Studies.” Denny Hall, Room 215A, 8:30am–6pm.

MAY 11: Jackson School Centennial Open House – Fun, Free, and open to the public! Come see our history and help us celebrate 100 years of international studies at the University of Washington. Thomson Hall and Garden, 9am–3pm.

MAY 11: Jackson School Centennial Gala – Fairmont Olympic Hotel. Reception at 6pm. Dinner and program at 7:30pm. For more information email rsvp@u.washington.edu. RSVP required.

MAY 13: Hot Spots in Our World – “China’s Far West: Identity, Administration, and Separatism in Xinjiang.” Bradley Jensen Murg, PhD Candidate, History. Walker Ames Room, Kane Hall, 7–9pm.

MAY 22: Conference – “Europe’s Near Abroad: EU External Relations and the Future of the Black Sea Region.” Details to follow.

JUNE 25–26: Summer Seminar for Educators – “Liquid Planet: Exploring Global Water Issues.” UW Seattle Campus. *For more information see page 22.*