

REECAS NEWSLETTER

Russian, East European and Central Asian Studies Center
Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington

Fall, 1998

Free & Fair through American Eyes: Does it Apply to Bosnia?

By Erica Agiewich

On the weekend of September 11-12, 1998, Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) held its fourth set of elections since the Dayton Peace Accords were signed. The 1995 Accords mandated that the Bosnian elections be organized by the Provisional Electoral Commission (PEC), a multi-ethnic administrative body with Bosniak, Croatian, and Serbian representatives; the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE); and NATO's Stabilization Forces, SFOR. The first national elections in 1996 were so riddled with fraud that for the municipal and Republika Srpska (RS) elections the following year, the OSCE decided to assign an international election supervisor to each polling station for the entire weekend of voting. The 1997 elections ran relatively smoothly and the OSCE did not anticipate major problems with the national elections that were held this year. The OSCE again invited international supervisors back to monitor, and I served in an absentee polling station in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. Unfortunately, in most regards, the 1998 elections were a huge step backward from the elections held last fall.

The first major problem was that the evening before the elections were to begin, OSCE headquarters experienced computer problems and the OSCE could not print out the Final Voter Registrars (FVRs) for a number of polling stations. These polling stations had to delay opening the doors until Saturday afternoon and, in some cases, Sunday. At one of the largest polling stations in Sarajevo, there was a line of 2,000 voters waiting at 10:00 am on Saturday morning when the doors finally opened three hours late. It is inexcusable that the OSCE could not provide them to in-country stations on time nor have a more solid plan

for the printing and distributing of the voter lists.

Second, the complexity of these elections was overwhelming for most voters. There were two national races, two entity level races, 10 ballots for the different Federation cantons, and one ballot for the RS. In addition, there were 13 municipal elections for municipalities still under dispute last year when the municipal elections were held. The two national and entity level races were all printed on one ballot in very small typeface. More often than not, voting became a group effort as voters struggled to decipher the ballot. Moreover, the OSCE designed the 600,000 absentee ballots to be counted by a computer scanner and the ballots were printed in hard-to-read blue and red ink. This was not the only problem with the absentee ballots. The ballots had to be filled out in pencil and most voters regarded this with suspicion. They believed that their ballots would be erased and changed at the OSCE office in Sarajevo. Assurances that only international supervisors would handle the ballots were openly scorned. Many voters insisted on voting in pen, effectively spoiling and wasting their ballots.

The most serious problem was that the national races were designed by the PEC to guarantee equal representation of the three ethnic groups at the expense of the voters' freedom to choose. At the national level, voters elect three presidents to a presidential committee, and the candidate with the most votes becomes "chairperson" of the committee. Voters also elect a national parliament. Since BiH is a confederation comprised of two entities — the Federation and

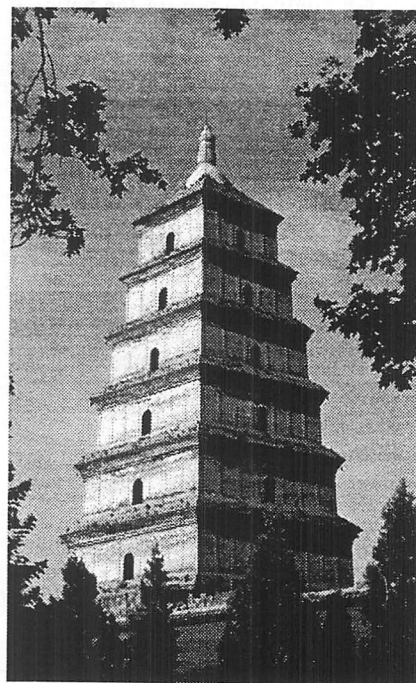
Continued on page 2

In the Footsteps of Xuanzang

By Daniel Waugh

The best known of the travelers on the fabled "Silk Road," the overland trade route across Eurasia, is the Venetian Marco Polo, whose account enjoyed great popularity beginning almost in his

Continued on page 5



Inside This Issue

REECAS Going Global Presentation:
Adventures on the Silk Road - with
Dr. Daniel Waugh 4

Visiting Faculty 6

**Fifth Annual REECAS Conference
Call for Papers** 7

K-12 News & Resources
TeachAsia Workshop 8

Upcoming Events 10

New Publications & Resources 11
Outreach Materials 12

Republika Sprksa - voters further elect entity level presidents and assemblies. In a departure from previous elections, this year the PEC limited party eligibility in the national elections to the dominant ethnic parties from each entity. Only Serb candidates and Serb parties could run for the national presidential committee and parliament in the RS, and only Bosniak and Croatian candidates and parties were eligible to run for election in the Federation. This meant, for example, that a Serb candidate from Sarajevo was disallowed from running for the national presidency. Alternately, a candidate from a Croatian political party in the RS capital of Banja Luka was not eligible to run for the national assembly, though he or she could run for the entity level assembly. The OSCE allegedly did not support the PEC's decision, but allowed the elections to continue. This policy apparently was made to "guarantee" equal representation for each ethnic group in the presidential committee and national parliament - and probably discourage fraud at the national level. Nevertheless, it is a questionable decision and sets a dangerous precedent for elections in other multi-ethnic states.

In addition to the 2,500 polling stations throughout BiH, the OSCE provides Out-of-Country (OCV) polling stations for absentee voters in Croatia and FRY for Bosnian refugees who cannot return home to vote (for financial or political reasons), and these voters felt the larg-

est impact of this decision. A large percentage of Bosnian-Serb refugees are from the Federation and the majority of Croatian and Muslim refugees are from the area that is now Republika Srpska. Voter registration is based on the 1991 census, so refugees and displaced persons are required to vote in the elections for the town they lived in before the war, regardless of where he or she presently reside.

In FRY, where the majority of Bosnian-Serb refugees live, the voters were unaware of the restrictions placed on the national election. This led to some very tense and disturbing scenes in the OCV polling stations when voter after voter took his or her ballot, disappeared behind the polling screen, and reappeared five minutes later thoroughly confused and asking why there were no Serb candidates on the ballot. The polling station staff and/or international monitor then had to explain that due to a decision made in Sarajevo, the voter could not support a Serb for president. Instead, the voter had to choose between Croatian and Muslim candidates — the very same people, in the voters' eyes, who killed their families and drove them out of their country. Many voters became agitated and either spoiled the ballots or refused to vote. The Bosnian-Serb refugees from the RS did not face this problem because there were only Serb parties and candidates on the RS ballot. Many Serb voters from the Fed-

eration wanted to vote for a Serb so they tried to vote on an RS ballot. This led to widespread fraud throughout FRY as voters either used false IDs to get RS ballots or were allowed by sympathetic polling station staff to sign for a RS voter who had not yet voted and cast an RS ballot.

Thus, in the OCV polling stations, the negative aspects of the elections were exacerbated and many of the international monitors felt like accomplices in a politically orchestrated plot. The refugee voters were probably uninformed of the candidate lists because the PEC seemingly sacrificed the refugees as part of deal to preserve the current ethnic division of the country. The OSCE is not sure whether the voters' ignorance was due to lack of information or misinformation because disseminating electoral information in FRY is the responsibility of the Commissariat charged with taking care of the BiH refugees, not the OSCE. Regardless, voters ended up waiting in line for hours to reach the polling booth only to find out that there were no candidates they could support. Then it was up to the international monitors to explain the situation. At the post-election debriefing for the OSCE mission in Belgrade, many international monitors expressed their dissatisfaction with the way that the PEC and OSCE handled the elections. The monitors were powerless to make any positive changes during the elections and instead had to enforce policies that we did not agree with.

While the international monitors were frustrated and upset with the situation, the Belgrade experience also made many of us see how traditional ideas of democracy: of right and wrong, of free and fair, don't always apply and cannot always be upheld in other countries and other situations. The fact that the OSCE FRY mission has its office in the Hotel Jugoslavie, which is owned by Arkan, one of the most notorious warlords of the Bosnian war, is illuminating. The OSCE needs a central and affordable headquarters, and in a country suffering from extreme economic

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REECAS on The World Wide Web:

<http://weber.u.washington.edu/~reecas/>

hardship, options are limited. It is, literally, a case of sleeping with the enemy. While this may be acceptable to get office space, how much should the international community compromise to ensure the integrity of purportedly democratic elections? The OSCE is commissioned to help BiH hold free and fair elections. The 1998 elections were not free and fair however because the decision-makers decided that preserving the ethnic division and guaranteeing equal representation of the ethnic groups outweighed the importance of electoral choices.

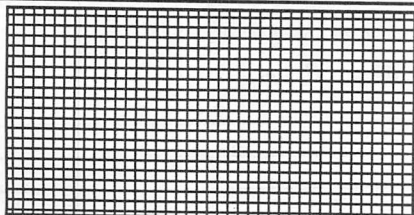
Obviously Bosnia's political structure is unique and delicate and perhaps the PEC and OSCE made the right decision. Granted, if given the choice between a Serb candidate and a Croatian or Muslim candidate, a Serb would probably vote for a Serb. The disturbing aspect of this is that the international community tacitly supported the partition under the guise of democratic elections and publicly touted the elections as "free and fair."

Erica Agiewich received her M.A. from the University of Washington in International Studies with a regional focus on Russia, Eastern Europe and Central Asia in 1994.

For information from the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, see their website at:
[http:// www.oscebih.org](http://www.oscebih.org)

ALUMNI NEWS

Robin Fontes, recent graduate of the REECAS M.A. Program, is in Tajikistan for six months as the acting Defense and Army Attache, aka Military Representative. Anyone interested in obtaining information on Tajikistan can contact Robin via email at:
<FontesR@mcm11.marshall.adsn.int>.



A CHANCE TO TEACH IN RUSSIA

By Dora O'Brian

"How would you feel about teaching in our school for a year?" I was having tea with the headmistress of Gymnasium 1526, a school in the Southern district of Moscow. It was August 1995 and I was visiting some friends in Russia. The end of the Summer holidays was near, my teaching job in an East Sussex college was mine to keep for as long as I wished. Yet for reasons that I am about to disclose, this job offer in Moscow was like an answer to a life-long dream, or to be more precise, a dream that I had nurtured for the past twenty-five years.

Twenty-five years ago, as a student specializing in Russian Language and Literature, I somehow felt cheated. Other language students were able to spend several months in the country of their chosen specialization, yet such an opportunity was denied us Russianists. Because of the Cold War we had to be content with reading Chekhov's plays or Tolstoy's novels, steeping ourselves in such a fascinating culture without the hope of one day actually gaining first-hand experience of life in the USSR. The best I could do was to travel to Moscow and Leningrad twice on one-week package tours, but in the stern Brezhnev era we were denied any rapport whatsoever with the locals. The only conversation we had was asking for the key to the floor-lady of our hotel. It was all extremely frustrating.

So, having completed my studies, I got married, raised a family, traveled, taught languages and shelved any interest I had in Russia. I sporadically taught Russian to interested adults. Then, with the advent of Perestroika and the exciting news reaching us from the USSR, my yearnings began to resurface. I started a Russian A-level class in the sixth form of the college where I had been teaching French, and took some groups of pupils to Russia in the late 1980's. I organized a student exchange with Gymnasium 1526, and began to wish

again that I could spend at least a few months in Russia. There seemed little opportunity for such a move, however, both because of family ties and because in Russia everything was still in turmoil. It all seemed very unlikely. And then it happened:

"How would you feel about teaching in our school for a year?" This was 1995, and yes, I knew how I felt about such an offer. Somehow the timing was perfect for me to take up this offer. My children were more or less independent; I had recently been widowed, but still young enough to undertake something new. So I replied: "I do want to, very much." Tamara Gerasimovna replied: "Then we'll do it", and I knew her well enough to realize that this was not an empty promise.

A year later, after much form filling and the inevitable bureaucratic red tape, and with a valid one-year visa in my hand, I set off on my big adventure.

It was 24th August 1996 and school would begin on the first day of September. On arrival at Sheremetevo airport I was met by Lena, my friend and colleague-to-be, and Seriozha, another teacher's husband, the proud owner of a Mercedes. I was offered three carnations as a form of welcome and then whisked off to my new life.

The Beginning: First impressions

The previous evening we had drunk champagne in Lena and Sasha's flat, where I was staying whilst my prospective home was being prepared. We drank to a successful and happy year in Russia. It had all seemed so cozy.

But the morning after brought with it the first minor irritations: I had to be registered somewhere in the city center, which meant at least an hour's journey to our destination. We ended up in a small overcrowded lobby with several untidy queues apparently leading to different rooms. We stood in line for an hour, with a patient, enduring expres-



WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCIL

in partnership with the
 RUSSIAN EAST EUROPEAN & CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES CENTER
 UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

is pleased to present

GOING GLOBAL

Adventures on the Silk Road



Photograph by Dan Waugh

Featuring

Dr. Daniel Waugh

Russian, East European & Central Asian Studies
 Jackson School of International Studies
 University of Washington

Thursday, December 10th, 1998
 University of Washington campus
 Smith 205
 6:00 pm Brown-Bag Dinner

The fabled "Silk Road" evokes images of camel caravans and bustling bazaars, treacherous mountain passes and trackless deserts, blue-tiled mosques and towering Buddha statues. Striking photographs of such scenes will illustrate a talk by Dr. Daniel Waugh at this month's *Going Global* on the culture along the historic routes across Central Asia, a region that once again is a focus of world attention.

Dr. Waugh has traveled extensively in Central Asia, visiting historic cities such as Samarkand and Kashgar, hiking among the Kyrgyz herders in the mountains, bicycling more than 1000 km from Kyrgyzstan to Pakistan, and most recently studying the Buddhist art in the caves at Dunhuang, China. He will be teaching a new course on the Silk Road at the University of Washington next spring.

REGISTER TODAY!! Mail completed form to: World Affairs Council, 1411 Fourth Avenue, Suite 320, Seattle, WA 98101, fax to (206) 682-0811, or call (206) 682-6986. All registrations and cancellations must be received by noon on December 8th, 1998.



Brown-bag dinner with Dr. Daniel Waugh, Thursday, December 10th at 6:00 pm.

Dinner : Council Members _____ x \$0 = 0
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 Total Enclosed = _____

*REECAS faculty/staff/students receive member rate.

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 Email: _____

own lifetime. There are those who argue Polo in fact never made it all the way to China, just as there is some quibbling by academics about whether we should even use the term "Silk Road" to describe what was in fact many routes of trade and interaction, most of which never were traveled along their whole length by any individual. The quibbling aside, throughout much of the history of the two millennia of our era, important political, economic and cultural interactions have occurred across Eurasia. Even reports about the latest concerns of modern governments and investors regarding the wealth of natural resources in Central Asia invoke the term "Silk Road" as a kind of short hand for a remote and somewhat exotic path to fortune.

As part of my preparation for teaching a course on the cultural and economic history of the "Silk Road," I participated this past summer in a month-long seminar organized by the Silk Road Foundation and the Dunhuang Research Institute. My goal was to learn about the spread of Buddhism in China, especially its influence on the visual arts, and to learn more generally about the significance of the Dunhuang region for the history of interactions between China and areas to the west and south. Dunhuang occupies a strategic location at the western end of the Hexi Corridor—the major connecting route historically between metropolitan China and Central Asia. This is the point where the "Silk Road" splits into two branches, one of which then goes north of the impassable Taklamakan Desert, and the other along its southern fringe, connecting the oasis towns whose survival depends on snow-melt from the adjoining mountains. When the Han Dynasty established Chinese control in Central Asia, the defensive line of the Great Wall was extended beyond Dunhuang. One can still see in the area remains of the Han watchtowers and wall, dating back nearly two thousand years. In subsequent centuries, while not always under Chinese control, Dunhuang continued to be an important commercial and administrative center. The local elite was intimately involved in the patron-

age of several major Buddhist centers, one of which is the Mogao Caves.

Buddhism came to China in the late Han period (ca. 100 C.E.) and spread rapidly, although its successes were frequently interrupted depending on such factors as the level of imperial patronage and the degree to which Confucian and Taoist values were being emphasized. The first of the Mogao caves were excavated in the fourth century C.E. A monastic complex grew at this small oasis some dozen kilometers from Dunhuang, and the cliff face along its river now has well over 500 caves, the great majority of which contain sculpture and wall paintings. There is an unbroken sequence of Buddhist art, some of it in pristine condition, for nearly a millennium beginning in the fifth century. The Mogao caves had the good fortune of being spared the mass destruction of Buddhist monuments that occurred in China during the ninth century (at that time Tibetans controlled Dunhuang), and they escaped the ravages of Chairman Mao's Cultural Revolution.

Dunhuang was on the route taken by important monks who traveled to India to learn Buddhism at the feet of South Asian teachers and who then brought back to China previously unknown Buddhist scriptures for translation and commentary. In the city of Dunhuang today one can visit the "White Horse Pagoda," which, according to legend, commemorates the horse that accompanied the important monastic translator Kumarajiva. Perhaps the best known of these travelers who passed through Dunhuang was Xuanzang in the seventh century. He returned from India with hundreds of manuscripts, to whose translation he devoted himself in his last years at the Tang dynasty capital of Chang'an (present-day Xi'an). There one can still visit the pagoda erected in his honor in the late seventh century.

To follow in the footsteps of Xuanzang is also to retrace the steps of the most famous early twentieth century explorer of Central Asia, Sir Aurel Stein. Stein's name is inextricably connected with the

Mogao Caves, since in 1907 he became the first European to gain access to a treasure trove of ancient manuscripts that had been sealed in one of the caves until discovered at the turn of the century by a local Taoist monk. Stein invoked the name of Xuanzang, whose routes he had in fact been attempting to trace, to persuade the monk to sell him a major portion of the collection. In the following year, a famous French Sinologist Paul Pelliot was able to remove the most valuable of the remaining manuscripts. These collections now reside safely in London and Paris and are now being made available over the Internet through the International Dunhuang Project. Although the Chinese understandably have complained bitterly about such "theft" of their cultural treasures, had Stein and Pelliot not taken them, the odds are that many would not have survived. Thanks to these collections, it is possible to create an often remarkably detailed picture of both secular and religious life in the Dunhuang region over a millennium ago. In addition to the Mogao manuscripts, Stein excavated at various Han watchtowers along the Silk Route hundreds of fragments of writing (often on strips of bamboo)—among them, the day-to-day records of the military administration of these defensive lines.

I feel privileged to have been following in the footsteps of Xuanzang and his twentieth-century admirer Stein. Apart from the opportunity to visit historic sites in the region, the seminar offered daily lectures by experts on the history and art of the caves. We had unprecedented access to most of the really important caves, where we spent the afternoons examining the murals and sculpture and thus had a chance to experience visually the significant changes reflecting important patterns of cultural borrowing and synthesis over centuries. Perhaps the most important lesson from this summer and the other brief experiences I have enjoyed in the western regions of China is how much we who approach Central Asia from a Western perspective must learn if we are to venture to teach the region intel-

ligerly. To the degree that Central Asia has become a part of programs such as this one, the subject tends to be defined by modern conceptual and political borders reflecting a "Russian," "Soviet," or "post-Soviet" emphasis. In fact modern borders have little bearing on the historic patterns of cultural and economic interaction along the "Silk Road." The visually stunning art we immersed ourselves in at the Mogao caves reflects interactions over a territory extending from Iran to southeast China and from Mongolia to India.

(A short biography of Prof. Waugh can be found on pg. 8)

Suggested resources:

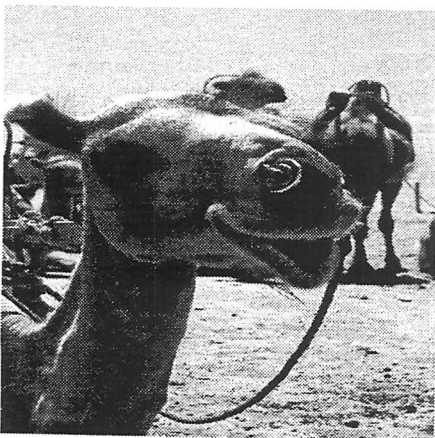
Aurel Stein, **On Ancient Central Asian Tracks** (Chicago/London: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1974). Paperback containing a good overview of Stein's explorations, from his American lecture tour.

Roderick Whitfield, Dunhuang, **Caves of the Singing Sands: Buddhist Art from the Silk Road**, 2 v. (London: Textile and Art Publications, 1995). Probably the best overview of the art of the caves, by a leading expert; illustrated with superb photographs.

Sally Hovey Wriggins, Xuanzang. **A Buddhist Pilgrim on the Silk Road** (Boulder: Westview, 1996). Nicely illustrated and well written account aimed at a non-specialist reader; in paperback.

<http://www.silk-road.com/> —The Web site for the Silk Road Foundation, with information on Dunhuang and various useful links.

<http://idp.bl.uk> —The Web site for the International Dunhuang Project.



VISITING FACULTY

Karen Freeze has a four-way visiting appointment with the School of Business (two parts), the History Department, and the Jackson School of International Studies (REECAS). The Business School components are CIBER, which is the Center for International Business Education and Research, and the Management & Organization Department, out of which Professor Freeze is currently teaching "History of Technology in the Market Economy." A course for 2nd-year MBA students. With CIBER, Prof. Freeze is involved in developing a case study program in the management of global technologies. Field-based case studies are a special genre that gives students a glimpse of how a particular company operates, how it makes decisions, and how it learns. Winter quarter, Prof. Freeze will be teaching the "History of East Central Europe Since 1918" through the History Department. Spring quarter finds Prof. Freeze at the Jackson School offering a seminar for REECAS students. This seminar is being conceived broadly so that students can pursue their country specialties. Perhaps using one of the major 20th century themes such as Revolutions, Social Change, or Crises & Resolutions.

Fulbright Scholar, **Dr. Ablet Kamalov**, Department of History, Institute of Oriental Studies, Kazakh Academy of Sciences, arrived here on September 5, 1998. Dr. Kamalov will be staying here for nine months. Dr. Kamalov was born in Xinjiang (he is Uighur) and received his education in St. Petersburg and at Tashkent State University. Currently, he is the chair of the Department of Uighur History at the Institute of Oriental Studies. While at the University of Washington, Dr. Kamalov will be working on "American-Sino-Soviet Diplomacy and the Eastern Turkestan Republic (1944-1949)." His research at the UW will be based on Russian, Chinese, Uighur and English sources. Dr. Kamalov can be reached through the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilisation. Contact Professor Ilse D. Cirtautas at: 543-9963.

The Scandinavian Department is pleased to welcome **Kristin Kuutma**, from Tallinn, Estonia. Ms. Kuutma is a graduate student focusing on Folklore in Scandinavian Area Studies, and a TA for Elementary Estonian.

Patricia Smith has previously taught political science and international relations at the University of Washington and in Romania from 1995-1997. As the recipient of an IREX Fellowship, she spent 1991-92 in Berlin affiliated with Humboldt University. Professor Smith received her Ph.D. in Political Science in 1995 and her dissertations entitled "Democratizing East Germany: Ideas, Emerging Political Groups, and the Dynamics of Change." Publications include *After the Wall: Eastern Germany Since 1989* (Westview, July 1998), "See How She Runs: Effective Political Techniques," and "German Economic and Monetary Union: Transition to a Market Economy." She is currently working on a book on the East German revolution of 1989 and a paper on German foreign policy. Smith has previously worked in government as a legislative analyst, planner, and program administrator. She is West Coast director for Partnership Initiatives, a non-profit organization using video-conferencing to provide forums for international discussions within and between the United States and Europe.

Welcome **Jaroslava Soldanova**, Czech lecturer here this year teaching two levels of Czech. Ms. Soldanova comes to the University of Washington with sixteen years teaching experience at middle school and high school in Czech Republic. She has her BA and MA in Education from the Pedagogical Faculty of Palacky University, Olomouc where she specialized in Czech and Russian languages.

FIFTH ANNUAL REECAS CONFERENCE

CALL FOR PAPERS and SESSION PROPOSALS

The Russian, East European, and Central Asian Studies (REECAS) Center is sponsoring the Fifth Annual Regional REECAS Conference, to be held at the University of Washington, Bothell campus, Bothell, Washington, on Saturday, April 10, 1997. The goal of the conference is to establish a regional community of scholars, educators, and others who are interested in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The conference will consist of formal and informal paper presentations, round table discussions, research updates, and other REECAS-related sessions. For this conference, we are soliciting individual papers and session ideas on REECAS-related topics, such as economic transformation, international relations, environmental degradation, and teaching methodology, from individuals in the Pacific Northwest (Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and British Columbia).

We encourage specialists, including advanced graduate students, in all disciplines in institutes of higher education in the Northwest to participate. Representatives of businesses, K-12 educational institutions, government agencies, and other organizations interested in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe are also welcome.

If you are interested in participating in the conference as a session organizer, presenter, or discussant, please return the form below to us by February 1, 1999. Please pass on this information to anyone who might be interested in participating in the conference.

return this portion

REECAS CONFERENCE APPLICATION

I am interested in participating in the Third Annual Regional REECAS Conference. Please include me as a:

session organizer
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WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCIL

in cooperation with the Asia Society and Mercer Middle School in Seattle
is pleased to present

TeachAsia

A Series of Workshops on Asia and the Teaching of Asia
for Middle School & Junior High School educators



January 14, 4-7pm

Central Asia & the Silk Road

In collaboration with the REECAS Ctr, JSIS

Daniel Waugh, Associate Professor at the Jackson School, has travelled down the Silk Road and spent extensive periods of time in countries such as Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, and China. Prof. Waugh will share his slides and discuss the silk road past and present. Outreach Coordinator Kurt Engelmann will share current resources on Central Asia and the Silk Road. **Sign up by January 8.**

Workshop site:

Mercer Middle School

1600 South Columbian Way, Seattle

The World Affairs Council and Mercer Middle School in Seattle have launched a TeachAsia project with the support of the Asia Society. Middle/junior high school teachers interested in learning more about Asia and how to teach about this world region are invited to join a series of professional development programs taking place this winter. Each workshop costs \$10. *Clock hours available at no additional charge.*

Upcoming programs ...

Inventions & Technology in East Asia (March)

PinoyTeach: Teaching about the Philippines (May)



To register, please mail completed form to: World Affairs Council, 1411 Fourth Avenue, Suite 320, Seattle, WA 98101, or fax to (206) 682-0811. For more information, please contact Nancy Bacon at (206) 682-6986.

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Central Asia & the Silk Road _____ x \$10 = _____

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sion on our faces, the way all Russians look in such circumstances. The only redeeming feature was Tchaikovski's violin concerto being piped through a loudspeaker.

Finally we were ushered into a small, barren room with the customary official glaring at us through a small partition, which forces the applicant to bend down very uncomfortably in order to put forward his request. We very speedily found out, however, that we were in the wrong place with the wrong paper work. We had with us a covering letter asking the authorities to register me, but the letter had been stamped by the school, not by the Ministry of Education which had issued the original invitation to work in Russia. Half a day had been lost and we wearily returned to Lena's flat, ready to start all over again the next day...

Three days after my arrival I had to attend the first teachers' meeting to prepare for the first of September. About forty of us were crammed into a classroom far too small for comfort. All around was the lively chit-chat of colleagues, tanned and healthy-looking after the long Summer break. Most of us were women, with just a few men, mainly Physical Education teachers, adding some spice to a very female gathering.

Tamara Gerasimovna, the headmistress, came in looking cool and elegant as usual. After several unsuccessful attempts at greeting us all with a cheerful smile, she started to speak, and it became quiet in the room. First off, the bad news: great changes had been made in the organization of the Ministry of Education, the upshot of this being that no-one knew where the school really belonged and hence where any money would come from. No one appeared too shocked at this news. Tamara Gerasimovna continued: the Ministry of Education did however now have a new name; it would be known as the Ministry of General and Professional Education. More information: The regional "Prefect" who had been mugged a few

months ago, had now sufficiently recovered to be nominated Vice-Mayor of Moscow. He would be replaced by a new Prefect. Again no-one batted an eyelid.

The problem of children's safety was next raised. Due to frequent hostage taking and other recent unpleasant occurrences the system of protection was going to be upgraded, and there would constantly be a guard at the school entrance allowing access only to pupils and staff. It all sounded daunting: muggings, hostages, presumably all part of daily reality here...

The next step was telling us in no uncertain terms how to treat parents. We depended on their goodwill and were to treat them accordingly, politely and without using strong language or behaving rudely. Did teachers really need to be told that?

There followed a long list read out in a droning voice of who did what, who was responsible for whom, endlessly. A headache was fast developing...names, names, and names. I was no longer following and just sat in a daze. A piece of paper was shoved into my hand, a signature was required. What was I signing? That I had heard all the rules and duties.

It was time for questions. There were very few, as everyone was anxious to get out of the classroom. Outside the sun was shining. In the corridor I met Zhanna and Tatiana, both language teachers. Tatiana told me that she had been cleaning my flat. Had I seen it? Not yet.

"Oh", she assured me, "it's all right...lots of cockroaches and other insects, but it does have a balcony and it IS a two-roomed flat!"

* * *

I decided to venture to the local shops, armed with a huge wad of rubles, adding to the value of only a few dollars. I went into various dilapidated buildings which were advertising 'produce'.

Amongst those were some shops situated in former air-raid shelters, built at a time when the Soviets feared a Western nuclear attack. At least they were being put to some good use.

Once inside a shop one had to try and understand the system. With privatization, supermarkets have now become a very untidy conglomeration of separate 'stalls'. For some reason which to this day I fail to understand, one has to pay a central cashier if buying in some sections, and directly to the saleswoman in others. As the shop assistants appear to have been recruited from a particular planet where it is the norm to be fat, dyed -blonde and extremely unpleasant, it was difficult, to say the least, to gather where one had to pay and subsequently to deal with the huge amounts of banknotes required for any transaction. The shop assistant invariably made you feel that you were a complete waste of her time and I became so nervous before buying any item that there were times during those first few weeks when I felt that I could truly go without bread rather than face those monsters.

This breed of women who flourished under the Soviet system, when there was no incentive to be pleasant to customers, still appears to thrive in many shops, although private enterprise will undoubtedly change the nature of shopping and the character of its shopkeepers.

* * *

I was in desperate need of bread and so, despite my above-mentioned misgivings, I went to find the nearest bread stall. I had seen one on the previous day and didn't think it was very far. I would easily find it again.

I walked for a good half-hour before having to admit that I was lost. All the surrounding buildings looked the same, and there was not a single bread stall in sight. I didn't panic, just walked on, hoping that all would become clear around the next corner or past the next lot of entrances.

UPCOMING EVENTS

Open Circle Theatre presents **The Naked King** by Russian playwright Evgeny Shvarts - **November 20 - December 19**. Open Circle Theater, 429 Boren Avenue North, Seattle, WA 98100. Call 206 382-4250 for showtimes and admission prices.

Balkanarama performs **Saturday Dec. 5**. Balkan dance night at Spot's Chai House in Ballard. (It's rumoured Pangeo, Christos Govetas' new band, will be playing around the corner at Julia's Park Place restaurant the same night, so it'll be Balkan Night in Ballard!) Small cover charge. Check out their website at <http://www.troutdream.com/balkanarama>.

Friday Dec. 10. GOING GLOBAL--Adventures on the Silk Road featuring Dr. Daniel Waugh (See page 4 this issue)

Balkanarama performs **Thursday, Dec. 31**. Balkan New Year's Eve party at the Greenlake VFW. They're the main band and will be joined by musical guests. Cover charge.

Thursday Jan.14. TEACH ASIA--Workshops for Middle & Junior High School Educators (See page 8 this issue)

Balkanarama performs **Saturday Jan. 16**. Tentative date for Balkan music concert at Zoka coffeehouse in Greenlake/Wallingford. They will probably be joined by the Red Hot Balkan Peppers (new name for the local Dalmatian klapa choir formerly called Dave & The Dalmatians) and Koshava.

Seattle Symphony Orchestra, with renowned Russian pianist Alexander Toradz - **Friday Feb. 5**.
Lecture at 7:00pm, concert at 8:00pm. For ticket information call 253-272-0809.

"Are you lost?" asked a friendly voice behind me. It was Marina Nikolaevna, a teacher from my school whom I had met previously. She was chatting to another lady and her children. I faltered: "Not really, I'm just going to buy some bread." "And where did you have in mind?" I smiled uncertainly: "Around here, somewhere." "Well, not exactly, but don't worry, you have gone a long way and my friend will take you to a nearby bread shop and then will take you home."

"Oh, that's really not necessary." I quickly said, turning to the other lady. "It must be out of your way!" "Not at all," said Marina's friend, "We are just on our way there; we don't live far, and it will be our pleasure to accompany you." So, duly escorted, I found my bread seller and was taken home to Lena's front door. As she let me in, Lena smiled knowingly: "I know that you got lost on your way to the bread shop; Marina just rang me, next time I won't let you go off on your own!" I felt like a reprimanded child who was no longer going to be allowed out unaccompanied.

* * *

It was still Summer, a fine sunny day with a warm breeze blowing. With Sasha, Lena and the boys we went to the Kolomenskoe museum area. It is in a beautiful setting, on a hill, overlooking part of the Moscow river. Several churches, dating from different periods and built in varying styles form this open air museum and it is delightful to just walk around, breathe in the fresh air and admire some outstanding architecture.

We were wandering somewhat aimlessly and suddenly there were very few people around, more trees, and we realized we had wandered into an old cemetery. There were some very simple tombstones and wooden crosses and other more elaborate burying places, erected by wealthier Moscovites. The cost of burials is prohibitive and relatives make huge sacrifices to honor their dead.

Russians have a more eastern approach to their burial grounds, looking after their plots with care, frequently bringing fresh flowers, and paying their respects to their close ones as well as visiting the tombs of former celebrities regularly. To them it is a reminder of the passing of time and Lena wiped away a few tears as she read out the names on the tombstones, meditating on the frailty of human life. It was with a feeling of relief that we came out of the somber churchyard. Suddenly we were in a forgotten world at the heart of this city of high-rise buildings: here was the settlement of Diakovo, a cluster of colorful wooden houses, with kitchen gardens and a country path forming this hamlet's main street. A former village school was offering courses in carpentry and embroidery. Everything looked lush and green. It was one of those magical ends of Summer days. Was this still Moscow? How had the city planners forgotten this tiny corner, and how soon would someone rediscover it...

NEW PUBLICATIONS & RESOURCES

AccessAsia Review: Energy & Politics, Central Asia/Caucasus "State of the Field Report: Energy and Politics in Central Asia and the Caucasus" by Laurent Ruseckas. AccessAsia Review (vol. 1, no. 2, July 1998) Seattle, The National Bureau of Asian Research.

Complete text available on-line at: <http://www.nbr.org>

Energy and Politics in Central Asia and the Caucasus

Explores recent debates about the political and economic implications of energy development in Central Asia and the Caucasus. Details the shortcomings of a purely geopolitical approach and notes analyses that incorporate an understanding of the commercial aspects of Caspian energy development. Identifies two key questions on the research agenda for Caspian energy: (1) Is energy development making conflict more or less likely in the region? (2) How will energy wealth impact domestic political and economic development?

China's Intentions for Russian and Central Asian Oil and Gas,

Gaye Christoffersen (NBR Analysis, vol. 9, no. 2, March 1998) Seattle, The National Bureau of Asian Research, 1998, x + 29 pp.

Analyzes the activities of Chinese energy companies in Russia and Central Asia in the context of China's evolving policies concerning energy security. Addresses the challenges and benefits for U.S. corporate and government policymakers. The author is an independent consultant in Honolulu.

Treacherous Terrain: The Political and Security Dimensions of Energy Development in the Caspian Sea Zone,

Rajan Menon (NBR Analysis, vol.9, no. 1, February 1998) Seattle, The National Bureau of Asian Research, 1998, x + 38 pp.

Analyzes the interplay between political and security issues and the development of energy resources in Central Asia and the Caucasus. Includes map of existing and proposed pipeline routes; appendix of major consortia and contracts. The author is professor of international relations at Lehigh University and adjunct professor at Columbia University.

To obtain a copy of either publication, contact:
 Bruce Acker, Codirector, Eurasia Policy Studies
 The National Bureau of Asian Research
 4518 University Way NE, Suite 300
 Seattle, WA 98105, USA
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 e-mail: backer@nbr.org
<http://www.nbr.org>

A valuable electronic resource for teaching is the **Cities/Buildings Archive**, created by Prof. Meredith Clausen at the University of Washington (Seattle), <<http://www.washington.edu/ark2>>. It contains a significant worldwide collection of high-quality images, including already very extensive material for Russia and former Soviet Central Asia. The photographs include panoramas, individual buildings often with details of decorative elements, street scenes, markets, public monuments, and selected interior decoration such as mosaics or frescoes. Each image is accompanied by short descriptors; eventually there may be fuller information.

The indexing is alphabetical by country>city/location, and under each location images are grouped by building or descriptive detail. Once you have selected the country from the index, the Edit>Find command in your browser allows keyword searching to locate a specific town or building. Englished versions of names are the norm, but you may need to try variant spellings. Editing of the index for consistency of identifications is an ongoing process; eventually original language/non-Latin-alphabet identifications may be added. A more sophisticated interface for the material is under development.

To date the most extensive files are for Moscow, St. Petersburg, Novgorod, Pskov, Vladimir, Suzdal, and several other historic Russian cities; in Central Asia, for Khiva, Samarkand, Bukhara. More material relevant to REECAS interests is in process, including Prague, some Poland, former Yugoslavia (including Kosovo), Istanbul and some other Turkish cities, Xinjiang (esp. Kashgar), some Caucasus, and various cities and monasteries of the Russian north. Photographs from Prof. Waugh's recent stay in China (described in a separate article in this issue) should be available in the archive soon. Contributions are welcome, especially modern material, which is underrepresented.

For information or to make suggestions, contact Prof. Meredith Clausen <mlc@u.washington.edu> or Daniel Waugh <dwaugh@u.washington.edu>. Prof. Clausen would be particularly interested in your comments on how you might be using the archive, since that information can help her obtain the support necessary to continue its development.

The Transboundary Environmental Information Agency has produced a "**Directory of Non-Governmental Environmental Organizations of St. Petersburg**". This comprehensive guide covers numerous environmental groups in St. Petersburg and provides useful items such as contact information, spheres of activity and important projects these organizations have undertaken. Issues covered include agriculture, education, politics, and wildlife.

New Items in the REECAS Center's Outreach Collection-Autumn 1998.

The REECAS Center at the University of Washington is pleased to make the following items available free of charge for checkout by students, staff, and educators.

Kutztown State University and the Pennsylvania State Education Association have teamed up to produce a set of curriculum units entitled *Russia in Search of Democracy*. K-12 teachers in Pennsylvania prepared a wide assortment of mini-units to update the curriculum offerings in basic education relevant to the transition in Russia to a more democratic form of government and a market economy. The units cover a wide range of grade levels and cover such topics as history, art education, social studies, and internet-based instruction. Topics covered in the set include:

- **Absolute Monarchy in Russia and World History.** Peter Regeski—Social Studies (for Grade 8)
- **The Collapse of the Soviet Union.** Carolyn Jeffery Sherman—Social Studies (High School).
- **Global Education for the Global Student.** Barbara S. Clarke—Business Education (High School)
- **An Interview with a Russian Student: Age 10-12.** Linda Raschiatore—Elementary Education
- **A Look at Russian Schools.** Kelly Bruckart—Special Education (Grades 5-8)
- **Russian Music and Teenagers.** Mary Anne Cousins—English (High School)
- **Russia Across the Elementary School Curriculum-Reading, Math, Social Studies, Economics, Sports, and Art.** Linda Cook—Elementary Education (Grades 2-6)
- **Russia in Search of Democracy.** Coralee Owlett—Social Studies (High School)
- **Russia: History, Culture, Traditions, and Arts.** Daniel Burns—Art Education (K-6 arts and crafts projects)
- **Russian-American Internet Cultural Exchanges: Keypal Units on Russia's Food, Sports, Space Station, and Television.** Richard Gittins—Distance Learning Coordinator (Junior High)
- **Russian and American Youth, A Comparison of Attitudes and Interests.** Tom Campbell—Social Studies (High School)
- **The Use of Advertising to Assist in the Pronunciation of the Cyrillic Alphabet.** Thomas Joyce—French (High School).
- **Themes and Purposes of Art: Russian Illustrations.** Jane Krepp (High School)

Other curriculum aids and lesson plans include:

- **Teaching Russian Studies**—a set of materials including activities, hand outs, cassettes, and slides (grades 4-9).
- **Red Square**— a full-size, color poster and lesson plans on Moscow's famed landmark (grades 5-10)
- **Russia and Its Neighbors-Uneasy Relationships --** Discusses the tense relationships between Russia and the newly independent states of Eastern Europe and Central Asia. Contains a booklet with photos, maps, tables (grades 9-12).
- **CIS and Eastern Europe On-File--**a comprehensive collection of maps, charts, and historical studies of Eastern Europe, Russia, and the nations of Central Asia.
- **Zlata's Diary**—a complete teaching unit based on a diary written by an eleven-year old girl who witnessed the horrors of war in Bosnia. Included in this set is a copy of **her diary**, a **video** about Zlata produced by NBC News, and a **curriculum unit** with five lesson plans.
- **"Russian Leaders"**— a set of four books on past and present Russian leaders. Included are books on **Peter the Great, Vladimir Lenin, Leonid Brezhnev, and Boris Yeltsin** (grades 4-9).

New videos include:

- **Dr. Zhivago** —The classic film based on Boris Pasternak's novel of love and war in Revolutionary Russia.
- **Anastasia**—a film produced for public television about the mystery surrounding the youngest daughter of the last Tsar of Russia.
- **Rasputin-The Mad Monk**—a documentary film about the much maligned Grigori Rasputin.
- **Chernobyl Recovery: A Blueprint for International Cooperation**—a documentary on the nuclear disaster at Chernobyl and the efforts to contain the damage there.
- **The Herders of Mongun-Taiga: the Tuvans of Mongolia.**
- **St. Petersburg**—a documentary on the city and its people.
- **Russia Today**—a documentary for grades 5-8.
- **The Russian Federation**—grades 9-12.
- **Before Gorbachev and Mikhail Gorbachev**—Two Videos dealing with Soviet-era politics and the last leader of the Soviet Union.

For information on how to check these materials out, contact the REECAS Center at the University of Washington—Thomson Hall, Room 203B. Phone: (206) 543-4842.

The Donald W. Treadgold Papers

In Russian, East European, and Central Asian Studies

- No. 1: **Law In Russia** - *Theodore Taranovski, Peter B. Maggs, Kathryn Hendley, and Steven A. Crown*
- No. 2: **Religion in Imperial Russia** - *Robert L. Nichols and Henry R. Huttenbach*
- No. 3: **The Fate of Russian Orthodox Monasteries and Convents Since 1917** - *Charles Timberlake*
- No. 4: **The Mennonites and the Russian State Duma, 1905-1914** - *Terry Martin*
- No. 5: **Corporate Russia: Privatization and Prospects in the Oil and Gas Sector** - *Leslie Dienes*
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- No. 8: **Nationalism and Religion in the Balkans since the 19th Century** - *Peter F. Sugar*
- No. 9: **Modes of Communist Rule, Democratic Transition, and Party System Formation in Four East European Countries*** - *Grigorii Golosov* (\$6.45) *Czech Republic, Hungary, Russia, & Bulgaria
- No. 10: **The Politics of the Domestic Sphere: The *Zhenotdely*, Women's Liberation, and the Search for a *Novyi Byt* in Early Soviet Russia** - *Michelle V. Fuqua*
- No. 11: **Ethnic Bipolarism in Slovakia, 1989-1995** - *David Lucas* (\$6.45)
- No. 12: **Literacy and Reading in 19th Century Bulgaria** - *Krassimira Daskalova*
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- No. 15: **The Labor Market, Wages, Income, and Expenditures of the Population of the Republic of Uzbekistan** - *Dilnara Isamiddinova, Editor*
- No. 16: **German-Bashing and the Breakup of Yugoslavia** - *Daniele Conversi*
- No. 17: **Romanian-Hungarian Economic Cooperation and Joint Ventures in Post-Ceausescu Romania** - *Erica Agiewich*
- No. 18: **Energy and Mineral Exports from the Former USSR: Philosopher's Stone or Fool's Gold** - *Leslie Dienes*
- No. 19: **Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe** - *Norman Naimark*
- No. 20: **Nationalism, Populism, and Other Threats to Liberal Democracy in Post-Communist Europe** - *Vladimir Tismaneanu*

All papers are \$5.25 each unless otherwise noted (add \$1.00 for international orders, 8.6% for WA state residents.) A ten-issue subscription is available for \$45, a twenty-issue subscription for \$90. Orders and subscriptions should be directed to Vjeran Pavlakovic, Managing Editor, at the following address:

The Donald W. Treadgold Papers
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Seattle, WA 98195-3650
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E-mail: treadgld@u.washington.edu

Submissions are currently being accepted. For submission information, contact Professor Sabrina P. Ramet, Editor, at the above address.

KUDOS

Congratulations to **Kaz Poznanski** who has received a six month fellowship to do research at the Vienna Institute for Human Studies. He will work on a comparative analysis of the state in the transition of economies. He was also guest editor of a special volume of the journal *East European Politics and Societies* which appeared this winter term.

Congratulations to **Herb Ellison** who recently received a \$75,000 grant from the Jackson Foundation as a matching grant to support his proposed television series on the end of the cold war tentatively entitled "The Accidental Revolutionary." Herb has now received a \$150,000 award from the Starr Foundation of New York as the matching grant and anticipates moving ahead with the project in January.

For those of you who may not know (most of you, given what befell the AAASS conference) **Steve Hanson** won this year's Wayne S. Vucinich Book Prize. A prize awarded annually by AAASS in conjunction with Stanford University's Center for Russian and East European Studies for "a distinguished monograph in Russian, Eurasian, and East European studies in any discipline of the humanities, including literature, the arts, film, etc." Congratulations are in order!

After an extensive search, the World Affairs Council has selected a new Director of Public Programs **Ursula Oaks**, former fellowship advisor with LCP International Institute in Seattle. At the Institute, Ms. Oaks managed a training program for foreign students, as well as the institutes publications programs. Prior to this, Ms. Oaks worked in the newspaper business and for the Society for International Development in Washington, D.C. She received her M.A. in International Studies from the Jackson School and a B.A. in Government and French from the University of Texas at Austin.

Congratulations to **Aleksander Perepechko and Dmitry Sharkov** who have received a \$5,800 grant from the U.W. Libraries for further development of their Russian Federation rayon-level database (Russian Maps Project #65-3105: "Current Rayon-Level Boundaries of the Russian Federation"). Included among the Arc/Info export files currently available on the Web are: 1) digital rayon-level boundaries and most of the "gorsoviets" of the Russian Federation; 2) thematic data such as urban and rural population for 1996; and 3) second round rayon-level results of the presidential elections in 1996 (voting returns for Yel'tsin, Zuganov, against all, turnout). Please visit at: <http://wagda.lib.washington.edu/data/russianfed/> They would also be happy to get your comments!

Congratulations to **Laada Bilaniuk** who began a tenure-track appointment as Assistant Professor in the Department of Anthropology, with a specialization in linguistic anthropology. Professor Bilaniuk's interests center on the Ukraine, as well as the rest of the former Soviet Union, focusing in issues of language politics and nation-building.

Glennys Young has been awarded a grant from the Kennan Institute to conduct research on new new project - Violence, Rural Society, And Russian Political Culture, 1890-1941. Professor Young will be spending the first part of her coming sabbatical, winter and spring, 1999, in D.C. on this grant. Congratulations to Professor Young.

Graduate Book Awards went to **Catriona Logan** whose thesis in the Russian, East European, and Central Asian Studies Program was on the development of grassroots, nonprofit organizations in post-Soviet Russia "*Following the Amber Road*"... to the *UW Baltic Studies Endowed Fund*

On October 17, under the dynamic leadership of Amanda Floan (MA, REECAS 1995), a committee of about thirty friends of the UW, organized the second auction to support Baltic Studies at the UW. The event, boosted by a matching grant from the Lithuanian Foundation, netted over \$50,000, nearly doubling the success of the 1997 auction which yielded \$30,000. Items auctioned off were donated by individuals and businesses in the Seattle area. Most popular among the items up for bidding were jewelry pieces made of Baltic amber, which were advertised in the auction motto, "Follow the Amber Road", weekend getaways, sports tickets and catering services also brought in high bids, as did a 1630 map of Lithuania and a handcarved chess set.

The Baltic Studies Program, jointly founded in 1994 by REECAS and the Department of Scandinavian Studies, is entering its fifth year. Its mission is to offer regular instruction in Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian language, history and culture. Since 1994, eighty UW students have studied the three languages. The program is the only one of its kind in North America. "I want to ensure that future students at the UW have the opportunity for Baltic Studies that I didn't have when I was a student," summarized Floan, "and that's why it's so important to give this program a solid financial foundation. I'm grateful to all of the donors, organizers and bidders who made this event a success." With the money raised by this month's auction, the UW Baltic Studies Endowment will grow to \$450,000.

**THE RUSSIAN, EAST EUROPEAN,
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REECAS - NW

The REECAS List for the Pacific Northwest (REECAS-NW) is an electronic forum for the people who want to announce events, programs, visitors, or other information about the former USSR and Eastern Europe. Subscribers come from various organizations and backgrounds (academia, business, public schools, non-profit organizations) and have an interest in Eastern Europe or the former Soviet Union.

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[Details...](#) 20-22 November: Conference on Agricultural Development in Central Asia: Between Russia and the Middle East. Click at left for details.

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- Faculty
- Events
- Outreach
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