

Celebrating the Contributions of Daniel C. Waugh

BY STEPHEN E. HANSON

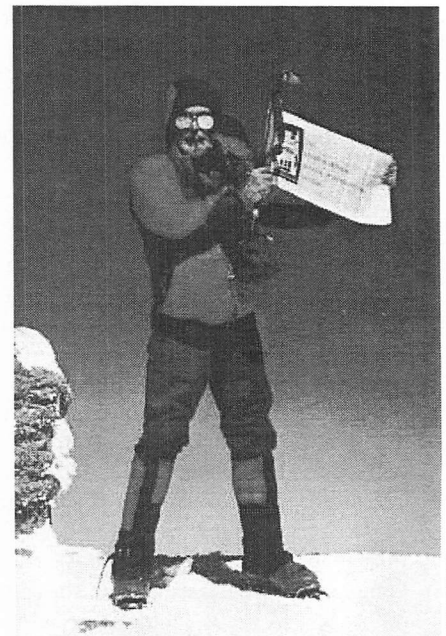
The following speech was given by Professor Steve Hanson at Dan Waugh's retirement celebration on December 3, 2005.

I have the great honor tonight of being the only speaker whom Dan has allowed to sing his praises directly. I have to admit: this was a hard speech to prepare. Where should I start? With the book-length CV of publications, lectures and many other contributions to scholarship Dan has compiled in his illustrious career? With praise for his teaching and mentoring, about which you have heard so much today from his devoted students? With Dan's remarkable photography, which he has made available on-line to scholars and communities all over the world? Or perhaps I could begin by noting—as I discovered in my research for this speech—that Dan has been ranked in the top five in the country for his age group in orienteering? Looking over this growing list, I realized that if I did not restrain myself, we could all be here a long, long time!

But then it hit me that rather than focus on Dan's many accomplishments, it would be more fitting to begin by talking about Dan as a human being. For, simply put, Dan is the most simultaneously generous and modest scholar I have ever met. He has given selflessly of his time, wisdom and expertise, with no thought at all to his personal advancement, for decades—and has made the University of Washington a much better place as a result. And this modesty and selflessness is really something to celebrate today, in a world that far too frequently praises only the flashy, the polemical and the ephemeral.

Dan's modesty and generosity help to account for why his copious scholarship on so many diverse topics, ranging from provincial life in the era of Peter the Great, to Russian, Western and Chinese

imperial expansion in Central Asia over the past few centuries, to the contemporary fate of democracy and civil society in the independent Central Asian states, has made such an impact—not only here in the US, but in the many countries on which he specializes. The renowned historian of early Russian literature Dmitrii Likhachev wrote the foreword to his first book, *The Great Turkes Defiance: On the History of the Apocryphal Correspondence of the Ottoman Sultan in its Muscovite and Russian Variants*. After Dan published his most recent monograph on *The History of a Book: Viatka and "Non-Modernity" in Russian Culture of the Era of Peter the Great* in the Russian language, Russian historian Sergei Kashtanov devoted seven single-spaced pages to a detailed review, concluding "The works of Dan Waugh constitute a great contribution to historical science" and "Waugh occupies an honored place in Russian historiography." Central Asian scholars similarly appreciate Dan's



Dan Waugh on top of Mt. Elbrus in 1993.

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long commitment to that region; his co-edited volume on *Civil Society in Central Asia*, for example, was a pioneering effort to bring the rich tapestry of the Central Asian nongovernmental sector to international attention. Closer to home, Dan's suggestions to his colleagues concerning previously-untapped research materials have played a pivotal role in inspiring works such as Frith Maier's book *Vagabond Life: The Caucasus Journals of George Kennan* and—as I just learned this evening—Galya Diment's *Priniad: Vladimir Nabokov and Marc Szeftel*, which was based on the correspondence between the famous author and the University of Washington historian who was Dan's direct predecessor here.

Dan's combination of modesty and generosity also accounts for why his students, at all levels, are so devoted to him. They willingly read the hundreds of pages of dense historical material on his syllabi each week; they ponder his careful, copious, critical remarks; they accept grades that do not always reflect the inflation of that currency in recent years—and they write to him decades later in search of continuing wisdom and advice. Dan's contributions to no less than three departments—History, Slavic Languages and Literatures and the

Jackson School of International Studies—are without parallel, and the list of courses he has taught by itself fills a lengthy section of his CV. Even in his very last quarter at the UW, Dan is offering a brand new course on the history of the Mongols! So Dan's decision to use the occasion of his retirement to raise money for undergraduate travel and research in Russia, East Europe and Central Asia through the new James Bicknell Endowed Fund truly reflects a deep and longstanding commitment to international education. I hope that as many of you as possible will support this worthy cause.

Dan's modesty and generosity, finally, explain why we are here honoring not only his outstanding scholarship and pedagogy, but also his role in saving the field of Russian, East European and Central Asian Studies at the University of Washington. Dan took over as Director of what was then called the REEU (Russia and East Europe) program in 1991—my second year on campus—at a time when the collapse of the Soviet Union, our loss of federal funding and widespread academic dismissal of “area studies” put us under severe threat. His vision—to turn our program into a leading national center that studied the entirety of our vast region, from the Baltics, to Russia,

to the Caucasus, to Central Asia and beyond—was audacious in the face of disaster. And in retrospect, Dan's ability to inspire others to contribute to this vision was the main reason our program survived the 1990s. Working with Guntis Smidchens and others in the Scandinavian Studies Department, as well as with friends and supporters in the Baltic heritage communities of the Pacific Northwest, Dan helped to catalyze the Baltic Studies Endowment and the Baltic Studies Summer Institute, which together have made the UW a leading national center for the study of the Baltic region. Working with Ilse Cirtautas and the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Dan helped to put Central Asian studies at the very center of our program, symbolically renaming it REECAS. To bring scholarship on the entirety of the region to a wider public, and to honor renowned UW professor Donald W. Treadgold, Dan founded the Donald W. Treadgold Papers in Russian, East European and Central Asian Studies, a prestigious working paper series now published as the Treadgold Studies series of UW Press, under the editorship of Glennys Young. After the tragic events of 9/11 and subsequent resurgence of public concern with international affairs in the new century, the prescience of Dan's vision is clear to everyone. But back in 1991, when there was hardly any glory and certainly no money to be gained from directing the REECAS program, it took a person with truly selfless dedication to the field to make that vision a reality. As we celebrate the new Herbert J. Ellison Endowment which has secured the institutional survival of our program in perpetuity, Dan's contributions to this cause will not be forgotten.

So, while Dan's modesty means he will not ever take credit for his many achievements or list his own accomplishments as he really should, this is one time all of us finally get a chance to embarrass him as much as possible. One modest effort to do so is the new Daniel C. Waugh Thesis Prize for the best Master's Thesis in the REECAS program, which will be awarded for the first time this academic year. Please join me in a round of applause to acknowledge the stellar career of our colleague and friend, Dan Waugh!

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As a graduate student in the Jackson School, I never encountered another professor who had Dan's level of commitment to his students. Where other professors were often busy pursuing their research, Dan was always ready to spend hours discussing a student's work and offering support and encouragement. Not afraid to mince words, Dan treated his students as scholars and demanded they engage with their subjects. Not only a Russianist by vocation, he is a true Russophile at heart. He tried his hardest to make his students fall in love with the region. When he lectured about Peter the Great, he recited a long passage from Pushkin's *Bronze Horseman*—in Russian first, then in translation.

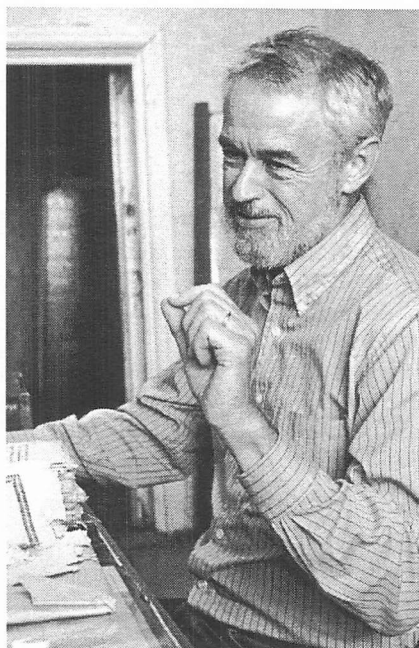
Dan was my Master's thesis advisor, and he was often hard on me, challenging me to dig deeper into the archives and ask more probing questions. Many times I left his office in the basement of Smith Hall and grudgingly trudged back to Suzallo. It was an appreciative grudging; I knew that a different advisor would have let me off with less, I also knew that I was lucky to have an academic mentor who really cared. Dan's door was always open, and he loved to delve into and to debate the issues I came across in my thesis work, helping me navigate around what I thought were research dead-ends.

They were a gift, those hours Dan granted me in his poorly-lit office. Towers of books covered all floor space except for the passage from the door to his desk, the hard wood visitor's chair perched precariously between the towers. It was there that I learned how to think about history. I know that other students also appreciated him for his committed teaching—and his idiosyncrasies. Dan was chairman of the REECAS department the year I completed my MA. We REECAS majors had a party for Dan, and he showed up shyly in his pink belt made of climbing webbing knotted at the waist—his dress-up one, according to his wife, Charlotte Green. He was surprised to see that we were all likewise styling pink webbed belts.

Fifteen or so years ago, Dan took up serious study of Central Asian history and current affairs. He became a strong advocate for programs and courses on this part of the world at the UW, and Dan and Charlotte established themselves as gracious hosts to the Central Asian scholars who land in Seattle for a few weeks or a few years. An

invitation to their home guarantees interesting company and conversation, usually with some adventure slides or stories.

Dan and I share a passion for mountaineering, and for the annals of 19th century travelers in Central Asia. This intersection of interests led to a friendship that has



Dan Waugh doing research on Russia.

endured for two decades. Over those years, I have watched Dan tackle one ambitious climbing challenge after another in major mountain ranges of the world. He has summited the nearly 25,000-foot Mustag Ata in Xinjiang Province of northwestern China, and climbed in Pakistan's Karakoram.

But for Dan, it is never just a mountain. His zeal for travel and mountain exploration is always fueled by intellectual curiosity, and his intellectual curiosity always brings to light—and often to print—intriguing historical material. While in the MA program, I developed an interest in the unpublished journals and letters of George Kennan, the first American to cross the Caucasus (in 1870). Dan encouraged me to take a serious research approach, to apply for an Avar language study FLAS grant and to spend time working with the original documents in the Library of Congress. Then, he prodded me to produce a book. He was steadfast and tireless in his support for the project, and my MA thesis became the

265-page hard-cover *Vagabond Life: The Caucasus Journals of George Kennan* (UW Press 2003).

Once again, Dan had pushed a student to do much more than the minimum required. He had also generously contributed scores of hours to making it a reality: the manuscript emerged from nearly two years in the peer review process about the time that I had had a baby and founded a software company. Dan nagged me not to let the project go by the wayside. When he realized it was impossible for me to carve out the several weeks required to complete revisions required by the publisher, he took the manuscript in hand himself and saw it into print. His dedication to the pursuit of history is too pure for him to have let the Kennan journals continue to languish in obscurity. And the finished product was a much better book for Dan's contributions to it.

If Dan Waugh is retiring from teaching, it can only mean that he will be writing more books and climbing more mountains, because Dan is incapable of truly retiring.

—Frith Maier

Professor Daniel C. Waugh has been one of the most dedicated mentors I have ever known. And it was because of his mentoring that I managed to complete my doctoral studies. At first, Professor Waugh was skeptical about a potential graduate student in Central Asian History who did not read Russian. Due to his encouragement, I began to learn Russian along with Uzbek, Kazakh, Kyrgyz and Tajik. I owe my knowledge and affection for Russian language and literature to him. His vast knowledge of imperial Russian history, although sometimes intimidating, was an invaluable resource during my studies in the History Department of the University of Washington. As my adviser, Professor Waugh encouraged me to push my limits. He challenged me to deliver the best work I could muster. I am not the only one who benefited from his "tough love" teaching methods. Like me, many of my cohorts received superb mentorship and hands-on education from Professor Waugh. At the time, we all bemoaned how demanding he was, but we are thankful to him for not letting us take the easy route.

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In addition to being an exemplary advisor and mentor, Professor Waugh has made a remarkable contribution to Central Asian studies. His comprehensive Silk Road courses, his unique web page, his beautiful photographs and his affection for the people and the mountains of Central Asia made me appreciate my own interests in

this region even more. I especially feel lucky that we share a passion for learning about Kyrgyzstan. He is one of the hardest working academics. He has succeeded in reaching out to the community with his knowledge of Central Asia and Imperial Russia. I look forward to seeing more of his wonderful photographs and reading about

his new research now that he has more time away from his duties in the History Department. ♦

– Ali Igmen

Enjoy some of Dan Waugh's favorite photos at: <http://faculty.washington.edu/dwaugh/dwphotographs.html>

ELLISON CENTER NEWS

LAADA BILANIUK, Assistant Professor of Anthropology, recently published, *Contested Tongues: Language Politics and Cultural Correction in Ukraine*. This work is part of Cornell Press' "Culture and Society After Socialism" Series, edited by Bruce Grant and Nancy Ries.

During the controversial 2004 elections that led to the "Orange Revolution" in Ukraine, cultural and linguistic differences threatened to break apart the country. *Contested Tongues* explains the complex linguistic and cultural politics in a bilingual country where the two main languages are closely related, but their statuses are hotly contested. Laada Bilaniuk finds that the social divisions in Ukraine are historically rooted, ideologically constructed and inseparable from linguistic practice. She does not take the labeled categories as givens, but in this book questions what "Ukrainian" and "Russian" mean to different people, and how the boundaries between these categories may be blurred in unstable times.

The Shidler Journal of Law, Commerce and Technology recently published **ANTHONY MILEWSKI's** article, "Streamlined Sales and Use Tax Agreement: Is your Business Ready for Compliance?" The article examines the implications of new legislation aimed at taxing internet sales. Anthony is a joint law and second-year REECAS MA student currently doing research in St. Petersburg Russia on a Fulbright Grant. You can find his article at: www.lctjournal.washington.edu/Vol2/a007Milewski.html.

In January 2006, **KATARZYNA DZIWIWREK**, Associate Professor in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literature, received a Royalty Research Fund Scholar award for the 2006–07 academic year. The award is intended to fund work on her book *Complex Emotions: A Contrastive Corpus-Based Study of Polish and English Emotion Expression*.

FREDERICK LORENZ, part-time lecturer at the Jackson School of International Studies, traveled to Saint Petersburg in March 2006 to deliver lectures at the Law Faculty, Saint Petersburg State University (President Putin's alma mater). He also spoke to a gathering of journalists at the Regional Press Institute of Northwest Russia on the topic "Freedom of the Press in the United States."

REECAS alumna, **AUTUMN CUTTER**, was recently hired as a Senior Program Officer for the International Visitor Program at the World Affairs Council in Seattle. The World Affairs Council is a non-profit, non-partisan organization that aims to promote greater understanding of global affairs in the Pacific Northwest.

JASON JARRELL, a concurrent degree graduate student in REECAS and the Evans School for Public Affairs, was recently selected for the Alfa Bank Fellowship program for 2006–07. Alfa Fellows spend three months at the Higher School of Economics in Moscow, two weeks in seminars and meetings with government and private sector leaders

and subsequently work for six months in various leading Russian organizations.

Issue 6, Fall 2005 of *Glossos* includes **BOJAN BELIC's** article, "Infinitive is Difficult to Lose: What Governs Variation of Complements in Unique Control in Serbian." In this article, he provides a novel explanation for the variation of complements in Serbian (CVS) from the position of the latest views of control, more specifically unique control, of which CVS is a particularly curious kind. Dr. Belic closely analyzes CVS with adjectives as matrix heads exclusively. It turns out that the factor indicating the actual presence, or absence for that matter, of the matrix argument in the analyzed configuration produces substantially different results when it comes to the choice of the complement in CVS.

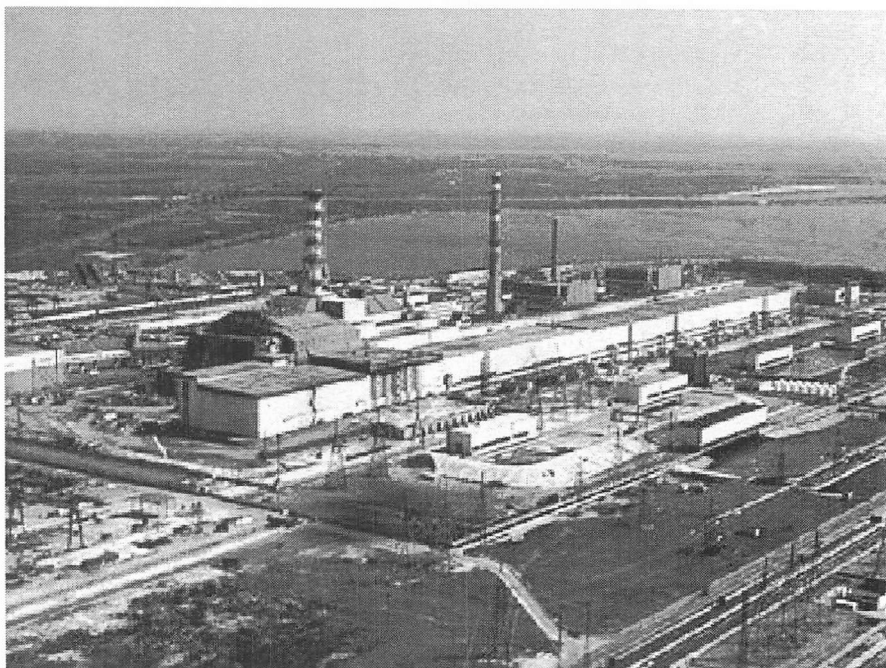
In the March/April issue of *Problems of Post Communism*, there was a special section on "Russia and Non-Proliferation." REECAS Professor **CHRISTOPHER JONES**, of the Jackson School of International Studies, is author of the lead article, "The Axis of Non-Proliferation." Ambassador **THOMAS GRAHAM**, visiting lecturer at UW, is the author of a study of the role of "National Technical Means" in making arms control agreements possible. Additionally, Carol Kessler, Director of the Northwest National Laboratory, which sponsors the Institute for Global and Regional Security Studies at UW, contributed a piece on current proliferation issues concerning Russia. ♦

20 Years after Chernobyl: RBMK Reactors Remain an Explosive Topic

BY BRANT PAULSON

Perhaps nothing has shaped the nuclear energy debate more completely than the tragedy of Chernobyl¹, 20 years ago this spring. In the early hours of April 26, 1986, an explosion destroyed Unit No. 4 at V.I. Lenin Nuclear Power Plant (NPP) in north-central Ukraine. Ironically, this, the world's worst nuclear accident, occurred during a safety test just before the reactor shut down for scheduled maintenance. Performing an experiment, plant operators wanted to determine if they could use the mechanical energy of the slowing turbine to drive emergency equipment and core cooling pumps in the event of a loss of station power. Since any interruption in the flow of coolant to the reactor's core would cause nuclear fuel to overheat very quickly, they sought a way to prevent this extremely dangerous situation. While this was a worthy goal, the accident at Chernobyl resulted from a combination of a general disregard for safety, operator error and fundamental flaws in the RBMK² reactor design.

Fulfilling Moscow's plans typically trumped all other concerns during the Soviet era. In the case of the fateful experiment at Chernobyl, this led officials to ignore even basic safety procedures in order to fulfill the requirements of the safety test. Operators disabled the automatic safety systems in order to simulate an emergency blackout—proving to be one of the most serious of operator errors. Experts believe that if the emergency system had functioned, the accident would not have been nearly as severe.³ Equally detrimental, technicians reduced power to about half of an RBMK's normal operating level for the test, posing serious difficulties for the operators. At reduced power levels, RBMK reactors become highly unstable due to "xenon poisoning," a phenomenon discovered at the B Reactor in Hanford in 1944. Simply put, decreased power results in the production of xenon gas. The presence of xenon gas in turn inhibits the nuclear reaction, which causes a further reduction in power. In an RBMK reactor, power is regulated by moving neutron-absorbing control rods up and down



Chernobyl nuclear power plant with sarcophagus.

within the core. Withdrawing the control rods increases power, while inserting them decreases power. In order to combat xenon poisoning and to increase the power of the reactor to the level required for the test, operators at Chernobyl grossly violated safety regulations by removing all but 6–8 of the RBMK's 211 control rods. Standard operating rules required a minimum of 30 control rods inserted into the core at all times.⁴

In addition to a disregard for safety and operator error, the reactor design contributed to the disaster. Soviet engineers originally designed RBMKs as dual purpose reactors for the production of both plutonium and electrical power. It is problematic then that Russia's RBMKs lack a hermetically sealed containment structure—something found on all commercial reactors in the US.

The phrase "positive void coefficient" describes the positive feedback loop inherent in the RBMK design. In simple terms, in a reactor with a "positive void coefficient", excess steam leads to increased power generation. More power creates more heat, which generates more

steam and then more power, creating a vicious cycle that can escalate rapidly.

Moreover, RBMKs use graphite to moderate the nuclear reaction. Graphite functions not as a control to power output, but rather as a means of sustaining the nuclear reaction. Graphite slows down neutrons released during the fission process so that they are more likely to hit other nuclei and to sustain the nuclear reaction. The RBMK reactor core consists of 1,700 metric tons of graphite. Using graphite as a moderator is problematic, however, due to its flammable nature and the difficulty in extinguishing it once ignited.

Soviet designers made the mistake of using graphite on the tips of the neutron-absorbing control rods. One meter long graphite "riders" are attached to a five meter absorbent segment. So when control rods are inserted into the core, the graphite tip enters first, which essentially increases the power. Only after inserting the rods one meter into the core do they begin to reduce the power of the reactor. Moreover, when the control rods are inserted, the graphite tips displace water,

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a neutron-absorber, thus increasing reactivity even further.⁵

All three of these problems in combination led to the explosion that occurred 36 seconds after the beginning of the safety experiment. As the generator began to spin down, its electrical output declined, which reduced the flow of cooling water to the core. Less water cooling the core produced more steam. The additional steam created additional power due to the RBMK's "positive void coefficient." Within four seconds, the reactor reached 100 times its normal full capacity. When operators reinserted the control rods in a desperate attempt to shut down the reactor, the graphite-tipped control rods entered the core and displaced cooling water. This, in turn, increased the power of the reactor resulting in a massive chemical explosion that ignited the 1,700 metric tons of graphite used in the core. The graphite fire raged for 10 days and released an estimated 14 Ebc⁶ of radioactive substances into the environment—400 times as much as the Hiroshima atomic bomb.⁷

While most experts agree upon the causes of the Chernobyl catastrophe, its long-term effects remain hotly debated. Early reports attributed tens or even hundreds of thousands of radiation deaths to the Chernobyl accident. The Chernobyl Forum, a group of experts from 8 United Nation agencies and the governments of Belarus, Russia and Ukraine, released a comprehensive report in September 2005 that estimated a total of only 4,000 deaths may be attributed to radiation exposure. This figure includes 50 emergency workers, who succumbed to acute radiation poisoning, and 9 children, who died of thyroid cancer.⁸ The study found no radiation-induced increase in mortality due to cancers (excluding the nine cases of thyroid cancer), no evidence of decreased fertility and no increase in congenital malformations. Rather than radiation exposure, the forum found, "The mental health impact of Chernobyl is the largest public health problem unleashed by the accident to date."⁹ The report states that psychological distress, anxiety, depression, poverty and "lifestyle" diseases pose a far greater threat to the population than radiation exposure.

Many of those affected by the disaster



The remaining RBMK reactors in Russia.

quickly criticized the report. Officials from Belarus and Ukraine dispute the findings and plan to write rebuttals and to demand revisions in the final report.¹⁰ Environmental organizations also have expressed their skepticism. Greenpeace accused the Chernobyl Forum of "whitewashing the impacts of one of the most serious industrial accidents in human history."¹¹ Leading Russian environmental organizations, including *Ekozashchita* and the Socio-Ecological Union, formed a coalition to ensure that Chernobyl continues to receive proper recognition as the world's worst nuclear catastrophe.¹²

A scathing editorial by Aleksei Yablokov, a correspondent member of the Russian Academy of Sciences and head of the Russian Green party, entitled "Chernobyl Revisited: Truth, Half-Truths and Lies" appeared in *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* and described the Chernobyl Forum report as "A desperate attempt to distort the true picture of the consequences of the explosion at Chernobyl...minimizing the scale of the worst technological catastrophe in history."¹³ Although some disagree as to the impact of the Chernobyl disaster, its effects were felt throughout the world, including here in Washington State.

At the time of the Chernobyl disaster, the US operated one nuclear reactor that shared many design similarities with the

RBMK—the N Reactor, located at the Hanford Site in southeastern Washington. Like RBMKs in Russia, design features of the N Reactor in Hanford included production of both electrical power and plutonium, the use of graphite as a moderator, water as the coolant and the lack of a containment structure to prevent radioactive leakage to the environment in the event of an accident. Furthermore, the N Reactor contained nearly double the amount of nuclear fuel and was more than 20 years older than Unit No. 4 at the Chernobyl NPP.¹⁴

Within days of the explosion at Chernobyl, there were calls to decommission the N Reactor at Hanford.¹⁵ After a post-Chernobyl departmental review, the US Department of Energy (DOE) ordered \$50 million in safety modifications to the emergency cooling systems and the control room, but did not include a containment structure in the planned upgrade.¹⁶ A year after the Chernobyl disaster, the US government decided to keep the N Reactor dormant except in the event of a national security crisis.¹⁷ Finally, in early 1988, the DOE said that it would not reopen the N Reactor despite having spent \$70 million on safety improvements.¹⁸ Workers completed deactivation procedures for all N Reactor facilities in 1998. However, environmental cleanup activities continue today.

Although Ukraine has likewise abandoned all power production via RBMKs, nuclear power continues to play a significant role in Ukraine. Nuclear plants generate over half of Ukraine's electricity.¹⁹ Ukraine shut down Chernobyl NPP's Unit No. 3, in December 2000, thus ending the use of RBMK power production in the country. Ukraine's functioning NPPs utilize a design that includes a containment structure and is not characterized by a "positive void coefficient."

While the United States and Ukraine no longer use this type of reactor, the threat of RBMK meltdown still remains. Of Russia's 31 civilian nuclear power reactors, 11 at the Kursk, Leningrad and Smolensk NPPs are RBMK reactors. Overall, NPPs provide 16% of total electric power generation and nearly 30% of electric power needs²⁰ in the European part of Russia. International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) data reveal that RBMKs generated nearly half of all of



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Students from a class on "Energy and the Environment in the Former Soviet Union" at Hanford's B Reactor. Author second from left.

Russia's nuclear power in 2004.²¹ RBMKs have spent increasingly more time generating power since the Russian economy began to improve in the late-1990s, spending just over 80,000 hours online in 1995 and over 100,000 in 2003.²² Russia's RBMKs are reaching the limit of their 30 year designed lifespan—the average RBMK reactor has seen more than 23 years of commercial operation. Yet, it appears few of these RBMKs will be decommissioned anytime soon.

Rosenergoatom, the entity responsible for the generation of electric and thermal power at Russia's NPPs, acknowledges that maintenance and upgrades necessary to provide "time extension for plants approaching the end of their design life" are first-priority objectives in order to meet nuclear power generation requirements outlined by Russia's overall energy strategy to the year 2020.²³ Following modernization upgrades, *Rostekhnadzor*, the Russian Nuclear, Industrial and Environmental Regulatory Authority, approved lifetime extensions for four first-generation RBMK reactors: Lenin-grad 1 and 2 and Kursk 1 and 2. While

modernization programs contribute to the safety of these plants, Western safety experts generally agree that due to their inherent design deficiencies, even upgraded RBMKs cannot meet international safety standards.²⁴

It appears likely that *Rostekhnadzor* will grant lifetime extensions for all of the remaining RBMKs. During his first meeting with President Putin, newly appointed Minister of Atomic Energy Sergei Kiriyenko stated that NPPs will provide 25% of Russia's electricity by 2030.²⁵ Reaching this goal will require lifetime extensions of existing plants in conjunction with the construction of new NPPs. During this meeting, Putin commented that the nuclear "sector has never let [Russia] down."²⁶ Hopefully, this will continue to be the case as Russia's aging RBMKs will likely remain in service for another 20 years. ♦

Brant Paulson is a graduate student in Russian, East European and Central Asian Studies at the University of Washington. His interests include energy and environmental issues in Russia and the Caspian region.

- 1 This is the transliteration of the Ukrainian version of the name, while "Chernobyl" is a transliteration from the Russian.
- 2 In Russian, the initials RBMK stand for *reactor bolshoy moshchnosty kanalny*, "high-power boiling channel reactor."
- 3 Zhores A. Medvedev, *The Legacy of Chernobyl* (New York: Norton, 1990), 28.
- 4 Energy Agency, *Chernobyl: Assessment of Radiological and Health Impacts 2002 Update of Chernobyl: Ten Years On*. OECD Nuclear, (Paris: OECD Publications, 2002), 27.
- 5 William Chandler, *Energy and the Environment in the Transition Economies* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2000), 60.
- 6 Exabequerels are a measure of emitted radiation. 1 EBq is the equivalent of 1×10^{18} bequerels. The becquerel (Bq), the SI unit of activity, is the activity of a radionuclide decaying at a rate, on average, of one spontaneous nuclear transition per second. Thus $1 \text{ Bq} = 1 \text{ s}^{-1}$. The former unit, the curie (Ci), is equal to $3.7 \times 10^{10} \text{ Bq}$. The curie was originally chosen to approximate the activity of 1 gram of radium-226. Definition taken from: Oxford Reference Online. "Radiation Units." *A Dictionary of Physics*. <http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t83.e2519> (accessed Jan. 23, 2006).
- 7 International Atomic Energy Agency, *Ten Years after Chernobyl: What Do We Really Know?* (Vienna: IAEA, 1996).
- 8 "Chernobyl's Legacy: Health, Environmental and Socio-economic Impacts and Recommendations to the Governments of Belarus, the Russian Federation and Ukraine," *The Chernobyl Forum*, (Vienna: IAEA Publications, 2005), 10.
- 9 *Ibid.*, 30.
- 10 Peter Finn, "Chernobyl Report Reignites Debate; Those Affected Doubt Findings," *The Washington Post*, A 18, Sept. 24, 2005.
- 11 "Whitewashing Chernobyl's Impact," *GreenPeace*. <http://www.greenpeace.org/international/press/releases/whitewashing-Chernobyl-s-impac>.
- 12 *Ecoport*, http://www.seu.ru/news_ru/index.html?x=6809.
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Political Economy of Eastern Europe: A Conference Report

BY KAZIMIERZ POZNANSKI

Although small in size, the conference on the Political Economy of Eastern Europe aggressively examined the current financial state of the countries in Eastern Europe. The three speakers, all economists with Eastern European expertise, provided in-depth assessments. They particularly focused on Eastern Europe's market-building reforms, commonly called post-communist transition.

Professor Leon Podkaminer came to the conference from the Vienna Institute of International Economy, the leading West European think tank working on Eastern Europe. He addressed some big-picture topics as he analyzed the region's macroeconomic performance. He explained that the region is now emerging from a deep recession initiated both by the transition to independent states and by shifting to a market-economy. As evidence of this trend, he showed data indicating growth rates well above the average for Western Europe. Using the Barro model, Podkaminer calculated that "catching up" with Western Europe is within the reach of most East European economies. Much of this economic growth has been fed by net imports and trade deficits, he explained. Inflow of foreign investment and large-scale foreign borrowing allowed these countries to accumulate substantial reserves of foreign currency.

There are signs, however, that the region is moving from trade deficit toward trade surplus. The recent positive balance achieved by the Czech Republic is

indicative of this trend. Even though great advances have been made in the economy, much of the region's population remains unemployed. Other lingering economic problems, such as widespread poverty, also originated in the transition period. All in all, the economic outlook in Eastern Europe, according to Professor Leon Podkaminer, is one of both great promise and numerous obstacles.

Professor Jan Monkiewicz of the Central School of Commerce in Warsaw continued the discussion by addressing the condition of the financial sector, namely banking and insurance. By now, most of the banks and insurance companies have been privatized by turning them over to foreign investors. In the insurance sector, foreign investors have also established some new companies. Large-scale recapitalization of banks by the respective states has preceded the sale of banks, reaching as high as \$12 billion in Poland. This recapitalization is due to the recent stellar performance of those banks.

Interestingly, as in the case of Poland, half of the credit issued today comes from abroad and not from privatized local branches. Thus, only state regulation remains in the hands of East Europeans. However, the most recent European Union reforms may change this situation. Within the proposed rules, bank branches, or branches of insurance companies, could be controlled by the country of their origin.

Professor Kazimierz Poznanski dealt with a very similar topic. He also looked at the

role of foreign investors in the regional privatization, focusing on two sectors: banking and steel production. The question of the valuation, or pricing, of assets offered for sale by the states was raised. Using Poland as a point of reference, he found both banks and steel-mills were being sold with deep discounts. For instance, a rule of thumb in the Western world is to set prices for takeovers of steel-mills at \$1 billion per million tons of capacity. In Poland, as well as the Czech Republic, Romania, Russia and Slovakia, the steel-mills have sold for close to one-tenth of their routine price. The poor economic conditions, lack of state support, inadequate experience in asset pricing as well as priority given to fast privatization are among the reasons for this difference.

In conclusion, state leaders have intended to set aside the expected payoff from these foreign investments for further restructure incentives. This, in turn, would provide for robust economic acceleration—a recovery from the initial recession—and the alleviation of the problems laid out by both Podkaminer and Monkiewicz.

Other talks in the series included Professor Richard Ericson of East Carolina University's talk on "Neo-Patrimonialism in Putin's Russia," and UC-Berkeley Professor Andrew Janos' lecture on "Historical Perspectives on Eastern European Agriculture." ♦

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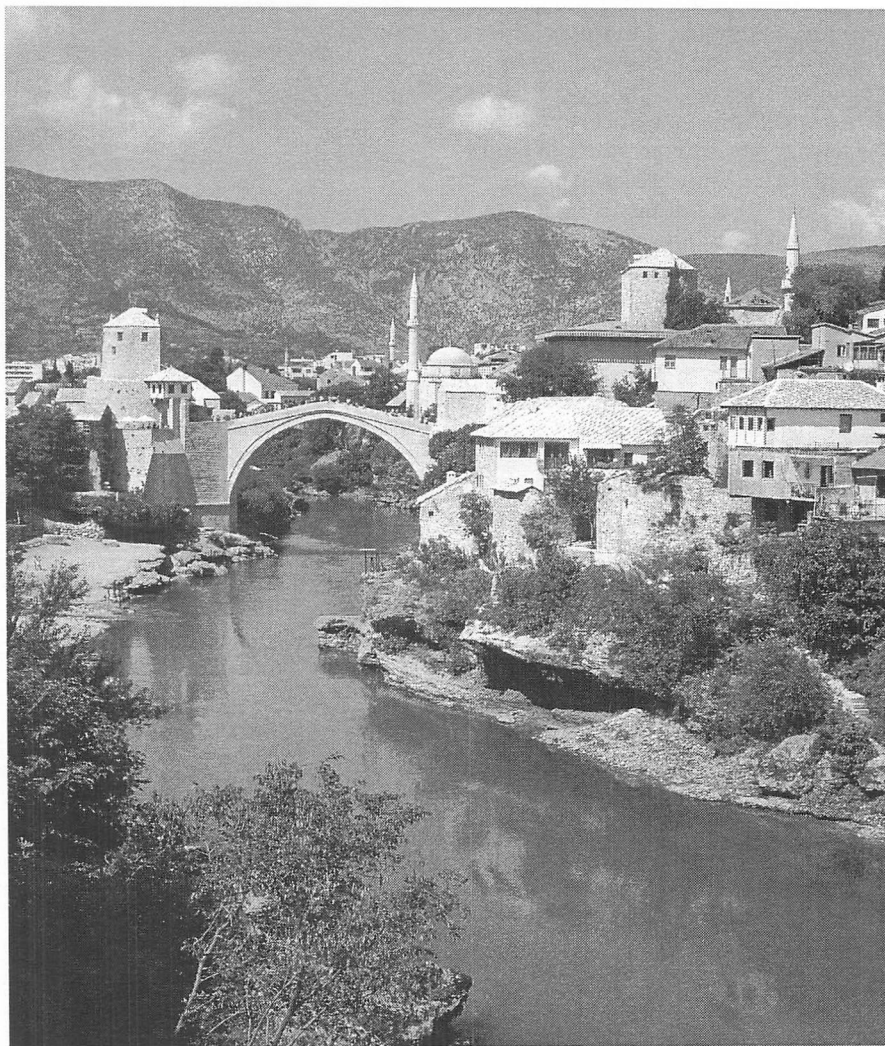
Personal Reflections on the Bumpy Road to Reconciliation: Life in Former Yugoslavia after a Decade of Separation

BY ALEKSANDRA PETROVIC

Generations of people who came of age in the former Yugoslavia nostalgically remember the unencumbered travels of their youth. In those days, they could spontaneously hop on a train to party for the weekend in Zagreb or Belgrade; take a bus to Sarajevo just to get “the best burek¹ in the country”; or catch a plane to Dubrovnik to hear a concert at the Summer Festival. While on the road, they would meet other travelers, exchanging both their experiences and different points of view. These chance interactions often forged long-lasting friendships. Subsequent, frequent visits to each other’s homes in different regions solidified friendships and also fostered mutual understanding. Thus, the people of Yugoslavia brought their motto, “Brotherhood and Unity,” to life.

By the time I was old enough to travel, however, the government only allowed military brigades and refugee convoys to cross between the regions. With the signing of the Dayton Accord, borders were drawn, communication collapsed and longstanding connections broken. Today, 10 years after the wars, the rare passenger on the train from Belgrade to Zagreb travels for reasons other than attending a party. No direct bus lines exist between Sarajevo and Belgrade, and travelers almost have an easier time getting to Dubrovnik from Seattle than from Belgrade.

Nonetheless, last summer, I decided to make a long-overdue trip across former Yugoslavia. I joined a group of students from the University of Washington in the Comparative History of Ideas Department’s Summer Exploration Seminar. Professor Norman Wacker, the leader of the program, designed the Exploration Seminar to offer a deeper look into the problems of ethnic conflict, the role of nationalism, conflict resolution and post-conflict reconciliation in former Yugoslavia. Through readings, site visits and class discussions, we explored these topics in depth. We spent



Recently rebuilt bridge in Mostar, Bosnia—a symbol of Yugoslav unity.

four-weeks sojourning in four of the most important cities of the former Yugoslavia: Dubrovnik, Sarajevo, Belgrade and Zagreb, we had opportunities to hear lectures by government and international agency officials, local scholars and NGO representatives. Our travels afforded us an opportunity to observe and to reflect on the social and political developments of former Yugoslavia since the wars. We also met students from the local universities and heard their opinions on the situation.

But most importantly for me, the seminar gave me the opportunity to see first-hand how the people of war-shattered Yugoslavia live today.

The extent of the similarities between life in Croatia, Serbia and Bosnia struck me. Naturally, commonalities in culture still exist; people eat similar food, drink on similar occasions and listen to similar music. Even with three different official names, the same language serves as the means of communication across the three countries. *Bijelo Dugme*, a rock

continued on page 10

continued from page 9

band icon of the 1970s and 1980s in Yugoslavia, still drew equally large crowds to its concerts in Zagreb, Sarajevo and Belgrade in the summer of 2005. But, perhaps of greater import, the concerns that shape the social and political life of these three states share certain characteristics. One of our lecturers, Maja Zitinski, Professor of Business Ethics at the University of Dubrovnik, spoke about corruption in politics, the lack of free media, unemployment and the rampant nepotism pervasive in professional fields. Only her last name and the specifics of her lecture distinguished this lecture as pertaining to Croatia. In fact, it paralleled the lectures we heard in Serbia and Bosnia both in the problems she outlined and their effects on the individual country.

Faced with these problems for many years without a way to influence them, people have become largely apolitical and disillusioned about their role within the political system. My friends, who 10 years ago participated in the student protests against election fraud, today see no point in voting. Others with whom I spoke in Zagreb have expressed not only a lack of interest, but a desire to stay out



Part of a campaign to raise awareness about crime in Srebrenica.

of the political realm altogether. Discussions about politics over a cup of Turkish coffee, so often present during the war and the years immediately thereafter, have disappeared. It seems people have withdrawn into their close circle of family and friends, intent on living a “normal” life.

The gap between reality and the overly positive public image, which the media and politicians spend a lot of effort promoting, exacerbates this sense of alienation. The success of tourism in Dubrovnik, unfortunately, is not representative of the rest of the Croatian economy. The multi-ethnic society in Bosnia remains neither harmonious nor self-sufficient. A few examples of successful privatization, such as Bambi Food Concern in Pozarevac, Serbia, fail to amount to successful transition to a market economy. In their bid to join the European Union, the

governments of Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia try to emphasize the positive changes in their respective countries. But, the disparity between rhetoric and the actual pace of progress undermines everyone’s faith in the system.

The gap between public statements and private realities grows wider when dealing with war-related issues. Recently, the Muslims of Srebrenica started receiving official titles to the land and property they formerly owned. These lands fall within the borders of the Serb-majority Bosnian entity, *Republika Srpska*. The media portrayed this step to the outside world as evidence of refugees finally returning to their homes. The reports failed to communicate the whole truth. During our visit to Tuzla, I spoke to three students who fled as refugees from Srebrenica. Their accounts painted a very different picture from that which I had heard through the media. Among those they knew who had received titles, all planned to sell or had already sold their properties. Likewise the parents of these three students hope to get their titles soon, and to sell thereafter. This glossing over the truth exemplifies the three states’ governments’ eager portrayal of any semblance of progress as evidence of reconciliation. Yet, many deep issues remain unaddressed. As evident in the Srebrenica example, the three communities remain unable to trust one



Author in front of Belgrade’s City Hall.

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another. Sadly, what progress does exist has resulted from the wars' paralyzing effect upon people's memory. Thus, people push aside their disputes, refuse to discuss them and instead focus on their daily life. This "progress" cannot last; actual reconciliation remains out of reach.

The slow pace of true reconciliation, however, should surprise no one. Living divided for more than 10 years, with no opportunity to travel or to interact, the three communities have lost connection with one another. While likenesses between the three countries remain, the peoples of Bosnia, Serbia and Croatia have grown unaware of what they all share. The war destroyed the sense of

commonality that connected the peoples and helped them to understand and to trust each other. Friendships, personal contacts and interactions of all kinds across the borders have abruptly come to an end.

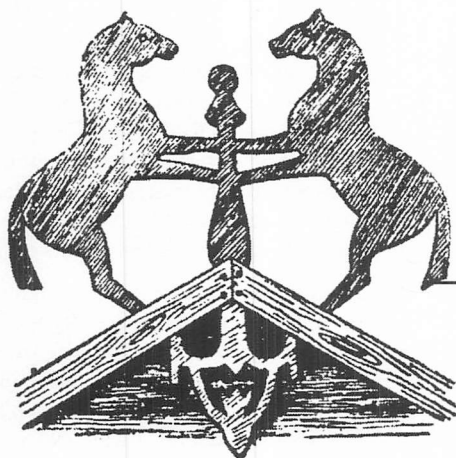
The only real hope for reconciliation is through repairing and strengthening personal ties. The trip left me with the impression that the means to rebuild those connections are still there. For, although the people I met only reluctantly talked about their lives, they eagerly listened to anyone describing life on the other side of the border. They desired to visit the other states, but had formed no definite plans as to when or how. Remarkable and promising, their

willingness to reconnect exists despite the challenging years of separation. This lingering wish may prove the best hope for reestablishing the sense of familiarity prerequisite to reconciliation and lasting peace. ♦

Aleksandra Petrovic is a second-year Russian, East European and Central Asian Studies MA graduate student. Originally from Serbia, she came to the United States in 1999 as part of a cultural exchange program. Her primary fields of study are the language and history of the Balkans. Her thesis will investigate the influence of language on national identity in Bosnia since 1990.

1 A pastry filled with cheese or spinach.

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SESSION 2 (11:45am–1:15pm)

- Balancing Security Concerns in Regional Relations
- The Balkans: Language, Identity and the Homeland
- Roundtable: Modernizing Russia's Educational System

LUNCH & PLENARY (1:15–3:15pm)

- Occupation and Revolution in Eurasia's Borderlands

SESSION 3 (3:30–5:00pm)

- Revolution, Resistance and the Press
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Full of Hot Air? Russia and the Kyoto Protocol¹

BY JASON C. JARRELL

A little over a year ago, the much debated Kyoto Protocol became a legally binding international agreement—largely thanks to Russia. Just why Russia supported this agreement is open to debate.

In a move unexpected by most Russian observers and environmentalists alike, Russia's State Duma ratified the Kyoto Protocol by nearly a 4–1 majority. Following the State Duma's lead, Russian President Vladimir Putin signed the treaty in late October of 2004. This event was significant both for its unexpected nature and its momentous results. By ratifying the protocol, Russia effectively brought the nearly decade-old agreement into international effect. The terms of the protocol state that all countries ratifying the protocol must comprise 55% of the world's produced greenhouse gases for it to take effect. Russia contributes just over 17% of the six listed greenhouse gases on the protocol, enough to push the total over the critical threshold of 55%.² In February of 2005, 90 days after Putin's signing, the Kyoto Protocol became law in more than 125 countries, with the notable exception of the United States. Incidentally, aside from Russia, only the United States could have single-handedly brought the agreement above the required threshold.³

Just why Russia, a resource-rich, industrialized country with an abysmally poor environmental policy record, signed the protocol remains open to debate. However, what Russia has to gain—and potentially to lose—by acceding to the international agreement is fast becoming apparent. If navigated wisely, Russia may stand to gain both economically and politically through its collaboration with the protocol. The protocol primarily aims collectively to reduce carbon emissions by 5% below 1990 levels.⁴ Russia currently emits carbon levels estimated to be 32% below 1990 levels due to its industrial decline since the Soviet collapse in 1991. This excess remaining surplus gives them a unique advantage in meeting the protocol's standards.⁵ Furthermore, this surplus of so-called "hot air," or carbon emission credits, offers Russia potentially very lucrative trades on the international

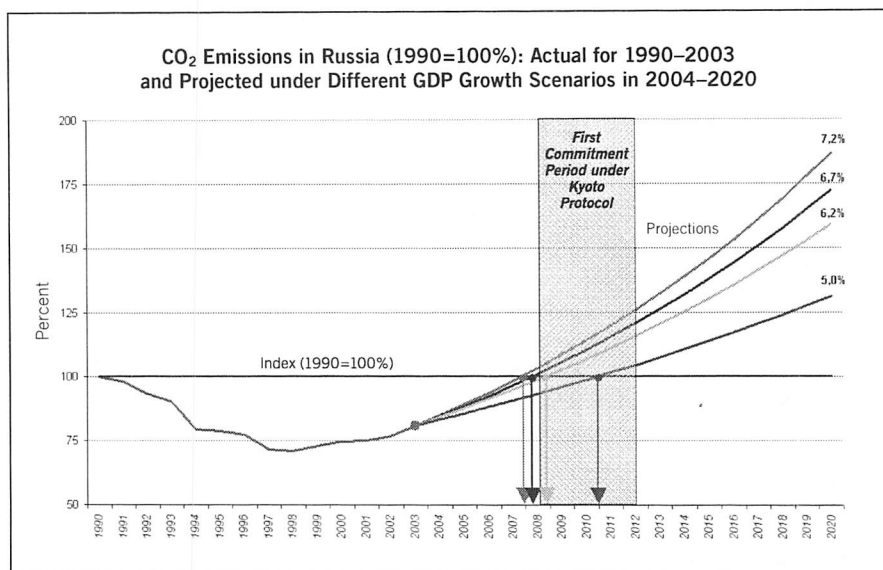


Figure 1

carbon emissions quota market created by the protocol.

However, carbon emissions and GDP economic growth are positively correlated, meaning that any increases in GDP inevitably require an increase in carbon emissions. As an economy in transition that has experienced a considerable loss in production and major restructuring in the last decade, Russian industries, and more broadly the Russian economy, remain particularly vulnerable. Energy production and utilization fuel economic growth. As energy consumption produces carbon emissions, the Kyoto Protocol—by design—presents a real threat to any nation's long-term economic development without careful policy planning.

Moreover, Russia is increasingly dependent on its oil and gas industry, which comprise 40% of the nation's export revenues. As the recent gas row with Ukraine has shown, Russia fully intends to be one of the world's largest energy players. However, by acceding to the protocol, Russia has legally committed to the protocol's limitations and sanctions until the year 2012. Based on past energy consumption patterns and related economic growth, varying projections indicate that Russia will surpass its 1990 levels of carbon emissions as early as 2007 (2011 under more conservative

growth scenarios) [Figure 1].⁶ Under this scenario, economic growth would be stymied at that point unless Russia takes other measures or becomes a purchaser of carbon emission credits itself. Therein lies the crux of Russia's challenge: complying with the protocol without falling victim to short-sighted policies that will adversely affect the future economic welfare of Russia and its citizens.

To understand more of the design of the protocol, let us turn to its origins. The Kyoto Protocol stems from the United Nations' Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), which the UN adopted in 1992. Over 169 countries, including the Russian Federation, signed it at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) international environmental summit in Rio de Janeiro that same year. As an international body, the UNFCCC seeks to recognize officially the phenomenon of climate change and its potential threat to the world's population; to establish an international framework for governments multilaterally to research climate change; to develop and to implement strategies for its stabilization and prevention; and to create and to enforce mechanisms for its compliance. The Kyoto Protocol subsequently became the backbone of the UNFCCC. With 84

signatories, including Russia, it came before the UNFCCC in 1997 for future consideration and individual country approval.

As for its purpose, the Kyoto Protocol targets the curbing of greenhouse gas production. The UNFCCC has identified certain gases as contributing to global warming as greenhouse gases. Global warming specifically refers to the gradually increasing mean world temperature, which scientists warn could melt the polar ice caps. This change, in turn, could significantly affect weather patterns, raise sea levels, flood coastal zones and decrease the world's fresh water supply as salt water mixes with fresh water further upstream in river deltas.

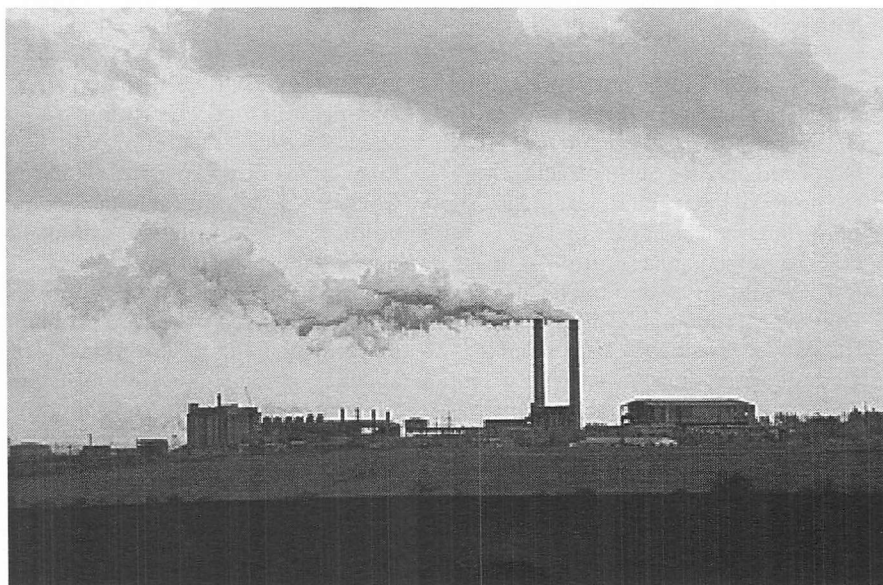
Although a majority of the world's scientists and research institutions agree upon the existence of climate change, considerable debate continues concerning what causes it and how effective the Kyoto Protocol will be in combating these changes. In fact, the Russian Academy of Sciences, the most esteemed research center in Russia, does not support the Kyoto Protocol. However, the protocol does include provisions for scientific review and amendment, allowing for change to both the protocol's approach and methods.⁷

Beyond the debate in the scientific community over the protocol's merits, many economists, including those in Russia, have levied harsh criticism against the agreement. Economic decisions frequently create environmental externalities, and environmental decisions can likewise produce economic externalities. President Putin's former economic advisor, Andrei Illarionov, voiced the most vociferous and public economic-based arguments against the protocol. Illarionov argued that any limitations on carbon emissions would directly limit economic development and he predicted a loss of \$1 trillion in economic growth over the following 7 years. If true, this would severely hinder President Putin's publicly stated goal of doubling Russia's GDP by 2010.⁸

In contrast, the Russian Ministry of Trade and Economic Development (MTED) officially supported the ratification of the protocol. MTED saw significant potential in Russia's 32%

surplus of emissions on the emerging carbon trading market. Early projections indicated that Russia could reap billions of dollars of annual revenue from the London-based carbon-emissions trade through the sale of its "hot air" credits, particularly to Europe and Japan. Due to its large amount of "hot air" credits, Russia holds the potential to act as a price-setting monopoly on the international carbon market. In the first week of October 2004, over 670,000 tons of carbon emissions credits were traded on the EU market in anticipation of Russia's ratification of the protocol. Multiple source estimates calculated Russia's potential profits to be approximately \$20 billion at market rates—nearly 6% of

protocol, have long employed energy efficient technologies in their industries. Furthering efficiency will require considerably more effort and investment. Thus, the marginal value for carbon emission abatement will only increase. Recent research in Japan has shown that the government must implement a \$423/ton tax on carbon emissions that exceed standards in order to provide financial incentive for Japanese industries to increase their abatement ability. Therefore, countries such as Germany and Japan have an economic interest in maintaining Russia's supply of carbon emission credits at a cost lower than their marginal cost of abatement. In this regard, Russia stands to gain from both



Russian smokestacks.

Russia's current real GDP. In 2004, the Environment and Economic Centre in Moscow had figured that the price per ton of carbon credits may exceed \$20/ton in 2008. Yet by January 2006, the price already exceeded all predictions, reaching approximately \$30/ton.⁹

Russian industries may also gain from foreign technology transfer. Multiple participating countries have commitments under the protocol to lower their emissions beyond 5%. For example, Germany is one of a number of European nations that have a threshold of emissions decrease set as high as 12%.¹⁰ Yet, Germany, along with many of the other modern industrial adherents to the

sale of its surplus carbon credits and the transfer of more energy efficient technologies.

Compliance with the Kyoto Protocol also has the capacity to benefit the vast Russian forests through built-in economic incentives. Multiple articles of the protocol provide for mechanisms to offset carbon emissions through environmentally sound land-use policies that provide environmental "sinks." Russian borders contain over 20% of the world's forested land. These forests serve as one of the world's largest CO₂ scrubbers.¹¹ Under the Kyoto Protocol, Russia could supplement its already large "hot air" surplus through improved

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forest management policies that would support the protocol, increase carbon emissions trading revenue and slow deforestation in some of Russia's most pristine regions. As Russia enforces land-use policies for their forest resources, the timber industry will likewise be forced to revitalize. As opposed to relying on raw log exports to Asia, limited logging will increase value-added business activities such as wood processing, plywood production and the like.

All in all, while the Kyoto Protocol offers Russia hope for the immediate future, it also represents a potential hindrance to forthcoming economic growth. The balance of this dichotomy poses a challenge to the Russian government as it tries to make sound choices yielding both economic and environmental benefits. This question remains unanswered. Although the protocol has been in effect for one year, little has actually changed in Russia. After a period of high hopes and positive outlooks following the protocol's activation, leading Russian environmentalists have expressed regret that the Russian government has taken few, if any, steps toward implementation. Following a roundtable discussion of Russian environmental NGOs and energy corporations, including Russian Company "Unified Energy Systems" (RAO UES) (which alone contributes 3% of the world's greenhouse gases) and *Gazpromenergo*, on the protocol in September of 2005, the head of the Russian Ecological Investment Center commented to the Russian press, "At present, I have the impression that Russia is simply not ready to use a favorable situation for its own benefit."¹²

This, sadly, may be the case, at least for the time being. The "Green Investment Scheme" was created to reinvest revenue from the quota market in the environmental sector in Russia in order to reduce greenhouse gases. Yet Russia still does not have a clear strategy to regulate and to monitor domestic emissions; to coordinate Kyoto-related activities amongst its own governmental ministries and international bodies; or to define mechanisms for trading on the emissions market. Moreover, Russian governmental ministries and departments have remained reluctant to take responsibility for implementing their

share of the protocol's mechanisms and obligations, virtually mirroring the agreement in the entropy of the Russian bureaucracy. The NGO sector, including environmental organizations, has been a key source of information and a growing link between the public and private sectors. Recently passed Russian legislation limiting the NGO sector may also protract the protocol's successful integration.

Without a centralized Russian task force vested with the authority to coordinate the protocol's implementation, little is likely to change in the near future. All the while, Russia's energy consumption continues to increase and 2012 is fast approaching. The Russian government remains passive in entering the market, seeking environmental investment and fostering foreign technology transfers, despite the short time-window for making gains on the quota market. Mikhail Kozeltsev, Director of the Russian Regional Ecological Center which has organized roundtables on the protocol's implementation, commented on the dangers of Russia's lack of a proactive stance and coordination: "Potential foreign players on the quota market would like to have a clear idea about a portfolio of projects related to the Kyoto mechanisms, and about the responsibilities of specific ministries, federal agencies and services involved in Kyoto-related activities. The absence of procedures for approving such projects makes them less competitive at international tenders, and the funds that Russia could have attracted go to other countries."¹³

When Russia signed the Kyoto Protocol, speculation existed that Russia's motivation was primarily to seek support from Europe for accession into the WTO. This may have been the case; as the past year has shown, the Russian government

was not entirely clear on the agreement's obligations. Regardless of motivation, however, Russia is now bound to the Kyoto Protocol for the next six years. The coming years will reveal whether Russia was just full of hot air when it acceded to the treaty or if it will soon need to start buying it. ♦

Jason C. Jarrell is a graduate student in REECAS and the Evans School for Public Affairs.

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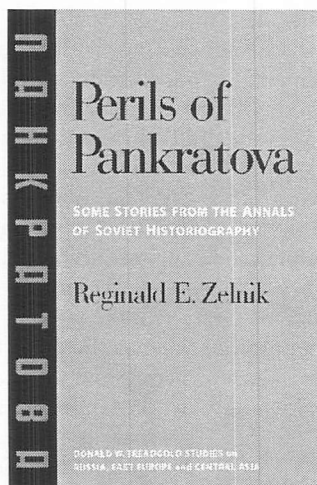
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Reading between the Lines: Native and Russian Sources in Regional Archives in Uzbekistan

BY FLORIAN SCHWARZ

On May 2, 1893, Samarkand officially celebrated the 25th anniversary of the Russian conquest of the city. Dozens of members of the city’s Muslim elite submitted an elaborate document to the Russian military governor of Samarkand, adorned with the imprints of their seals (see picture). The document recounted the history in two languages. The chief judge, the highest ranking Muslim notable of the city, signed the text written in Turki¹. A Russian version accompanied the Turki original on the same sheet. In this document, which was read to the public in a ceremony, the Muslim notables confirmed their loyalty to the Russian Emperor.

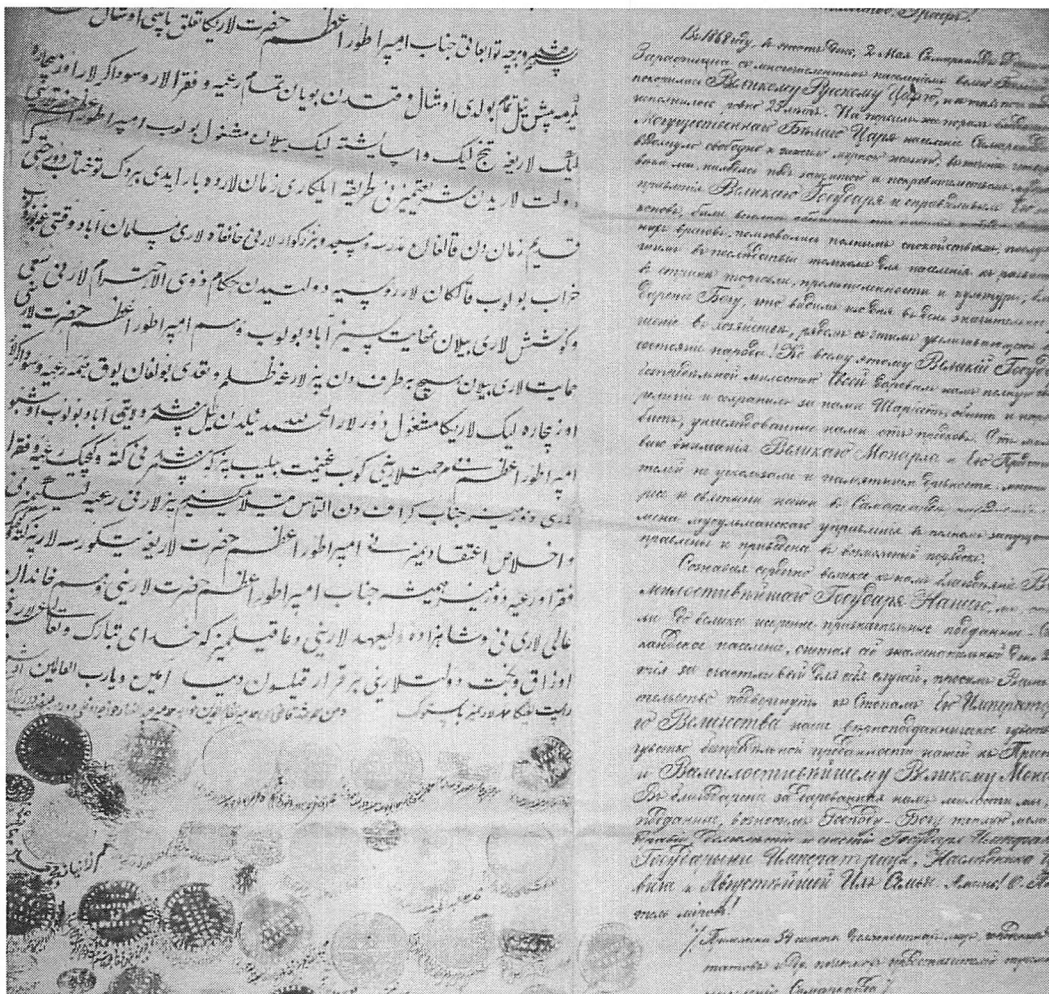
At first glance, this document merely reflects the degree to which the Russian colonial administration had gained control over the native population in that quarter of a century. A closer look at the text and the translation, however, reveals that this is more than just a material testimony to a momentous historical occasion. It opens a small window into the communication between imperial power and local elites.

Immediately, the first sentences reveal a slightly divergent perception of how Samarkand became part of the Russian Empire. “On the 2nd of May 1868, by the will of God the city of Samarkand and its territories fell to the Great Emperor,”

said the chief judge. Yet the Russian translation reads, “On the 2nd of May 1868, by the will of God the Great Emperor conquered Samarkand, the Zerafshan valley and its numerous people.” This different attribution of historic agency continues throughout the document. So too, quite divergent interpretations of the achievements of Russian rule pervade the Turki and Russian versions. The Russian text’s assertion “Already in the first years of the rule of the Mighty White Tsar, the population of Samarkand could breath freely again and began to live in peace” is not exactly a literal translation of the original Turki version: “Since that day the subjects,

people and merchants worked only for their own needs in peace and tranquility.” The judge then pointed out “The government of the Great Emperor left our shari’a (Islamic law) in its traditional way.” The translator rendered it in Russian as “The Great Emperor in his boundless benevolence gave us full freedom of religion and preserved our shariat and popular manners and customs which we inherited from our ancestors.” Thus, the chief judge acknowledges key elements of Russian imperial practice in Turkestan. The imperial rhetoric of a “civilizing mission,” however, appears only in the Russian translation.

In many ways, this document highlights the fundamental role of language and communication in the reality of empire. The use of Turki instead of Persian as the language of official communication of the



1893 document commemorating the Russian conquest of Samarqand, written in both Turki and Russian.

© FLORIAN SCHWARZ

native population, for example, reflects Russian imperial language politics. The decades before the Russian conquest had seen the active promotion of the use of Persian as the language of (Islamic) civilization at the expense of local languages in areas under Bukharan rule. Russian colonial administration, for its part, promoted the use of Turki. This policy was for a practical reason: many colonial officials already knew Tatar, a Turkic language. Also, Turki was considered an effective antidote against the persianate, Islamic culture of “backward, despotic and fanatic” Bukhara.² Hence, Turki became the “language of modernity” in Bukhara.

It is not possible here to follow all the trajectories that cross in this document. Suffice it to say that the slightly garbled communication of May 2, 1893 was not simply a matter of Christian, Russian “enlightened Imperialists” versus “traditional Muslims.” Rather, I have chosen to introduce this document as an example of the non-Russian (or not exclusively Russian) materials that can be found in Uzbek regional archives. This document has been preserved in the State museum of History, Culture and Art in Samarkand. Although the archival collections of the regional museums in Uzbekistan are dwarfed by the fabulous treasures of the Central State Archive in Tashkent, they are nonetheless invaluable resources for historians of Central Asia.

The State Museum in Samarkand owes its international reputation mainly to its archaeological collections in the bulky main building near the Registan and the branch museum located on the city mound of old Samarkand. But, it has much more to offer. The main building on the Registan also accommodates an important collection of Islamic manuscripts and a small archive.³ The Museum of Local History, Culture and Nature (*Kraevedcheskii muzei*), now a branch of the State Museum, houses a second, more significant, collection of historical documents. The *Kraevedcheskii muzei* is a hidden gem in Samarkand, located in a colonial building in the Russian part of the town. The museum is worth visiting if only for its splendid main hall⁴ (and if you find your way to the *Kraevedcheskii muzei*, you should



Legal document (detail), Samarkand 1903, Samarkand State Museum.

not miss out on the nearby International Museum of Peace and Solidarity!⁵).

The majority of the documents in the Samarkand collection stem from the Russian colonial period, i.e. the half century between the conquest of the city in May 1868 and the revolution of 1917. They allow for fascinating insights into the interaction between the native population and the imperial administration. The documents also expose the constraints and possibilities of living in a colonial society.⁶ Not all documents are as complex as the public speech of the chief judge of Samarkand, but most reflect, in varying degrees, a gradual change in language use. As long as only Muslim parties were involved, documents continued to be drafted according to Islamic law and following established standard formulars, like this one, dated

1903. The main body of this legal document is written in Persian, but the court registration in the margin is in Turki and dated in the Christian era. The judge imprinted his traditional seal, inscribed with his name in Persian script, but added a second seal that gave only the name of the court district in Russian. And then there are, of course, the Russian fee stamps. In the communication between the native population and the Russian administration, Turki became the principal language. The use of Russian in documents signified the serious nature of a text, as in Russian-Turki bilingual tax receipts or the entirely Russian summons of Muslim notables to the head of the district of Samarkand.

Like the dual-language documents, the *Kraevedcheskii muzei* is evidence of Russian influence and perspective in the

continued on page 18

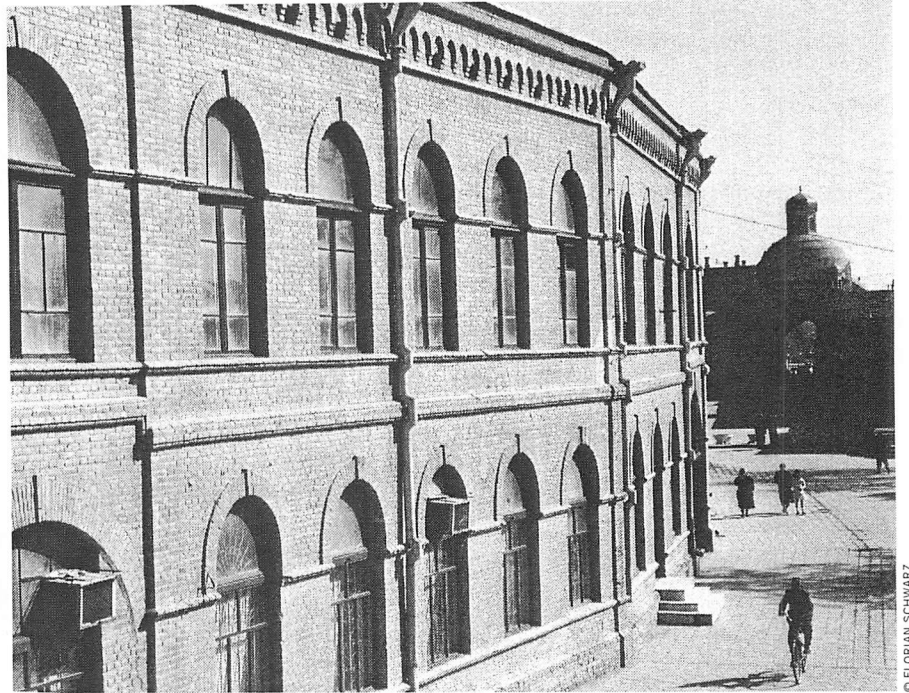
continued from page 17

Central Asian world. Today, the *Kraevedcheskii muzei* shelters a collection of historical documents and manuscripts from the Bukhara state museum and archaeological reserve.⁷ In 1912, the Russian-Asiatic Bank erected this impressive brick building in the heart of the Old City. It was a convenient location for a bank—close to its potential customers, the buyers and sellers in the nearby bazaars. For centuries, they turned left from the main bazaar to do business with the traditional bankers in the “money-changers’ dome.” Now they turned right to bring their money to the Russian bank, a few steps down the alley.

Despite its size, the Russian Bank fits very well into its traditional architectural environment. Were it not for the large European windows, it could almost pass for a madrasa. The ground floor and one hall upstairs are now occupied by an exhibition of modern Bukharan art. The authorities have closed most of the first floor to the public. Its large halls have been preserved in their original appearance, but are in a pitiful state, due to lack of funds for upkeep. The future of the building remains uncertain, but I hope that it will be possible to preserve it in the framework of the State Museum. One of the halls upstairs would make a perfect (and secure) reading room for the manuscript and document collection.

In contrast to Samarkand, Bukhara was not incorporated into the Russian Empire after 1868 and thus it retained its formal sovereignty until the early 1920s. Therefore, the character of the Bukharan collection of historical documents is quite different from its peer in Samarkand (although there, too, by far the majority of documents stem from the period between the 1860s and 1920).⁸ A significant feature of the Bukharan collection is the presence of documents that were issued from places like Najaf, Medina and Kabul. They testify to the continuing connection between the Emirate of Bukhara and the Middle East throughout the colonial period.

The Russian conquest of Central Asia, the incorporation of “Turkestan” into the Empire and the role of Russian Central Asia in the “Great Game” have captivated the imagination of historians of Central Asia for almost one and a half centuries.



Bukhara, Building of the Russian-Asiatic Bank (1912). In the background: the Money-Changer's Dome.

The changing political conditions and better accessibility of archives since the late 1980s have encouraged new approaches to the modern historical account of Central Asia. The Soviet experience, in Central Asia in particular, is receiving new historical attention (although by no means as much as it deserves). The colonial history of Central Asia, too, is currently undergoing major revision. The Persian, Turki and occasional Arabic documents in the Central State Archive and regional collections in Uzbekistan offer insight into the history of colonial Central Asia that cannot be gained through the exclusive use of Russian sources. Dedicated researchers at institutions like the State Museums in Samarkand and Bukhara are working on improving the accessibility of their collections, although lack of funding hampers their efforts.

In 19th century Central Asia, the histories of the Russian Empire and the Middle East meet and overlap. An exploration of native, as well as Russian, sources will contribute to a more balanced and differentiated history of colonial Central Asia, a history that does justice to the experiences of its people. The regional archives in Uzbekistan are a good place to begin this exploration. ♦

Florian Schwarz is an Assistant Professor in the Department of History. He is currently working on an analytical catalogue of 16th to early 20th century documents from the Khanate/Emirate of Bukhara and the Russian colonial period.

- 1 “Turki” describes any Turkic language used in Central Asia before the creation of the modern “national languages”.
- 2 Lutz Rzehak, “Vom Persischen zum Tadschikischen: sprachliches Handeln und Sprachplanung,” *Transoxanien zwischen Tradition, Moderne und Sowjetmacht* (1900–1956), (Wiesbaden: 2001).
- 3 In 2003 the exhibition of Islamic manuscripts in the Registan museum was refurbished with funding from the US Embassy in Tashkent: <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/pix/b/eur/25065.htm>
- 4 ul. Kasidov 51, ask the taxi driver to bring you to the hammam No.1.
- 5 *International Museum of Peace and Solidarity*, <http://www.civilsoc.org/nisorgs/uzbek/peacemsm.htm>.
- 6 Besides local documents the Samarkand collection contains a substantial group of 19th and early 20th century documents from the Khanate of Khiva. See Schwarz, Florian, “Bargeldstiftungen im Chanat von Chiwa, 1840–1922,” (*Cash endowments in the Khanate of Khiva*), *Der Islam*, 80 (2003), 79–93.
- 7 *Bukhara State Architectural Art Museum-Preserve*, <http://bukhara-museum.narod.ru> (accessed 2002).
- 8 On the history and contents of the Bukharan collections see Bahadır Kazakov, *Bukharan Documents: the Collection in the District Library Bukhara*, Berlin 2001.

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AND CIVILIZATION

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The Ellison Center Welcomes Visiting Scholars

BY CARRIE DYK



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ELEONORA FAYZULLAEVA is a visiting Fulbright Scholar from Tashkent, Uzbekistan. She has more than 20 years of academic experience in research, teaching and management of educational departments in Uzbek Universities. She likewise has over 10 years of experience in program management and grant-making. Her technical experience is focused on gender,

training and media. With this background, she has come to the University of Washington to do further research on “The Study of Gender Curriculum Development and Assessing Gender Integration into Humanity Subjects in American Universities.”

She is also investigating the teaching methodology utilized in American classrooms for gender studies.

Eleonora hopes to see her research result in the eventual implementation of Gender Studies courses in the university core curriculum in Uzbekistan. This, she explains, “will enhance the formation of students’ outlook in accordance with the latest world analytical achievements and serve to further develop gender theory in the scientific context of Uzbekistan.” Moreover, she hopes to convince Uzbek government officials that gender issues are important not only for international relations, but also for development since there can be no democracy without gender equality.



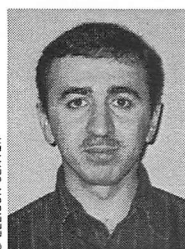
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KUBAT ASAN UULU is at the University of Washington on a Junior Faculty Development Program grant from the Department of State. This five-month grant will allow him to work on developing two new courses, “The American Historiography of the Central Asia of the 20th Century” and “National Movements and Nationalism in 20th Century Central Asia” for Naryn

State University, Kyrgyzstan. From his research, he will produce teaching materials, readers, textbooks and pamphlets for use in the aforementioned classes. In addition to exploring these

subject matters, Asan Uulu is attending conferences, seminars and classes to learn from American scholars as well as to make contacts within the field.

Finishing his undergraduate studies, Asan Uulu graduated from the Moscow State University’s Department of History in 1992. Upon his graduation, he taught at Bishkek Humanities University for four years. He has continued his teaching career at Naryn State University since 1996. Currently, he teaches courses on the history of Central Asia, Turkic peoples and ancient Greece and Rome. He has received numerous awards for his teaching, including Honors from the Kyrgyz Republic Ministry of Education.



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DONIYOR MURATOV came to the University of Washington as part of the Title Five grant aimed at promoting the teaching of Comparative Religion in five of Uzbekistan’s major Universities. Doniyor is a graduate of the Oriental Institute of Uzbekistan, receiving his diploma in 1999. Upon his graduation, he began research at the Tashkent Islamic University focusing

on Abdullah As-Subazmuni’s work, *Kasfal-asar*. His PhD dissertation was on Movarounnahr and Kharasan, two Central

Asian kingdoms of the Middle Ages, as seen in the Hadith. In addition to his research, Doniyor has been teaching a beginning level course on Religious Studies and an upper-division course on Hadith Studies to the students at the Tashkent Islamic University.

During his time in Seattle, Doniyor is focusing on comparative studies between the Hadith and the Talmud. Upon his return to Uzbekistan, he will develop master’s level courses on his topic.



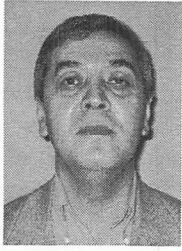
© DONO ZIYAEVA

DONO ZIYAEVA is another scholar who came to us from Tashkent, Uzbekistan, as part of the UW’s Title Five Comparative Religion Grant. A graduate of the History and Law Faculty at the Pedagogical University in Uzbekistan, she began her teaching career at the University of History’s Academy of Sciences. Dono returned to graduate school to get her PhD

from the Institute of Oriental Studies in 1990 and Doctor of Science in 1998. She has been teaching at the Institute of

History in Tashkent since 1994, leading classes on topics relating to colonial and religious history in Uzbekistan.

Enjoying the “wealth” of information to be found at Suzallo Library, Dono spent much of her time in Seattle preparing for the creation of a textbook on the History of Religion and Culture in Uzbekistan. This textbook will be used for future classes at the Institute of History. Another element of preparation for these comparative religion classes is her observance of pedagogical practices. She is also excited to be making important contacts with other scholars in her field.

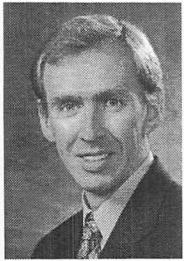


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ROVSHAN ABDULLAEV is Dono Ziyayeva's colleague at the Institute of History in the Academy of Sciences in Tashkent. His interest in history originally led him to study at the Tashkent State University's History Faculty, graduating with a diploma in 1974. He then went on to Fergana Pedagogical Institute's History Faculty, graduating with a diploma in 1978 and a

PhD in 1983. He continued his studies at the Institute of History at the Academy of Sciences of the USSR (Moscow) in 1991 and a Doctor of Sciences at the Institute of History at the Academy of Sciences in Uzbekistan in 1993.

The goal of his visit to Seattle is to conduct research on the ideological processes in Turkistan at the beginning of the 20th Century. More specifically, he is looking into the creation of National Political Parties, the Jadid movement and other "problems." He will incorporate both his research at the library and his interactions with experts at UW into a textbook he will write after his time in Seattle comes to an end in late April. He will co-author this textbook on the History of Religion and Culture in Uzbekistan with Dono Ziyayeva. He also intends to write a number of shorter articles for publication as well as to give presentations at other state schools this fall related to what he has learned about Comparative Religion at UW. ♦



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ANDREY VARLAMOV graduated from the Saratov State University's Biology Department in 1993. His interest in environmental issues led him to join "Russia's Bird Conservation Union" two years later. Three years ago, he traded in his volunteer status for that of full-time employee of this organization, analogous to the Audubon Society in the United States.

Out of a desire to learn more about how to engage the general population in his organization's activities, Andrey applied for,

and was granted, a Herbert H. Humphrey Fellowship. Through his fellowship, Andrey is auditing classes on Environmental Policy, Management of Non-Profit Organizations, Management of Endangered Species and Leadership Development. For the Professional Affiliation component of his fellowship, Andrey plans to work with the Seattle Chapter of the Audubon Society. Upon his return to Russia, he wants to encourage the general population to be more involved in environmental issues, particularly in encouraging the government to develop much needed environmental policies.



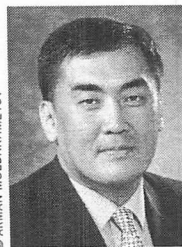
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NATALIA GAVRILOVA is a Carnegie Research Fellow, who came to UW because it is "one of the best research universities." She is particularly interested in the remarkable collection of Slavic Literature, where she is finding materials written by Joseph Brodsky. An author formerly censored in the Soviet Union, Brodsky's materials can be found in Russia only in hand-written

samizdat copies, whose ownership was punishable by imprison-

ment if discovered. She is utilizing the more extensive materials here to research Brodsky's perception of Anglo-American poetry.

While in the United States, Natalia plans to take part in a Comparative Studies: Literature conference in New York entitled, "Making Friendship." She will also present on English and American Poetry at the Symposium for students in the Slavic Languages and Literatures Department.



© ARMAN MOLDAKHMETOV

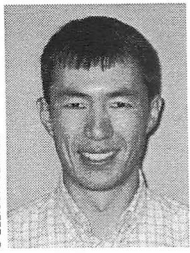
ARMAN MOLDAKHMETOV of Kazakhstan says, "The world is very small." This stems from his growing understanding of the interconnectedness of nations. In addition to having a BS from Moscow State Timeryazev Agricultural Academy and an MPA from the Western-staffed Kazakhstan Institute of Management, Economics and Strategic Research, Arman has gained a

broader understanding of the world. This full world paradigm was enhanced through his professional experience including employment at the Soros Foundation, the Royal Netherlands Embassy and the Foreign Investors' Council. In the FIC, he interacted with representatives of foreign companies interested in a variety of fields. These interactions fostered his growing interest in the globalization process. Consequently, Arman

applied and was accepted to the Hubert H. Humphrey Fellowship program.

The Humphrey fellowship includes both academic resources as well as practical, work-related experience. Hence, Arman has been taking advantage of classes and lectures by visiting scholars here at UW, learning more about the political and economic issues of various countries throughout the world. At the end of his fellowship this spring, he plans to go to Washington, DC to work with the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, which helps US businesses operate abroad. Upon his return to Kazakhstan, Arman plans to help his maturing nation steer through some of the obstacles before it. He believes that his time at UW will equip him to do just that from both the private and the public sector.

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TIMUR BAISERKEEV, a Herbert H. Humphrey Fellow, came to the University of Washington from Kyrgyzstan. He graduated from the Kyrgyz Institute of Economics and Management for his undergraduate education and then from the Academy of Management under the President of the Kyrgyz Republic with a Master's degree in Public Administration.

Even before completing his graduate studies, Timur was active in the non-profit sector, as a Coordinator for the youth organization, "Leader." Since more than 60% of the population considered young adults, Timur became interested in finding ways to encourage their involvement in the political

process. This led him to work as the Director of National Democratic Institute's Information Center for Democracy in Karakol and eventually to found the NGO, *Atuul* (Citizen).

During his time in Seattle, Timur has been busy attending various public hearings and City Council meetings, visiting Olympia to observe citizen involvement in government and observing projects organized by Seattle-based NGOs. Upon his return to Kyrgyzstan, he hopes to expand *Atuul* to the national level and to implement new projects to encourage student activity in the political process. One project he plans to implement involves honoring local leaders as a means of inspiring young leaders.



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KARINE TASLAKYAN studied at Yerevan State University, graduating from the department of Economics in 1997. In the workforce, she realized it would be beneficial to diversify her knowledge. Therefore, she participated in the 2003 International Summer School in Norway's Energy Planning and Sustainable Development program. She is now continuing her

education as a Muskie Fellow through the International Research and Exchange Board (IREX). The program, which brings students from the former Soviet Union to study in the US, will fund two years of study in a Master's program in Public Affairs at UW.

Recognizing Armenia's very limited natural resources and its small size (it is the smallest of the former Soviet states), Karine sees human capital as its primary resource. In order to utilize human capital, however, energy is necessary. Thus, reliable energy is vital to the country's future. For this reason, she has come to Seattle to study Environmental Policy to help prevent energy crises. Her education is something that will give her an advantage as she returns to Armenia with plans to influence public policy. One of her immediate plans is to start an NGO focusing on sustainable development and energy security. For women, this is the avenue to becoming a policy maker in Armenia as it reveals one's concerns and proposed solutions. Also, Karine lauds the manner in which NGOs get the public involved in policy formation.



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LEILA PISNAMAZOV came to the University of Washington from Moldova. She concurrently studied at the Academy of Economic Sciences and the Theological Pedagogical College in Moldova graduating in 2000 and 2003, respectively. She returned to school to get her MBA, graduating from the Academy of Public Administration in 2004. Professionally, she has been working

for Mission Without Borders, which is a Christian humanitarian organization serving people physically, emotionally and spiritually throughout East Europe. Her experience in the

office has helped her to realize that the biggest asset in an organization is the staff.

As a Herbert H. Humphrey Fellow, Leila is learning more about the development of Human Resources. She specifically hopes to gain skills in motivating people, resolving conflicts, retaining talent in an organization and implementing and managing change. In addition to Human Resources, Leila is interested in elderly care. Moldova does not provide government funding for the elderly, so she wants to help educate and motivate people to better care for their elderly family members.

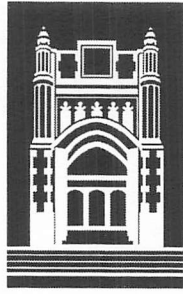


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SVITLANA BATSYUKOVA came to Seattle from Ukraine in order to get a second Masters in Public Affairs. She received her undergraduate diploma from the Donbass Mining and Metallurgical Institute in 2001. The National Academy of Public Administration, The President of Ukraine, Kharkiv Regional Institute in her home country was the institute from which she received her

first MPA. Her primary area of interest is human trafficking. Her studies are funded by IREX's Edmond Muskie fellowship.

After graduation, Svitlana will return to Ukraine to help her country in either a government position or with an international organizations such as the World Bank or the UN. Human trafficking is virtually an unexplored issue in Ukraine, although statistically it preys often on Slavic peoples. Svitlana hopes to encourage her colleagues to take advantage of international resources available to help stop this problem. Furthermore, she wants to help educate others in appropriate methods of research and implementation.



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UPCOMING ELLISON CENTER EVENTS

APRIL 22: Slavic Student Symposium

8:00 am–4:30 pm. Communications Room 126. For more information, visit <http://depts.washington.edu/slavweb>.

APRIL 24: UW Annual Slavic Fest

Russian Community Center, Seattle. For additional information, call the UW Alumni Association at 206-543-0540 or email alumni@u.washington.edu.

APRIL 29: 12th Annual REECAS NW Conference at UW Tacoma

"Occupation and Revolution in Eurasia's Borderlands." 9:00 am–6:00 pm. For more information, visit <http://jsis.washington.edu/ellison/reecasnw.shtml>. To register, call 206-543-4852 or email reecas@u.washington.edu. See page 11.

MAY 1: The Donald Treadgold Memorial Lecture

"Occupations in Borderlands: Russian and German Policies in Ukraine, 1914–1918." Dr. Mark von Hagen, Boris Bakhmeteff Professor of Russian Studies, Professor of History, Columbia University. Parrington Hall Commons, Room 308, 3:30 pm. Reception to follow.

MAY 6: 18th Annual Poppe Symposium

"Inner/Central Asian Studies." Denny Hall 215 and 215A, 8:30 am–6:00 pm. For more information, contact Professor Cirtautas at 206-543-9963 or icirt@u.washington.edu. See page 19.

MAY 7–9: Yiddish Theater Conference

"Yiddish Theater Revisited: New Perspectives on Drama and Performance." University of Washington Club. For more information, contact Rochelle Roseman at 206-543-4835 or roseman@u.washington.edu. See page 8.

MAY 12: Jackson School – Extensions Program Series: Hot Spots in Our World

"When is Democracy a Threat to Stability? Central Asian Leaders Argue Their Case." Charles F. Carlson, Former Director of Central Asian Services, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. 7:00–8:30 pm. Preregistration is required and entrance is \$15. To register, call 206-897-8939 or visit <http://www.extension.washington.edu/extspecial/jackson>.

JUNE 27–28: Summer Seminar for Educators

"Open a Book, Open Your World: Exploring International Literature." Kane Hall Room 110. Questions or inquiries, please call 206-543-6938 or email barnesk@u.washington.edu. For more information and registration, see page 23.

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



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