REECAS NEWSLETTER

RUSSIAN, EAST EUROPEAN AND CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES CENTER

JACKSON SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON AUTUMN 2000/WINTER 2001

Former Lithuanian President Landsbergis Visits the UW

BY GUNTIS SMIDCHENS

Lithuanian political leader Vytautas Landsbergis visited Seattle on Nov. 16–17 to celebrate the publication of his autobiography this year by the University of Washington Press. He presented a keynote lecture, "Lithuania on the Threshold of the New Millennium," and spoke at two other events: a roundtable about Lithuania's role in the breakup of the Soviet Union, and a workshop on Baltic ports, marine transportation, and economic integration.

An intensive schedule of meetings filled the former Lithuanian president's three-day visit. A live interview on KUOW, Seattle's public radio station, was followed by a half-hour of questions called in by the public. Slavic and East European Librarian Michael Biggins led a tour of the UW Library's Baltic collection. A visit with Robin McCabe, Director of the UW School of Music, presented opportunities for discussing Landsbergis' academic scholarship on the composer Mikalojus Ciurlionis. On the last day of his visit, unseasonably sunny weather accompanied the former president and his wife, Grazina Landsbergiene, on their trip to Mount Rainier.

Vytautas Landsbergis PHOTO © IRENA BLEKYS

The University of Washington is one of only two American universities that regularly offer instruction in the Lithuanian language. The UW Baltic Studies Program, established in 1994, has brought to campus a series of prominent speakers, including the presidents of Estonia and Latvia, as well. Listings of Baltic lectures and events at the UW can be found at *http://depts.washington.edu/baltic/lectures.html.* Landsbergis' book, *Lithuania: Independent Again,* can be ordered by calling the UW Press Order Department, 1-800-441-4115. ◆

Roundtable on "Lithuania and the End of the Soviet Union," Nov. 17, 2000. Left to right: Herbert Ellison, Violeta Kelertas, Vytautas Landsbergis, Stephen Hanson. PHOTO © IRENA BLEKYS

Guntis Smidchens is a lecturer in the Baltic Studies Program in the Department of Scandinavian Studies.

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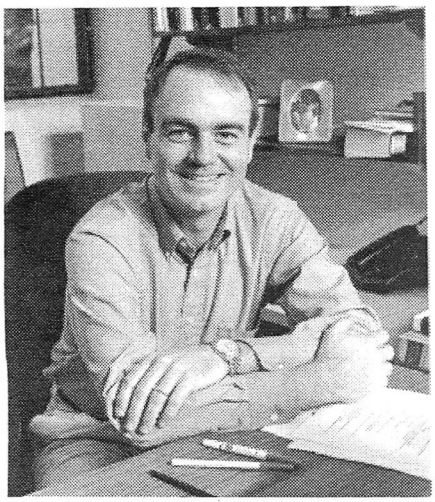
Letter from the Director

STEPHEN HANSON



It is a great honor to begin my first year as Director of the Russian, East European, and Central Asian Studies (REECAS) Program of the Jackson School of International Studies at the University of Washington, following in the footsteps of such distinguished scholars as Donald Treadgold, Herbert Ellison, Daniel Chirot, Daniel Waugh, and James West. I begin my directorship at a pivotal time in the development of our region. A decade after the collapse of communism in Europe, we continue to witness a truly revolutionary reconfiguration of post-communist political regimes, economic institutions, and cultural identity. And while there remain worrisome signs of creeping or overt authoritarianism in the poorer countries of the former USSR, events ranging from the revolution in Yugoslavia to the ongoing discussions concerning the eastward expansion of the European Union remind us that many trends in the region remain remarkably positive.

The REECAS Program continues to be at the intellectual forefront of such changes. In the past few months, we've sponsored a series of highly successful talks, conferences, and research projects dealing with the themes discussed above. Jeffrey Kopstein of the University of Colorado presented his recent work on the geographical diffusion of liberal and anti-liberal institutions throughout East-Central Europe and the former Soviet Union. In an event organized by our colleagues in the European Union Center, Geoffrey Gooch of Sweden's Linkoeping University presented his views on the prospects for cooperative environmental management in the Baltic States and Russia. Former Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis, whose autobiography has just been published by the University of Washington Press, came to campus in November to participate in a series of talks and conferences—including a roundtable on Lithuania's role in the breakup of the USSR, with Violeta Kelertas of the University of Illinois-Chicago and Herbert Ellison of the Jackson School, and a conference on Baltic ports organized by our own Vladimir Kaczynski. Our Baltic program was further enriched by the visit of well-known Latvian journalist and activist Karlis Streips. Meanwhile, Ilse Cirtautas continues to organize a remarkable seminar series in both Uzbek and Kazakh/Kirghiz studies, including a presentation this fall by visiting scholar Svetlana Manzhikova from Kirghizstan. Our other visiting scholar, Olena Synkova from Ukraine, has been working with the UW Libraries compiling a database of international treaties affecting postcommunist states. Finally, Sabrina Ramet continues her marvelous work as editor of the Treadgold Papers, which has emerged as one of the leading series of its kind in Russian and East European studies.

Another initiative that will contribute enormously to the depth and breadth of the REECAS Program is the new Institute for Global and Regional Security Studies (IGRSS), a collaboration with the Pacific Northwest Nuclear Laboratories to found a new center for the study of security issues, such as the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, ethnic conflict, and NATO expansion. IGRSS, which is directed by REECAS faculty associate Christopher Jones and which includes Mark Leek of Battelle and myself on its planning board, will focus on issues of general Eurasian security, both within Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union and in neighboring regions such as Western Europe, South

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Asia, and the Far East. IGRSS will also sponsor security-related courses on the REECAS region and provide support for REECAS graduate students interested in security problems.

REECAS will be sponsoring a number of additional lectures and conferences in the months to come. We received generous funding from the Jackson Foundation for an exciting speaker series on *Putin and the New Russian Foreign Policy* for the winter and spring of 2001; confirmed speakers thus far include Mark Kramer of Harvard, Steven Solnick of Columbia, Sarah Mendelson of Tufts, Celeste Wallander of the Council on Foreign Relations, and Michael McFaul and Anders Aslund of the Carnegie Endowment. In cooperation with the UW Center for Ethnic Conflict and Conflict Resolution, REECAS will sponsor talks by prominent scholars such as David Laitin, Ronald Suny, and Zoltan Barany. IGRSS also plans to sponsor several public events in upcoming months, including lectures by key policy-makers such as Ambassador Thomas Graham. Finally, in recognition of the University of Washington's outstanding reputation in Central Asian studies—and the distinguished scholarship of Ilse Cirtautas in particular—we have been chosen as the site of the Social Science Research Council's March 2001 dissertation workshop on the Transformation of Central Asian and Caucasian Societies.

I'd also like to announce an administrative change I've instituted to help ensure that the REECAS program continues to run smoothly: the creation of the new REECAS Executive Committee. This committee will be selected annually by the Director to include members from a range of important departments and schools represented in REECAS, such as Slavic Languages and Literatures, the professional schools, the social sciences, and the UW libraries. I am truly grateful to the REECAS scholars who have volunteered their time to help out on this committee, and whose names are listed on this newsletter's masthead. I'd also like to take this opportunity to thank this year's first-rate group of REECAS work-study students: Kelli Hash (newsletter editor), James Brewczynski (website assistant), James Ward (Treadgold Papers), and Vjeran Pavlakovic (Treadgold Papers). And we are very fortunate indeed that Jacob Kaltenbach—who manages to hold this whole enterprise together with both good humor and aplomb—has chosen to continue as REECAS Assistant Director during the current academic year.

I look forward to seeing many of you at REECAS events in 2001. In the meantime, I hope you enjoy this special double edition of the REECAS newsletter. Feel free to contact me at any time with your ideas for future program activities! ◆

Stephen Hanson is the REECAS Director/ Program Chair and Associate Professor of Political Science.

CALL FOR PAPERS

THE SEVENTH ANNUAL NORTHWEST REGIONAL CONFERENCE FOR RUSSIAN, EAST EUROPEAN, AND CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES WILL TAKE PLACE ON SATURDAY, APRIL 14, 2001, AT THE EVERGREEN STATE COLLEGE IN OLYMPIA, WASHINGTON.

We are currently soliciting papers, panels, or roundtable presentations for this one-day conference. Proposals from faculty, graduate students, and members of the general public are all welcome, and the topic is open within the broad REECAS mandate. Contributions on literature, the fine arts, the environment, post-Soviet foreign policy, historical research, economics, national identity, or any other relevant subjects are encouraged.

Small travel stipends may be available to graduate students travelling from outside the Puget Sound and Olympia areas, and carpooling will be arranged from Seattle, Tacoma, and other cities.

Expected special guests include Andreas Kappeler (Institute for East European History, University of Vienna), who will also be delivering the annual Donald W. Treadgold Lecture on Friday, April 13 in Seattle, and Mark Kramer (Director, Harvard Project on Cold War Studies, Harvard University), who will also be speaking in Seattle on Thursday, April 12 as part of the lecture series *Russian Foreign Policy in the Putin Era.*

If you would like to join the program, please reply by Monday, January 22, 2001 with your name and details, a title, and brief abstract to:

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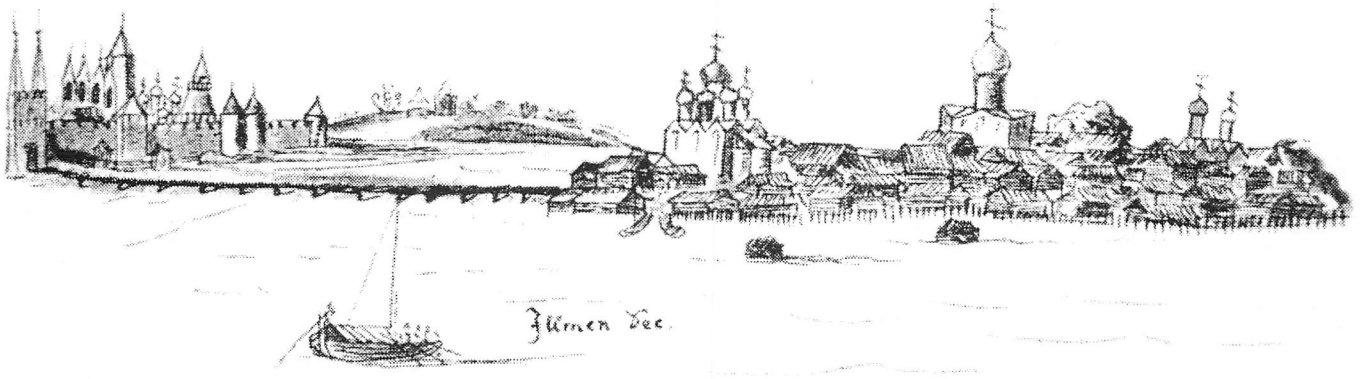
Novgorod – An Old City Forever New (and Renewed)

BY DANIEL C. WAUGH



Novgorod in the 1660's as shown in the Mayerberg Album.

Novgorod, the "New Town" or "New Fortress" if one takes the name literally, is in fact one of the oldest, historically most important, and best documented of Russian cities. Its heyday, though, was prior to the Muscovite conquest in the 1470's. That was soon followed by the closing of the Hanseatic League's regional branch there, and the final blow was its sack by Ivan the Terrible's terrible *oprichniki* in 1570. Foreign artists in the seventeenth century depicted a sleepy provincial town, with ruins but a still impressive kremlin. Later generations imagined in Novgorod's distinctive political history the model of the democratic path for Russia that had been cut off by Muscovite tyranny, and a capitalist entrepreneurial alternative to the heavy-handed mishandling of the economy exemplified by policies beginning with Peter the Great and culminating in Stalin's Five-Year Plans.[1] Surprise, then, when the U.S. Commerce Department's *Bisnis Bulletin* recently touted Novgorod as "A Great Opportunity." As the *Bulletin* explains,

> Novgorod...previously known mainly for its history and monuments, regularly places in the top ten regions for trade and investment. The reason is not great mineral resources, nor a powerful industrial base—Novgorod has neither—but rather, the no-nonsense, pro-business attitude of its business and political leaders.[2]

Precisely the characteristics that enabled Novgorod's elite to thrive astride some of the most important east-west trade routes in the middle ages. *Plus ça change....*

As a medievalist, I will not expand here on Novgorod's somewhat belated effort to enter the twentieth century. What I find of particular interest is how much there still is to learn about the city's history, and how much its past is being renewed or reinvoked, in ways that might make critics of historic restoration wince.

Let's start with archaeology, which in Novgorod has produced some of the most striking finds anywhere in the territories that were once medieval Russia. The exquisitely detailed Novgorod chronicles constantly remind the reader of the floods and rains that made life miserable then, but which left very damp soil—ideal for preserving organic matter. We have boots and hats, spoons and cradles, pieces of boats, pagan idols, drain pipes...and, most strikingly, many notes—accounts, personal letters, doodles by a bored child who was learning his alphabet—inscribed on the medium of choice, cheap birch bark. The discovery of the first of these in Novgorod just after World War II created a sensation. And the excavations go on, producing yet another sensation early this summer—three wax tablets apparently dating from around 1020, inscribed with portions of the Psalms and, under the wax, a text condemning paganism.[3] Here is, quite simply, the earliest confidently datable physical copy of church texts from anywhere in medieval Russia, antedating the Novgorodian Ostromir Gospels by some three decades. The same excavation yielded a birch bark with an image of St. Barbara on one side and Christ on the other—again, according to a news article, likely "the oldest Orthodox image of Saints in Russia ever found." Do these finds change our perceptions of the city's history? Probably not by much, but they are spectacular nonetheless and make us wonder what will be unearthed next.

For those who wish to learn about the Novgorodians' lives, so abundantly documented by the archaeologists, the museum in the kremlin has a rich and well-displayed collection. There, one can see the dishes, coins, clothing, chessmen, toys, and many examples of the birch bark documents, as well as more modern exhibits proving that the city really did survive the Terrible Ivan. The second floor of the museum displays another of the city's glories, its rich tradition of icon painting. The museum has a good web site (a bit cursory on its historical exhibits) with information on the city's history and culture, as well as a compendium of current news reports.[4] After returning from a trip to Novgorod in late August, I learned from this news site that I had unwittingly missed the "Ms. Tourism of the Globe" competition. Participants in national costume (from as far away as Bolivia, Malta, Turkey, and even the U.S.) were "to play a role of an air-hostess and to invite to come to their country, to seduce the spectators like the mermaid Ilmena from a Russian legend

seduced the merchant Sadko...." And to think, there I was in Novgorod missing this revival of a surely venerable local tradition, which happened to coincide with the very important church feast of the Dormition of the Mother of God, celebrated with due solemnity in the 11th-century Cathedral of Sancta Sophia.

As with its manuscripts and birch bark documents, Novgorod was particularly fortunate in the preservation of its art down to modern times. The city was never sacked by the Mongols. While like all early Russian cities it suffered continually from fire, the numerous small masonry churches preserved many of the icons, and some had surprisingly complete sets of frescoes on the walls. What the Mongols did not do, however, the Nazis did all too thoroughly in World War II (this is known as "modern progress"), and many of those churches were destroyed. A vivid reminder of this destruction was an exhibit this summer of what little is left from one of those sets of frescoes in the Church of the Savior at Kovalevo—painstakingly reconstructed from hundreds of thousands of fragments.

One would think that, by now, the interiors of the Novgorodian churches that did survive the war would have been thoroughly studied. Yet the work continues, with surprising results. The Cathedral of the Nativity of the Mother of God, in the St. Anthony Monastery, was built in the early 12th century. Only two decades ago was its architectural history properly unraveled, with important implications for our understanding of the development of Russian church architecture in other regions as well. The process of studying the church's iconography continues, contributing to new conclusions about the display of religious imagery prior to the emergence of the now familiar icon screen in the Orthodox Church. Only a few of the original paintings on the walls of the Church of the Nativity survive. While the "formal" paintings in the main part of the church reflect iconographic canons, there are also some interesting sketches in the tower stairwell. One depicts what some believe is the architect, offering the church to the Virgin Mary for her protection. The preservationists were at work in the stairwell again this summer and had just uncovered a striking image of a lion, common enough to carvings in some of the medieval Russian churches, but rare indeed in a wall painting, especially in Novgorod.

Preservation, however, raises interesting issues, for everywhere one turns in Novgorod there is the seemingly old which in fact may be quite new. An outdoor museum displaying striking wooden architecture painstakingly transported from various locations "recreates" a village that never was—even though every effort has been made to preserve original timbers and reconstruct the interiors for authenticity, down to the sheaves of grain placed under the icons to ensure fertility, and sprigs of wild herbs in the rafters to ward off evil spirits. This is Novgorod's version of Colonial Williamsburg or Old Sturbridge Village, although maybe in the American analogues the preservationists are already farther along the road to abandoning ideas of modern cleanliness, order, and prosperity for a bit of the disorder and economic and social inequality that were the reality of the "early modern" world.[5] Provided one is alert to the possible sanitizing of the old by modern restorers, the wooden architecture museum is an excellent place to learn about aspects of provincial Russian culture that often escape normal surveys of Russian history.[6]

Relocating and "fixing up" buildings is one thing, but does it make sense to rebuild from the ground up a twelfth-century church destroyed by the Nazis, now that its frescoes are beyond recovery? Yet that has been happening in Novgorod too. Even more problematic are the cases where what one now sees is neither new nor entirely old, but the visitor may be left to believe that all is ancient. A fine example is the Church of St. Nicholas, built in the prince's courtyard about the same time as the Church of the Nativity. Over the years, it lost its original cupolas and roof. In 1968, it had a single cupola and a hip roof. Now four more domes have been added and the presumably original curving roof line restored. The building is all the more striking when viewed from its north side: the neo-classical additions of the nineteenth century have been left in place and now seem even more incongruous, as the exterior of the main part of the church has been "restored" to its presumed appearance in a more distant past. In fact, at no point in its previous history did the church have its current appearance—you see today a building that truly never was.

Possibly, juxtapositions of new and old are less jarring in a consciously designed monument, such as the World War II memorial erected in the 1970's on a hill

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The Cathedral of the Nativity of the Mother of God, Monastery of St. Anthony.

PHOTO © DANIEL WAUGH

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overlooking the Volkhov River. Its mixed metaphors of ancient and modern warrior heroes include tanks and anti-aircraft guns, and a medieval warrior with a sword on a prancing horse crushing a swastika. Plaques with old Slavic lettering invoke the military ethos of armored knights in the distant past and the armored knights of the Soviet tank corps. Other monuments in the city, such as the Millennium Monument erected in the kremlin in 1862, also raise interesting questions about how later generations invoke and interpret their past.

Do seize the opportunity to visit Novgorod, if not to invest, then at least to savor its history, to hear the ethereal church singing once again reverberate in the lofty spaces of its great cathedrals, and to learn how its traditions are being reshaped and invoked as part of its modern identity. Indeed, Novgorod's distant past is being rediscovered and constantly renewed. ◆

Daniel Waugh is Associate Professor of History and International Studies at the University of Washington. Professor Waugh has a web site on his area of specialization, "Medieval and Early Modern Russia and Ukraine" (http://faculty.washington.edu/dwaugh/rus/ruspg1.html), and has created several Novgorod web pages specifically to elaborate on material in this article (http://faculty.washington.edu/dwaugh/rus/novgorod/novgindx.html).

1 See Thomas C. Owen, "Novgorod and Muscovy as Models of Russian Economic Development," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, XIX (1995), pp. 497-512.

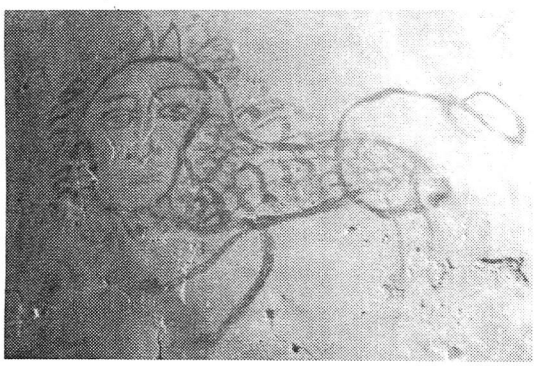
2 Rachel Freeman, "Novgorod Veliki: A Great Opportunity," *Bisnis Bulletin*, May 1998, p. 1; online at *www.bisnis.doc.gov/bisnis/bulletin/9805NOVG.htm*.

3 Andrei Zolotov, Jr., "Ancient Tablets Unearthed in Novgorod," *The Moscow Times*, Sept. 6, 2000 *(www.themoscowtimes.com/stories/2000/09/06/001.html)*.

4 The museum web site is at *eng.novgorod-museum.ru*, from which one can click on "News." A second good Novgorod web site "Novgorod On-Line" is run by the university *(www.novgorod.ru/english)*. There, under "History," one can find particularly good pages on icons and a lot of illustrations of historic architecture.

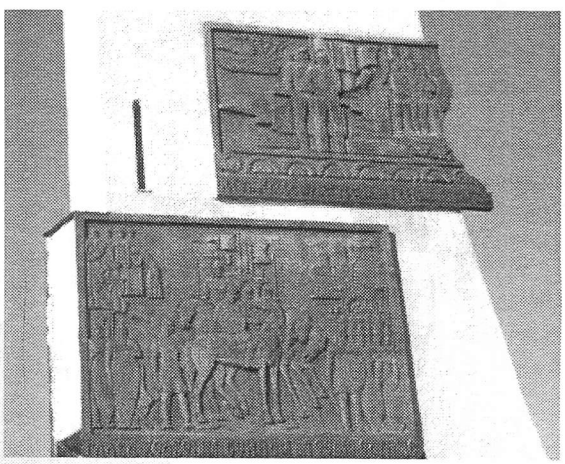
5 See Katherine Ashenburg, "Williamsburg Rethinks History," *The New York Times*, September 24, 2000, Late Edition (East Coast), pp. 5, 11; full text available through subscribing libraries in National Newspaper database *(www.umi.com/pqdauto)* or, for a fee, from The New York Times *(www.nytimes.com)*.

6 I use the word "sanitizing" deliberately—in Williamsburg, on streets once swept clean, one can expect now to step around (or if not careful, in) some very real piles of horse droppings.



Left: Twelfth-century fresco of a lion, tower stairwell, Cathedral of the Nativity, Monastery of St. Anthony.

Right: World War II Memorial, 1974, detail.



Left: Church of St. Nicholas, 1113, with 19th-century additions and late 20th-century "restorations."

PHOTOS © DANIEL WAUGH

Internship Report: A Summer in Ukraine

Downtown Kiev on Ukrainian Independence Day. PHOTO © JAMES BREWCZYNSKI

Students of international studies who are interested in supplementing their education with relevant work experience should consider applying for a State Department internship abroad. Few internships can compete with the responsibilities and opportunities afforded by a position in an American embassy or consulate. I had the chance to experience this last summer as an intern in the Economic Section of the American embassy in Kyiv (Kiev), Ukraine. Both challenging and rewarding, my internship provided me with first-hand knowledge of how the Foreign Service operates. Along the way, I learned the rewards and shortcomings of working in a government position.

My exposure to the workings of the Foreign Service began as soon as I was accepted as an intern. Believing that the best way to prepare students for a career in the Foreign Service is to have them do the actual work of embassy staff, the Department of State requires that interns assume a greater share of responsibility than is the case with many internships. Because the position involves access to confidential material, interns must pass a thorough background check. As soon as I was conditionally accepted to the internship program, I was obliged to provide the State Department's Bureau of Diplomatic Security with personal, academic, and professional information for the past ten years. All responses were then reaffirmed in the presence of a special investigator from the bureau. Unfortunately, this process is subject to bureaucratic foot-dragging and can take more than three months. It wasn't until after I arrived in Kyiv that I found out that I had indeed passed; I received "secret" level clearance, the minimum required to work in the embassy. Another intern was not so lucky; someone in the department mislaid her security questionnaire. She spent the entire summer in Kyiv but was not allowed to work in the embassy itself. The recent spate of security breaches, as well as the high probability of terrorism, suggests that this situation will continue for some time.

Once I arrived in Kyiv, I began work in the Economic Section. Since I have little experience in this field, I started with a great deal of reading and research on the current state of the Ukrainian economy. The United States has targeted Ukraine for substantial economic assistance, a fact that accounts for the high profile of American diplomatic and aid staff in this country. Chief among US concerns is the progress Ukraine is making towards establishing a market economy, including the implementation of transparent systems of production and accounting.

Unfortunately, Ukraine is plagued by a slew of difficult problems, including wage arrears and nonpayment of government and corporate accounts. Moreover, independent enterprises complain that the high tax and regulatory burden imposed by the Ukrainian government prevents them from operating profitably. To avoid these burdens, many businesses choose to recede into the unofficial or "shadow" economy, operating out of the government's sight. Others simply refuse to disclose their true profits to the tax administration, or they pay bribes to corrupt officials to evade their obligations. Although reliable data is scarce, recent research indicates that the "shadow" economy is at least as large as the official one. So pervasive is this problem that my supervisor was compelled to comment that, according to the official figures, "half the (Ukrainian) population should be dead." The shadow economy, corruption, and Ukraine's slow pace of privatization have all served to scare away foreign investment; currently, Ukraine attracts only a fraction of the amount invested in either Poland or Hungry. Nor has the average Ukrainian citizen benefited from privatization; per-capita GDP has sunk to around 750 US dollars.

The Economic Section is concerned with several other aspects of Ukraine's transition, including the closure of the Chernobyl nuclear facility and the growth of music and software piracy in Ukraine. Currently, Ukraine is one of the largest producers of pirated media in the world, and the leading producer in Europe. Illicit copies of the latest recordings and CD-ROMs appear on nearly every street corner and marketplace within hours of the originals, and cost the equivalent of two US dollars per disk. Accordingly, my last responsibility was assisting in the organization of a video conference between Ukrainian and American officials whose task it is to stop such piracy. Unfortunately, Ukraine's slow progress on this issue means that it will have to work harder in the future if it is to claim a spot among the developed economies of Europe.

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Statue of Bohdan Khmelnytsky.
PHOTO © JAMES BREWCZYNSKI

In addition to my own research, I had the opportunity to participate in interviews with Ukrainian government officials and business leaders. Far from simply observing the work of the Foreign Service, interns have the opportunity to influence policy. For example, the information I gleaned from research and interviews provided the basis for a series of diplomatic cables I sent back to officials in Washington, DC. Such reporting is the greatest strength of the Foreign Service and provides the government with valuable information. Unfortunately, this asset is not always recognized; one employee deplored the fact that the State Department receives inadequate funding in comparison with other intelligence-gathering bodies within the federal government. This situation has hurt morale among Foreign Service Officers (FSOs), causing many to question the relevance of their work. Frustrated and lured by higher salaries elsewhere, many are leaving the department altogether.

One downside to this type of internship is the demanding schedule; interns are required to work the same 45-hour week as FSOs and have little time to immerse themselves in the country where they are posted. The illusion of being in an island of American culture was reinforced by the presence of a small store on the embassy grounds, featuring western-style groceries, household items, and liquor. Other amenities included duty-free shopping and cozy State Department housing. Our apartment was free of charge, and my fellow interns and I lived like kings, enjoying such luxuries as filtered water and air-conditioning! Of course, whether such trappings accentuate or detract from the experience is up to each intern to decide. I did have several opportunities to travel on business to places well outside the capitol, including a weekend visit to a Peace Corps English-language camp for Ukrainian university students. It was only on such trips that I felt truly within another country, as they provided glimpses of Ukraine's post-Soviet culture and society. Back in Kyiv, we typically spent our free time exploring the restaurants and clubs, most of which cater to westerners and wealthy "new" Ukrainians. All things considered, I am extremely glad I had the opportunity to work and live in Ukraine.

Generally, internships are available year-round and include positions both in the US and at embassies and consulates abroad. Deadlines typically fall seven months before the expected starting date, to allow for the selection and security processes. Interns usually serve for one semester or quarter, or for a minimum of ten weeks during the summer. An applicant must be a US citizen and a junior, senior, or graduate student. Additionally, all applicants must return to their studies at the end of the internship. Interns at overseas posts are responsible for providing their own food and personal items, health insurance, and airfare. Housing is not always provided, but the State Department will assist an intern with arrangements. For more information on the program, contact Betsy Bridwell in the Jackson School career services office at 206-543-0176 or e-mail: *betsyb@u.washington.edu.* ◆

James Brewczynski is completing an MA in the REECAS program. He is employed as website assistant in the REECAS office.

SPIRITUAL SPACES AROUND THE WORLD

Summer Seminar for Educators, Grades 7-12

JUNE 27, 28, 29, 2001

This three-day seminar will explore arenas for spiritual encounters throughout the world. Through lecture presentations, panel discussion, and fieldtrips, participants will be introduced to temples, mosques, cathedrals, family altars, and other less structured zones of spiritual exchange. Discussion will be led by UW faculty and coordinated with Seattle's diverse ethnic and religious communities to provide registrants with a unique and fascinating cultural education.

The registration fee will be $95, which includes 24 clock hours at no additional charge. Fieldtrips connected with the seminar require that space be limited to the first sixty registrants. For further information and registration forms, watch for future mailings from Jackson School centers and programs, call Felicia Hecker at 206-543-4227, or email: *fhecker@u.washington.edu.*

Post-1991 Russia in the UW Libraries' Collection

BY MICHAEL BIGGINS

Rapid changes in formats, distribution, and ownership have revolutionized the publishing industry worldwide throughout the 1990's, but publishers in Russia have also been challenged by the collapse of an entire economic system, the loss of huge markets and subsidies, and a massive turn away from state-sponsored ideology and the institutions of censorship. It is a wonder that any functioning publishing industry has survived in Russia at all. Yet, on the verge of the twenty-first century, Russian publishing is remarkably robust and arguably produces more books, periodicals, and newspapers of intrinsic interest than saw the light of day during any comparable period of Soviet rule. However, the trajectory from state-sponsored to private industry has been anything but an unbroken upward arc. Economic crises, non-existent distribution networks, and infatuation with quick, massive profits—among many other factors—have all served to define Russia's publishing landscape since 1990. A few features of the drab but stable Soviet-era industry may indeed still be worth waxing nostalgic over, at least until their viable, free-market counterparts can evolve.

At UW, Russia remains the centerpiece of the Libraries' resources for REECAS, as it has been since the library's earliest systematic efforts to develop a collection to support faculty and students of UW's Far Eastern and Russian Institute in the 1940's. More than half of the approximately 390,000 books, 10,000 periodicals, and thousands of microfilm sets that make up the Libraries' REECAS collections are from or about Russia and the former Soviet Union. Each year, some 2,500 new books and current issues of over 800 periodicals and newspapers from or about Russia are received and processed. The collection's foundation strengths are, of course, Russian literature, language, and history, but there are broad and deep holdings in a host of other fields as well—Russian economic and social conditions, political systems, visual arts, theater, cinema, philosophy, ethnology, and religion.

For decades, the methods for developing this vast library resource—by itself comparable in size to a good-sized municipal library—were stable and changed only very slightly. Staff of the Libraries' Slavic and East European Section obtained many new Russian materials through purchase from intermediary book and periodical vendors in the U.S. or Western Europe, but half of all REECAS acquisitions came to UW via the highly diversified network of interlibrary exchanges that we maintained with major libraries in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Due to governmental strictures and because currencies were not convertible, state enterprises within the East bloc were prevented from doing business directly with the West. Trade, however, in the more basic sense of barter—with no money changing hands—was permissible between cultural institutions in the East and West. From a very early date, many U.S. libraries concluded agreements with their Soviet counterparts to exchange books and journals on just such a basis. The UW Libraries' exchange ties with the Russian State (formerly Lenin) Library in Moscow, the Russian National (formerly Saltykov-Shchedrin) Library in St. Petersburg, and other Russian libraries of national or regional importance were established as part of this broader network and remain productive even within the context of Russia's new market-oriented economy.

The collapse of the Soviet Union generated a few shock waves for U.S. libraries, but with time these subsided and gave way to opportunities. Mezhkniga (short for Mezhdunarodnaia kniga, or International Book), the Soviet-era monopoly charged with distributing books and journals abroad through exclusive concessions to a small number of strategically placed Western firms, had functioned well as the arm of a command economy, but it found itself ill-equipped to do business in market conditions. New firms in the U.S. and Russia emerged to fill the vacuum—some of them almost immediately, such as East View Publications in Minneapolis; others, only gradually, such as the various firms and private entrepreneurs within Russia who, with much perseverance, have managed to find their way around the bureaucratic obstacles that still block the path of any company interested in export.

The complexion of Russian book publishing has been extremely varied over the course of the past decade, with many notable highs and a large share of lows, as the industry at first invented, and then discovered the ground rules of operating within a free market. One of

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the brighter constants of the decade has been the attempt to make up for over eight decades lost to the tyranny of ideology. The final years of perestroika in the late 1980's already saw the publication of previously forbidden works by repressed Soviet-era politicians, intellectuals, and scientists (Bukharin, Solzhenitsyn, Oleg Volkov, Nikolai Vavilov). The reclamation of pre-1917 Russian culture has been a steady leitmotif of the entire decade, marked by the first publications in Russia since 1917 of such figures as Nikolai Berdiaev, Vladimir Solovyov, Vasily Rozanov, Vladimir Nabokov, and numerous other pre-revolutionary or Russian émigré authors. Many of these first Russian editions include extensive new commentaries, annotations, variant texts, and other critical resources compiled by Russian scholars, and they represent major additions to the scholarly canon. Attempts to make the post-1917 intellectual achievements of the outside world accessible to Russian readers have been greatly helped through grant programs and sponsorships such as the Open Society Institute's Translation Project, which has underwritten the costs of commissioning first-time Russian translations of hundreds of major works by authors from Nietzsche, Freud, and Keynes to Hayek, Sartre, and Barthes. Finally, contemporary Russian authors have gradually found a new footing within radically changed social circumstances, and by the end of the decade were publishing in far more reassuring numbers than at its stressful beginning. As for books as physical artifacts, product quality now stands at an all-time, post-1917 high: with profit margins finally wide enough to allow for serious investment in new printing equipment, books printed on gray newsprint are at last relatively rare (except in less prosperous provinces), and print and binding quality generally meet international standards. Save for the obvious language difference, a book picked up from a stand at the Moscow Book Fair is likely to be nearly indistinguishable from its counterpart in Frankfurt. This was almost never the case in 1990.

With post-Soviet publishing reaching its ten-year zenith in the late 1990's, one of the most gratifying trends has been the large volume of previously unavailable or suppressed archival material pertaining to all aspects of Imperial and Soviet Russia that has finally found its way into print. These publications range from collections of pre-revolutionary political party documents, to collections of archival materials from Soviet governmental and administrative bodies (the CPSU and Central Committee, NKVD and KGB, Comintern, and others), to hundreds of individual monographs based on manuscripts long kept concealed in private desk drawers or submerged in state archives. The disclosure of Russia's twentieth-century heritage will continue into the next decade, making this a critically important time for building strong library collections.

There have also been low points, to be sure. The virtual glut of mafia and mystery novels, harlequin romances, and other pulp products that dominated the market in the mid-1990's has finally fallen to a level commensurate with any normal book market. Pirated editions continue to be a problem, though a diminishing one, as the general level of sophistication and publishers' assertiveness about copyright has steadily risen since the passage of a new Russian copyright act in 1993. A frequent complaint of Russia's major libraries is that many publishers refuse to submit the depository copies of each book produced, which the law requires; publishers counter that submitting 86 free copies of each new book, which are then distributed among libraries of national and regional importance, is a prohibitive expense. Estimates are that legal depository copies are regularly delinquent on anywhere from fifteen to twenty percent of all new books.

As in most countries in transition, Russian publishers championing their product as a cultural good that serves the national interest have often found themselves pitted against government functionaries who see in books merely another taxable commodity, and a highly productive one, at that. Farther west, in East Central Europe, the tax collectors have generally won out, but it is unclear whether foreign precedent gives any hint of future policy in Russia. In contrast to East Central European countries, Russian publishers, even relatively small ones, enjoy the advantages of scale of a vast potential readership numbering in the tens of millions.

In the last years of the Soviet Union, from 1985 to 1990, the total publishing output of the Russian Republic hovered around 50,000 titles per year. After the 1991 revolution and the Russian Federation's first bout of serious economic crisis in 1993, total annual output sank to around 30,000 titles. An economic boom, a crisis, and a recovery later, in 1998 and 1999, annual book production finally nudged upwards into a range from 40,000 to 45,000—an impressive figure, especially considering that large state subsidies no longer prop up the industry, and that publishing in the fields of science and technology is radically down due to Russia's brain drain. What is telling is that roughly 65% of these titles are published in Moscow (55%) or St. Petersburg (10%), a significantly higher proportion than in Soviet times.[1] The lack of a functioning book distribution network makes it difficult for most provincial titles to find their way to major cities anywhere in the country, let alone the two capitals; even at the end of the decade, publishing in this sprawling landscape remains highly regionalized. It is likely that the advent of electronic books will help transcend these geographical barriers; an efficiently functioning distribution network for printed books will probably not fall into place in the near term.

Digital formats, including e-journals, online newspapers, and databases, are already important for Russian publishers, but their growth over the next five years as a share of the country's total publishing market may lag behind trends in the West, as Internet access in Russia is expected to grow gradually from a modest nine million users in 2000 to fifteen million in 2003—or about 8% of the country's total population.

In late 2000, the Russian publishing market is flourishing, at least in the traditional capitals of Moscow and St. Petersburg. A fair number of Soviet-era imprints now function as viable, market-oriented enterprises, including Iskusstvo, Muzyka, Detskaia literatura (all supporting their namesake fields), and Prosveshchenie, Mysl', and Vysshaia

shkola (for university level textbooks). General interest Soviet-era publishers such as Molodaia gvardiia (which continues to publish the excellent biographical series Zhizn' zamechatel'nykh liudei), Respublika (renamed from Sovremennik), and Sovremennyi pisatel' (renamed from Sovetskii pisatel') have redefined their missions and are addressing reader demand. A pleiade of new imprints clustered around the Russian Academy of Sciences, and continuing that respected tradition of publishing in the social sciences and humanities, includes such new names as Nasledie, Indrik, and Dmitrii Bulanin, as well as Nauka, Vostochnaia literatura, and other holdovers — or revivals, such as Academia, from earlier decades. A great deal of energy in Russia's publishing scene has been generated by new, private publishing houses, some of which have staked out a large popular market in order to subsidize the publication of less profitable, but higher quality titles; Terra, Vagrius, and Zakharov are three standouts in this area. An impressive number of new publishers have made high-quality publishing their primary, if not sole, mission: Golos, Simpozium, Sabashnikovy, Slovo, Vodolei, Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, Aleteiia, Ellis Lak, Ivan Limbakh, Soglasie, Iazyki russkoi kul'tury, Rosspen (Rossiiskaia politicheskaia entsiklopediia), and at least two dozen more. REECAS newsletter readers can peruse typical titles by these publishers by pointing a web browser at the UW Libraries' catalog *(www.catalog.lib.washington.edu/search)* and searching individual publishers' names as keywords, or contact the Libraries' Slavic and East European Section *(slavinfo@u.washington.edu)* for more information. ◆

Michael Biggins is the UW's Slavic and East European Studies Librarian.

1 K.M. Sukhorukov, "Knizhnaia statistika kak zerkalo otrasli," in Knizhnoe delo, 1999, no. 2/3: 8-9.

IN THE EYE OF THE REVOLUTION

A Symposium on Early Soviet Film

Friday, March 2, 2001 from 8:30 a.m. – 5:30 p.m.

HUSKY UNION BUILDING (HUB), ROOM 310
FILM SCREENING IN A LOCATION TO BE ANNOUNCED

SPONSORED BY REECAS/JSIS, SLAVIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES, THE WALTER CHAPIN SIMPSON CENTER FOR THE HUMANITIES, THE COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, COMPARATIVE LITERATURE, AND INTERDISCIPLINARY ARTS AND SCIENCES (UW TACOMA).

A day of new perspectives on classics from the early Soviet film era, including presentations on Sergei Eisenstein, Dziga Vertov, Stalinist musicals of the 1930's, discourse and politics in Soviet film art, and a roundtable discussion on teaching with and about film.

PARTICIPANTS INCLUDE

Anthony Anemone, *College of William and Mary*
Zhoran Kuzmanovic, *Davidson College, North Carolina*
Anne Nesbet, *University of California, Berkeley*

and from the UW, Jennifer Bean, Gordana Crnkovic, Galya Diment, Anthony Geist, Bruce Kochis, Amarilis Lugo de Fabritz, William Richardson, Steven Shaviro, and Lynne Walker.

Moderated by Galya Diment, Acting Chair and Professor of Slavic Languages and Literatures.

The symposium is free, and pre-registration is not required. A reception will follow, at 5:45 p.m. in the Walter Chapin Simpson Center for the Humanities.

FOR MORE INFORMATION PLEASE CALL 206-543-4852.

Bosnia: Two Field Reports

Bosnia. The name unleashes a torrent of images from the war of the 1990's. For many, 'Bosnia' has become synonymous with fratricide and genocide. Its capital, Sarajevo, is justly known for its resilience and its defiance. Bosnia is a shattered place, pockmarked by bullets, scarred by flames, and infested with landmines. Despite (or perhaps because of) the Dayton Peace Accords, the country remains unified in name only, with little popular faith in a multiethnic solution to the country's troubles. Some wounds are healing, while others fester openly. Although it is slowly rebuilding, Bosnia remains at peace largely because it is an occupied country, and the Serbs, Croats, and Bosnian Muslims have not necessarily abandoned their nationalist programs. The article that follows chronicles two separate journeys to the former Yugoslav republic's heart and official capital from opposite directions. Vjeran Pavlakovic traces his journey along the Neretva River from Bosnia's south, while Phil Lyon describes his trip through the Republika Srpska, to Sarajevo, and along the Neretva to the Croatian coast.

A Dry Bosnian Summer

VJERAN PAVLAKOVIĆ

Crossing the border between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina at Metković, in southern Dalmatia, you cannot tell at first that you have entered a different country. It is true that both Croatia and Bosnia were once part of Yugoslavia, but, after the brutal wars from 1991–1995 that also involved Serbia, Montenegro, and Slovenia, these two former republics became separate, sovereign states. The Dayton Peace Accords (December 1995) established a unified Bosnia, albeit one divided between two entities — Republika Srpska and the Muslim-Croat Federation, which is inhabited by Serbs, Croats, and Bosniaks (the term now used for Bosnian Muslim Slavs). Even though Herzegovina, the southwest region of Bosnia, is a part of the Federation, the only flags on view are modified Croatian flags, and the *šahovnica* (the checkerboard Croatian coat-of-arms) is prominently displayed in all of the shops.

During the war, Croatian nationalists (supported by the regime of Franjo Tudjman in Croatia) created their own para-state, Herceg-Bosna, which they intended to attach to Croatia. The international community insisted on a unified Bosnia, forcing Herceg-Bosna to dissolve, but not all Bosnians are dedicated to their state's preservation, nor have they abandoned their nationalist goals.

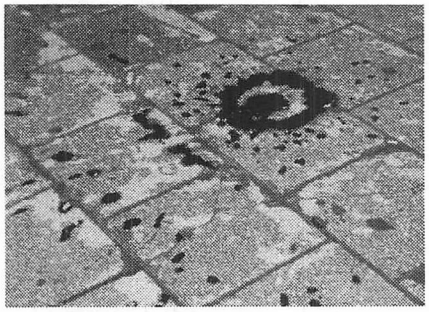
I was heading to Sarajevo to do some research in the National Archive and the Institute for History, and to see how much reconstruction had taken place under the direction of the international community. One telling sign of Bosnia's "unity" was the fact that bus service from Dubrovnik, Croatia to Sarajevo, in the center of the country, followed a long, indirect route so as to avoid driving through Republika Srpska. After driving through the summer wildfires devastating the Dalmatian coast, the bus crossed the border and followed the slow moving river Neretva, whose water-level was incredibly low due to a drought that had lasted all summer throughout Herzegovina.

Ruin of Oslobodjenje (daily newspaper), which is not being reconstructed, in order to remain a symbol of the war. PHOTO © VJERAN PAVLAKOVIC

The drive through this bleak landscape is grim. The dry, rocky terrain and barren hills allow for an unobstructed view of the consequences of warfare in the Balkans. Garbage lies on both sides of the road. Seemingly endless strands of yellow ribbon indicate minefields. The already sparse vegetation is punctuated by the presence of blackened, burned earth where crops once grew. The bus passed through the town of Čaplinja, now a collection of the skeletal remains of houses.

The entire road from the border to Mostar, Herzegovina's main city, is lined with uninhabited and devastated villages. However, past several of the destroyed communities, a new set of equally uninhabited and skeletal buildings jut out of the dirt, only these houses are half built. They are further evidence of Tudjman's meddling in Bosnia's affairs. These new houses — built on the cropland of the destroyed villages, and thus ruining the possibility of growing crops and sustaining the population — were funded entirely by the Croatian government, in order to resettle Bosnian Croats from central Bosnia and permanently change the ethnic character of formerly Muslim areas. The new government in Croatia completely changed policy towards Bosnia, cutting off funding to Croats in Herzegovina and leaving this attempt at ethnic engineering half finished. Apparently, the international community has also reduced its contribution to Herzegovina: much of the previous aid ended up in the pockets of criminals or corrupt politicians. Therefore, the communities along the Neretva remain nearly deserted.

The city of Mostar, lying on either side of the Neretva, was the scene of heavy fighting between Croats (on the west side of the river) and Muslims (on the east side). The city's ancient Ottoman bridge, destroyed by Croatian gunners, is now being pulled out of the Neretva by international organizations; the white



Saravejo Rose. PHOTO © VJERAN PAVLAKOVIC

stones can be seen lying on the riverbank, neatly arranged and numbered, while a temporary wooden bridge connects the two sides. Even though numerous apartment buildings, schools, bus stations, and other municipal buildings remain bullet-ridden and partially destroyed, most of the reconstruction work seems to be taking place on Catholic churches and mosques, which were specifically targeted because of their symbolic importance. Instead of trying to rebuild the community as a whole, each side seems to be focusing on renewing only those symbols of the ethnic pride that tore the country apart.

North of Mostar, the road to Sarajevo leaves the desolate brownness of Herzegovina and follows the winding Neretva through a dramatic gorge flanked by ragged cliffs and imposing mountaintops. The region around Sarajevo is full of green rolling hills, lakes, and narrow roads on which locals risk their lives passing the ubiquitous military convoys and buses. Another sign of the fragile peace is the fact that the license plates do not denote the origin of the cars (unlike the plates in the other former Yugoslav republics). In fact, they utilize only those letters that are the same in both the Latin and Cyrillic alphabets (A, E, K, J, M, O, and T), so as not to distinguish between drivers from the Federation or Republika Srpska.

The city of Sarajevo is a long, narrow urban center ringed by mountains and hills, from which Serbian artillery rained destruction on the inhabitants for more than three years. While some of the newly reconstructed apartment buildings on the outskirts of the city give the illusion of normality, approaching the city center along the street once known as Sniper Alley reveals the true fate of Sarajevo. Nearly every building over four stories bears the scars of tank shells, small arms fire, the symmetrical patterns left by shrapnel from artillery rounds, and the dark scorch marks of incendiary munitions used by Serb gunners; it was precisely this type of artillery round that destroyed the National Library, once the largest collection of Ottoman documents in the Balkans. Surreally, some apartment high-rises were inhabited and partially rebuilt, even though the upper floors still had gaping holes through which one could see. Any open fields, including parks whose trees had been chopped down to provide firewood and the land around the sports complex built for the 1984 Olympic Games, were full of white posts, revealing both the sheer number of graves and how difficult it was to bury the dead properly while under attack. Along the streets, even in reconstructed areas, signs of the war are unavoidable. "Sarajevo roses," spots where mortar rounds left holes in the sidewalk, are filled in with red plaster to remind the living of those *sarajlija* (inhabitants of Sarajevo) who were killed going to work, waiting in bread lines, or running from snipers while getting water. Memorials to the war end with the lines "Never Forget."

The first family I stayed with had sent two of their sons, Rudo and Zlatko, to fight in the Federation army, and the elder brother still had so many pieces of metal in him, from wounds received when his trench was hit by artillery, that he sets off metal detectors. The matron of the family, Halida, a Muslim woman who had married a Catholic, complained bitterly about the rapid pace of mosque building (instead of investment in more urgent economic reconstruction) as she refilled my coffee cup for the umpteenth time. During the war, she said, one of the hardest things was getting by without coffee, which was extremely expensive on the black market, and an integral part of Bosnian culture. Now, there is certainly no shortage of coffee, nor is there a shortage of the constantly lit, cheap *Drina* cigarettes that filled any indoor space with thick smoke. It was interesting that a package of cigarettes, a beer, and a postcard of Sarajevo all cost the same price – two Convertible Marks (KM), or about one US$. Even though cigarettes were much cheaper in Republika Srpska, which actually included some neighborhoods of Sarajevo, Rudo and Zlatko could not go there; having served in the Federation army, they risked being recognized by Serbs who had fought against them.

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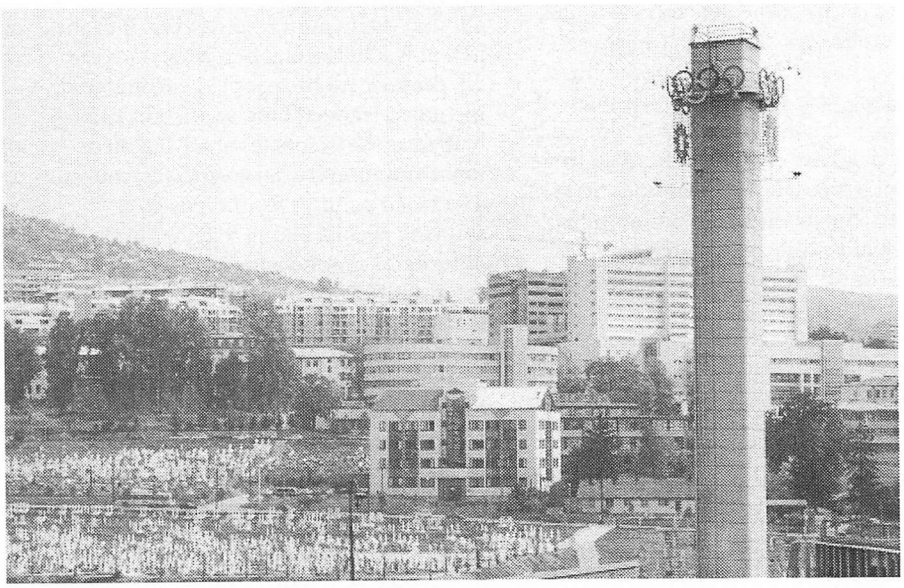

Olympic Village in Sarajevo with graves in all open spaces. PHOTO © VJERAN PAVLAKOVIC

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Zlatko and Rudo took me for a walk along Marshall Tito Square, which is actually a long pedestrian street along which all the facades were rebuilt and freshly painted. The streets were filled with young people dressed in the latest European fashions, and so were the cafes, which blasted American dance music. NATO soldiers roamed through the crowds, generally unarmed but uniformed; the Italians were the most distinct, with large black feathers sticking out of their berets. The street winds past a newly restored Orthodox church, a Catholic church, and Begova djamija (Beg's Mosque), ending in the old Turkish quarter *(baš čaršija)*. Heavily damaged in the siege, the quarter has been rebuilt and is now crowded with shoppers and merchants. While billboards did thank other Islamic countries for their support, there was a much less visible Islamic presence than I had expected. In four days, I saw neither long-bearded *mujahedin* nor any veiled women, although many women do wear head scarves, which are common in other non-Muslim regions of the former Yugoslavia. It is true that I was almost exclusively in urban areas, but I think many reports in the Western press have exaggerated the influence of strict Islam in Bosnia.

I spent the last two days with Vlado, an older *sarajlija* who knew the city inside out. Ethnically a Serb, he was married to a Croatian woman, and when I first met him, he said, "my first name is Sarajlija, and my last name is Bosanac." This term is different from the new term Bosniak, which refers specifically to Muslims. During the war, he had delivered humanitarian aid to people on all sides of the conflict, which nearly cost him his life at the hands of extremists from all three ethnic groups. He said that both Serbian soldiers and defenders of Sarajevo had shot at him while he was driving in a truck convoy to Sarajevo, even though he was bringing food and medical supplies into the besieged city. This was not because the Bosnian army didn't realize it was humanitarian aid (the trucks were clearly marked UN vehicles), but because many of the city's defenders were members of criminal organizations trying to maintain control of the black market; they did not want the competition of free supplies delivered by the international community.

Vlado dispelled the myth, often propagated by the Serbian side, that the defenders of Sarajevo were exclusively Islamic fundamentalists. He passionately described how *sarajlija* of all ethnic groups had fought together to defend their city, and even pointed out the location of the tank that had blown a hole through his apartment, totally destroying it. Until he could save enough money to repair his own, he was occupying the apartment of someone who had fled Sarajevo; this illustrates the complexity of repatriating refugees in a country where much of the housing stock is badly damaged, and the rest is occupied by refugees from the countryside.

Vlado lamented the fact that his countrymen had failed to identify themselves as Bosnians, instead adopting either a Serbian, Croatian, or Muslim national consciousness, which resulted in these groups looking outwards (except for the Muslims, who had no other "homeland," in socialist Yugoslav terminology) rather than building a unified Bosnian society. Playing off of an old Yugoslav stereotype — which characterized Bosnians as more backward — Vlado told me with a typical Balkan cynicism that he used to be a "stupid Bosnian," but now he was only "stupid;" there were no more Bosnians.

As I returned to the Croatian coast after four days in Bosnia, the smell of *Drina* cigarettes still clinging to my clothes and Vlado's homemade *šljivovica* leaving me in a slight daze, I was baffled that such a generous and hospitable people had allowed their country to descend into the hell of war at the end of a tragic twentieth century. All the people I encountered, including war veterans, seemed likewise baffled at the events that had engulfed them and forever transformed their lives. The faded pictures from the 1980's, showing friends hiking together in the mountains around Sarajevo, offer no insight into why the people in the photo would be shooting at each other from opposite sides of the front lines several years later. Bosnia had emerged from the horror of the Second World War to achieve some degree of modernization under Tito, but all that had been accomplished since 1945 was erased in three years of warfare that left Bosnia's economy and infrastructure completely devastated. While the conflicts in Slovenia, and especially Croatia, were also costly in both material and human terms, those two former republics have developed into coherent states with clearly defined territories and legitimate governments. The war in Bosnia, by contrast, carried an even greater cost and has left its citizens confused about what country they even live in. Despite massive Western investment, Bosnia remains a divided country, both socially and politically. This was unfortunately reinforced by the November 2000 elections, which once again gave power to nationalist parties in both entities. It will take more than the rugged persistence of Bosnia's people to rebuild their beautiful country and emerge from the shadow of war and ethnic hatred.

A People Still Divided

PHIL LYON

Srdjan Djine laughed out loud at my estimation of the travel time between Zagreb and Sarajevo as four hours. When I protested that the trip was only several hundred kilometers, he replied "yes, but those kilometers are in Bosnia." Shortly afterward, I bought a one-way ticket to Sarajevo and climbed aboard a rickety bus in Zagreb. The sweltering journey commenced at 6:30 in the morning and stretched over eight hours along twisting narrow roads. We followed the "Highway of Brotherhood and Unity" toward Belgrade before diverting south toward Croatia's border with Bosnia. To my surprise, the Croatian countryside along the border still bore signs of fighting, and selected buildings showed the scars of bullets and flames. Passing an SFOR base of Hungarian engineers, we neared the Sava River, Croatia's border with Bosnia, and crossed at Bosanska Gradiska. We were entering the Serb half of Bosnia, the self-proclaimed Republika Srpska — a place that friends, guides, and the State Department had advised me to avoid. I was one of only two non-Yugoslavs on the bus, and as we drew toward the crossing, my fellow passengers seemed affected by a mix of boredom and nervous apprehension.

At the entrance to Bosnia, an enormous sign welcomes visitors in English and Serbian Cyrillic to the "Republic of Srpska." There is no mention of Bosnia,

Bosnia-Croatia border (Republika Srpska). PHOTO © PHIL LYON

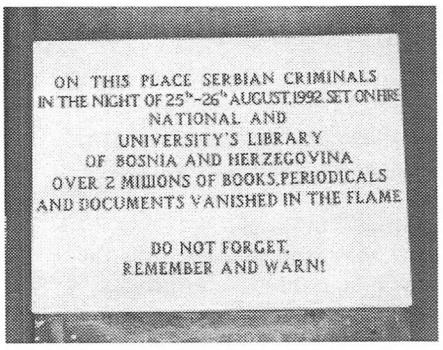
and Serbian symbolism is ubiquitous, reflecting Serb attitudes toward their state. Bosnian Serbs generally prefer independence or annexation to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. When these goals proved unattainable through war in 1995, Serbs reluctantly settled for their own "para-state" in a country defined by an ineffective central government and two (some would argue, three) highly autonomous "entities." Serb indifference toward Bosnia was expressed at the border by the fact that the Bosnian flag, the Serb tricolor, and the banner of the Republika Srpska all flew together at the same height.

After clearing customs, we entered a region that appeared to have seen less combat than the section of Croatia we had just left. Just as the destruction preceding the Bosnian border in Croatia had surprised me, so was the initial *lack* of damage in the Republika Srpska confusing. Things seemed quite normal in fact. New homes were being constructed, and billboards for consumer products were common. However, the level of destruction markedly increased as we neared the Inter-Entity Boundary Line (IEBL) that runs through Bosnia. Several houses in a village would be burned, gutted, or shelled, while their neighbors' homes stood untouched. Such highly selective destruction plainly illustrated the strategy and logic of ethnic cleansing.

We soon entered a region of fantastic gorges and high mountains, among the most beautiful I have seen in Europe. Our route from the border led through Banja Luka, Jajce, and Travnik before finally reaching Sarajevo, and we were often forced to make long and awkward detours because of missing bridges. En route, I met a Bosnian man from Travnik, where he claimed Muslims and Croats had no real troubles (despite the heavy destruction surrounding the town). Like many ex-Yugoslavs, my Bosnian friend had extended *Gästarbeiter* family in Germany. He had planned to join them in Frankfurt but had been turned around at the Austrian border for lack of proper travel documents. Now, he was returning to Travnik to regroup.

Even after crossing Bosnia, one is initially unprepared for the ruins that still largely define its capital city. Although the Dayton Peace Accords were signed in late 1995, the damage suffered by Sarajevo was so great that it appears as though the war ended yesterday. No building escaped the bullets and shrapnel, and despite the extensive international presence and aid, many prominent edifices remain charred and tattered hulks. Behind these physical scars lies an extraordinary human tragedy.

Just as the Dayton Peace Accords effectively partition Bosnia, so is Sarajevo a divided city. The bulk of the city lies in the Muslim-Croat Federation, but the Republika Srpska edges into Sarajevo and its suburbs in the southeast. My friend Srdjan Djine, a genuine Bosnian of mixed Muslim-Montenegrin heritage, lived on the border between the two entities. One function of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia was that Srdjan and many others who had never given much thought to their own or their friends' ethnic identities suddenly found themselves defined by others. One became a Serb, Croat, or Muslim at the barrel of a gun. Those of mixed ethnicity faced a more daunting dilemma: in a polarizing ethnic war, could one successfully assert a mixed heritage? For many, the situation became intolerable, and they fled abroad. When it became clear that Srdjan could not remain in the city and avoid conscription into one army or the other (in fact, he was drafted by both), he fled through Sarajevo's only reliable connection with the outside world: a 760-meter tunnel that passed under the airport.



Plaque on the National Library. PHOTO © PHIL LYON

After a period in Montenegro, Srdjan emigrated with his family to Toronto, where he now lives. He has since returned to Sarajevo to work with the OSCE, but like many Bosnian refugees who went abroad, he plans to remain in his adopted country for economic reasons. With the passing of time, refugees such as Srdjan are ever less likely to return, frustrating the UNHCR, and giving courage to those who oppose a multiethnic Bosnia. A child of Islam and Orthodoxy, young, and a committed Sarajevan, he nonetheless feels compelled to live abroad. Only Srdjan's sister and partisan grandmother remain in Sarajevo, their apartment building

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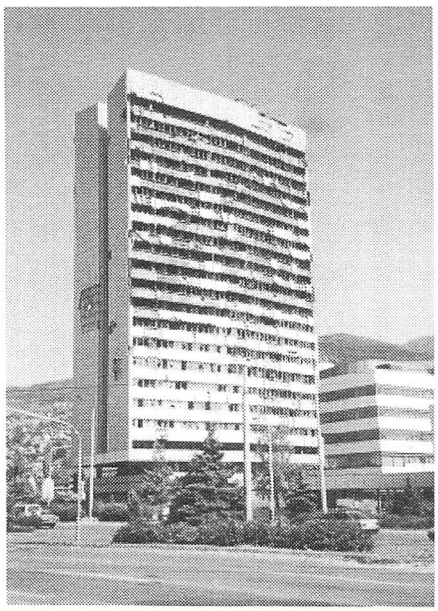
literally divided between the Serb and Muslim-Croat entities: an elegant expression of the absurdity of partition, the Inter-Entity Boundary Line passes directly through their apartment, awarding the bedrooms to the Republika Srpska.

Sarajevo's physical scars are tragically innumerable, but several merit particular mention. The tallest structures in the city are twin skyscrapers formerly known to Sarajevans as Momo and Uzeir, two characters of different national origin from local jokes. Since nobody knew which was Momo and which was Uzeir, the forces besieging Sarajevo destroyed both. Some rooms remain inhabitable, but entire floors in both buildings are completely destroyed. Across from Momo and Uzeir rests the hulk of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian Parliament and Government Building. Sarajevo's war arguably began here on April 6, 1992, when Serb snipers opened fire on a massive demonstration to protest ethnic division. The towering building now stands shattered and marked by fires and the impact of rockets.

The war in BiH was not only one against people, but also against history and memory. To erase the physical manifestation of Muslim history, Serb forces regularly destroyed mosques (a practice that continued in Kosovo in 1999). Bosnian Croats famously destroyed the Ottoman bridge at Mostar, which had stood for hundreds of years as a symbol of unity. Perhaps the most haunting reminder of the war is the pseudo-Moorish National Library, once regarded as the most beautiful building in Sarajevo and now a charred heap. A plaque on the torched National Library bemoans that building's fate: "On this place Serbian criminals in the night of 25–26 August 1992 set on fire National and University Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Over 2 millions of books, periodicals, and documents vanished in the flame. Do not forget. Remember and warn!"

It is easy to dwell on the physical scars of Sarajevo, but no less in evidence are the city's resilience and rebirth. Even the torched National Library has been reinvented as a dramatic location for concerts and art exhibitions. At night, Sarajevo's streets come alive as the café scene gets in full swing, and everybody seems healthy and in love. The presence of so many boisterous young people is encouraging, but one suspects that they seem numerous only because so many of their older peers—people in their 20's and 30's—either died or emigrated. One also sees many young mothers, whose children were almost certainly conceived during the war. This lively street culture is probably both a good sign (relaxation, openness) and a bad one (unemployment).



The Bosnian and Herzegovinian Parliament and Government Building. PHOTO © PHIL LYON

In his companion article, Vjeran dispels the myth that only Muslims or Islamic fundamentalists defended Sarajevo during the siege. This myth is further put to rest by the continued existence of Bosnia's places of worship. Minarets dominate the skyline, but Catholic, Orthodox, and Jewish places of worship can be found throughout Sarajevo, and they continued to function during the siege. Though I concur with Vjeran that it hardly appears that fundamentalism has gripped Sarajevo, I would argue that political and religious Islam is indeed prevalent in the city. The government of Iran maintains several prominent buildings, and trams rumble through downtown emblazoned with Saudi Arabian and Bosnian flags beside the slogan "Zajedno za Bosnu." Although veiled women can be seen in Bosnia, this is still a European city where Paris dictates fashion more than Mecca.

Train travel in Bosnia is virtually non-existent, so I departed for Mostar by bus. Mostar lies in Herzegovina, a desolate, hardscrabble region where the sun beats mercilessly upon baked hills. After traveling along the brilliantly turquoise Neretva River for several hours, I reached the city, which seemed to lack much of the hope evident in Sarajevo. The city is infamously divided between Muslim and Croat halves that live largely in denial of each other. The Croat and Muslim sides have developed their own services, such that each may live independently of the other. For example, each side is served by separate bus stations, and upon my arrival in the Muslim quarter, nobody could or would give me directions to the Croatian bus station. In fact, the attendant at the ticket window denied that the Croatian bus service existed at all. There is some foot traffic between the city halves across several bridges over the Neretva, but Mostar remains clearly divided.

In Herzegovina, I truly sensed the state of lawlessness that characterizes much of Bosnia. In meetings with international officials in Sarajevo, I had been warned of the corruption that plagued the country, but it wasn't until I saw Herzegovina, awash in stolen European — mainly German — cars that I came to understand the prevalence of this corruption. It is well known that Herzegovina's borders with Croatia are porous, and Herzegovinian Croats (who tend to be intensely nationalistic) can vote and even stand in Croatian elections. People regularly work on either side of the border, and Croatian currency (the Kuna) is legal tender in much of Herzegovina. Many Croats regularly enter Herzegovina from Croatia proper for shopping, but trafficking in all sorts of less reputable goods (including stolen electronics and drugs) is also common.

Reconstruction in Mostar is proceeding slowly, and much of the city resembles Berlin in 1945. Here, as elsewhere in Bosnia, one is strongly advised not to stray from the pavement for fear of the landmines that still pepper the land. Amputees are a common sight in Bosnia, among them not only former soldiers, but also children. Immediately upon

entering Republika Srpska, I spotted a boy with one leg, who could not have been older than fifteen. If Sarajevo gave me reason to hope for a multiethnic Bosnia, Herzegovina with its myriad *šahovnicas* filled me with despair for the country's future.

Politically, ethnically, and economically, Bosnia remains divided. The rule of law is not yet fully established anywhere in the country. Police in the Republika Srpska have yet to arrest a single indicted war criminal. Ultimately, neither Serbs nor Croats really accept the legitimacy of the unified state. Vjeran correctly notes that the recent nationalist election victories do not bode well for a unified Bosnia. However, Bosnians retain a certain dark sense of humor regarding their predicament. Asked for his thoughts on the political turmoil surrounding the 2000 American presidential elections, former Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Salijdzic suggested that the US adopt Bosnia's unique, tripartite presidency. "We have three presidents rotating," Salijdzic said recently. "I am sure Mr. Nader will be glad to hear that." ◆

Vjeran Pavlakovic has an MA from the Jackson School of International Studies and is currently working on his PhD in the History program at the University of Washington. He has published articles on refugee returns in the former Yugoslavia and on minority issues in Croatia.

Phil Lyon received his MA from the History Department at the University of Washington and is currently enrolled in the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University.

Prague Journalist Visits Czech Classes

Last October, Andrea Řihová, a correspondent for the Prague radio station "Radiožurnal," visited the Department of Slavic Languages & Literatures at the UW in order to learn how the Czech language is taught here. In a broadcast interview, Ms. Řihová and Czech language lecturer Jaroslava Soldanova discussed various aspects of Czech language studies, such as reading, writing, grammar, speaking, folklore, history, literature, music, film, and current events.

Ms. Řihová visited the Advanced Czech Language class and discovered that students have a wide range of reasons for studying the language. Some study East European history, literature, film, or politics; others major in the Slavic languages. A number of students plan to study at Charles University in Prague, and others want to learn the language of their ancestors.

Ms. Řihová was pleasantly surprised by the students' ability to converse in Czech, and at the end of the lesson she enjoyed listening to them sing Czech folk songs. She learned about the weekly "Czech Table" held at a European restaurant close to the UW campus, where the students meet with native Czechs living in the Seattle area. The following Tuesday, she visited the Czech Table and took part in a discussion between students and local Czechs. Afterward, she thanked her hosts for a wonderful experience and expressed her appreciation for the way the UW students reach out to the local Czech community. Of course, this also enhances their study of the language. In parting, Řihová expressed her hope that the UW would continue to offer courses in Czech. ◆

UW students with local Czechs at the "Czech Table." PHOTO © JAROSLAVA SOLDANOVA

Czech radio can be heard online at *www.radiozurnal.cz*. Visit the website at *www.radio.cz*.

The Czech table meets on Tuesdays from 4:00 to 6:00pm at the European Restaurant on University Way (next to the Wells Fargo bank).

New Security Institute at the UW

In late September of this year, the Pacific Northwest National Laboratory (PNNL) awarded a $100,000 contract to the UW for the creation of the Institute for Global and Regional Security Studies (IGRSS). The new institute will focus primarily on issues relating to weapons of mass destruction in Eurasia. It will also sponsor teaching, research, and outreach activities on such issues from both global and regional perspectives.

The REECAS program will be the most important focus of IGRSS activity over the next two years, according to Professor Christopher Jones, acting director of the institute. IGRSS will also devote resources to the study of other regional security issues, particularly in Northeast Asia, South Asia, the Middle East, and Europe. These regional foci often overlap with studies of either Russia or Central Asia. The global issues that IGRSS will address will mostly concern Eurasia, according to Jones.

The focus on the areas within the REECAS program stems in part from PNNL's deep involvement in the scientific and technical aspects of the US Comprehensive Threat Reduction Program (the Nunn-Lugar program) and, specifically, the Nuclear Cities Program for Russia. PNNL is also involved in environmental issues related to former Soviet facilities for nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons. The areas covered by the REECAS program are also central to the broader issues of Eurasian security from the standpoints of geography, military power, and political volatility, according to Jones.

Professor Jones, who teaches a REECAS course on Soviet and Russian security policy toward Europe since 1945, will work closely with Professor Steve Hanson, chair of the REECAS department. Hanson and Jones are both members of the three-person acting IGRSS board, along with Dr. Mark Leek of PNNL. Dr. Leek is also an adjunct professor in the UW Department of Political Science.

IGRSS will fund a new REECAS course in the spring quarter: "International Law and International Military Intervention in the Balkans." Col. Frederick Lorenz, USMC (ret.), will teach the course, drawing on his recent experience of doing legal work for the United Nations in Kosovo. Col. Lorenz, who holds a J.D. and an M.A. in international law, previously taught at the National Defense University in Washington, D.C. and on the Faculty of Law at St. Petersburg State University (Russia) as a Fulbright Professor. Col. Lorenz has had direct experience with another UN intervention: he served as a US legal affairs officer during the US participation in the UN mission in Somalia. He has co-authored a study of this experience with General Zinni, former commander of the United States Marines.

In the winter quarter, Col. Lorenz will teach a course listed under the International Studies program as "International Law and Arms Control." Most of this course will be concerned with the history of Soviet-American arms control agreements and the follow-on agreements between Russia and the United States. The course will also chart the development of the Non-Proliferation Treaty during and after the Cold War. It will conclude with a week of lectures by Ambassador Thomas Graham, a former director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA), former Chief Counsel of ACDA, and formerly President Clinton's Special Representative for Arms Control and Disarmament.

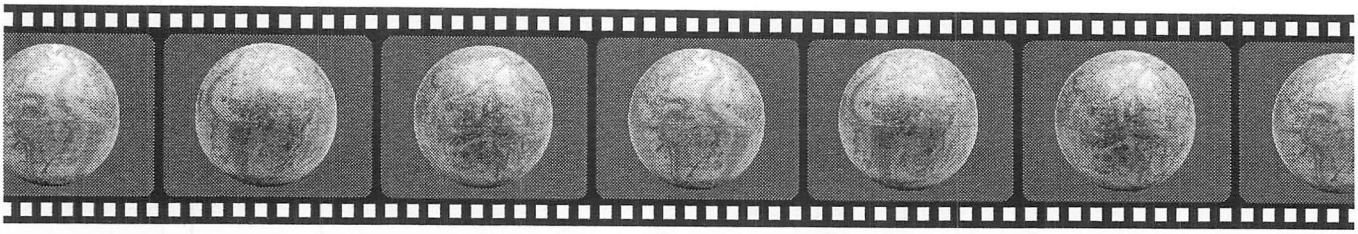
Ambassador Graham has just finished a book on his experiences in working on arms control agreements, from the SALT I Treaty of 1972 to the world-wide renewal of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1995, when he was the head of the US delegation to the NPT talks. Col. Lorenz' course will use the Graham manuscript as one of its textbooks.

IGRSS will fund several other guest speakers for the Lorenz course, including William Lee, a prolific writer on Soviet arms control policy and other issues related to Soviet foreign and military policy during the Cold War.

IGRSS will provide about $15,000 for graduate student support in the 2000–2001 academic year, a good portion of which will go to students working on the REECAS area. Toby Dalton, a Ph.D. candidate in the Political Science Department, has received an award from IGRSS to help edit the Thomas Graham manuscript, which will be published by the University of Washington Press. IGRSS plans to provide similar support to graduate students working as editors for the Treadgold Papers series under the direction of Sabrina Ramet, Professor of International Studies and a REECAS faculty associate. Professor Hanson will use other funding from IGRSS for program development within REECAS.

IGRSS will also fund another spring course of possible interest to REECAS students: "The Two Koreas in the New Millennium: Domestic and Regional Issues in 'Peaceful Unification'." The course will specifically address Russia's relations not only with the two Koreas but also with China and Japan in terms of political, military, and economic concerns in Northeast Asia. The instructor for the course is Wonmo Dong, Professor Emeritus and former Director of Asian Studies at Southern Methodist University. Professor Dong will be a Scholar in Residence at the Korea Program of the Jackson School, with funding from IGRSS. Kim Chul Wahn, Professor of Weapons Technology at the Korean National Defense University in Seoul, will visit the class occasionally as a guest lecturer. Professor Kim will be an IGRSS Visiting Research Professor for the 2000–2001 academic year.

IGRSS will also co-sponsor a course on the European Security Identity, to be taught in the spring of 2001 by Dr. Jolyon Howorth, Jean Monnet Professor of European Studies at the University of Bath, UK. Professor Howorth will be visiting the UW under the auspices of the European Union Center at the UW, in conjunction with the European Studies Program, the Center for West European Studies, and IGRSS. ◆



International Documentary Film:

EFFECTIVE USE IN THE CLASSROOM

A Workshop for Educators

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 2001 • 8:30 A.M. – 4:30 P.M.
THOMSON HALL, ROOM 235, UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

Because film can appeal directly to the emotions, and allow a glimpse of other ways of life, it is an excellent medium for deepening students' understanding of the world. But film can also be deceptive, and may create or further prejudices if not presented with care.

This workshop will help teachers make the most of the **International Film Festival** (next autumn at the Henry Art Gallery) and the film collections in the Outreach Centers of the Jackson School of International Studies. Participants will learn how to assess documentary films for quality and suitability, and to identify biases and hidden messages.

WORKSHOP LEADERS

- **Carol Hermer,** Lecturer in the UW Department of Anthropology and the Program on Africa, teaches courses on film and culture, visual anthropology and African film.
- Educator **Mary Barber** will demonstrate effective and creative classroom strategies to enhance students' visual skills while they learn about other cultures.

REGISTRATION

- $40 (includes morning refreshments & box lunch)
- 8 Washington State clock hours available at no additional charge

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To register, send a check for $40.00 payable to the "University of Washington" to: The Canadian Studies Center, Box 353650, University of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195-3650.

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ADDRESS _____ CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP CODE _____

DAYTIME TELEPHONE _____ EMAIL _____

SCHOOL/SCHOOL DISTRICT _____ GRADE LEVEL TAUGHT _____

If you have any questions, please contact us at (206) 543-6269 or *canada@u.washington.edu.*

This workshop is sponsored by the Outreach Centers in the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington, and is funded in part by the U.S. Department of Education.

ASIA$_2$O

WATER ISSUES ACROSS ASIA

A FULL-DAY SEMINAR FOR EDUCATORS AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC

Saturday, February 10, 2001

8:00A.M. – 4:00P.M., THOMSON HALL, UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON, SEATTLE

$45 REGISTRATION FEE, INCLUDING LUNCH

Is water the oil of the 21st Century? Across Asia, problems of water scarcity, surplus, and pollution are fast developing into matters of national security. Agriculture, industrial development, and population growth have placed an enormous strain on Asia's fresh water supplies. Meanwhile, massive water management projects such as China's Three Gorges Dam and India's Narmada River Project affect the lives of millions, flooding homes and arable land to meet the water and power demands of urban centers. Flooding, dams, and development have also disrupted the Mekong River delta region in Thailand and Vietnam. Desertification is a concern in parts of China and in Central Asia, where the Aral Sea has infamously shrunk to less than half its original size. Contamination and diversion of river waters in Russian Asia threaten numerous species, as well as human settlements. Water is at the heart of a myriad of social, political, and environmental issues in contemporary Asia.

But water also has an ancient and enduring cultural significance. In Chinese mythology, rivers are the cradles of all life; in Indian religious traditions, water is both creator and destroyer. Lake Baikal, a vast fresh-water sea in Russia's East, is held in near spiritual reverence by Russians and indigenous peoples alike. In Southeast Asian Buddhist ceremonies, water is used to wash away sins, to honor elders, and to help bring on the monsoon rains. And for millions of rural Asians, each day begins with the fetching of water, an exchange of greetings and gossip around a communal water source.

A diverse group of UW faculty and special guests will offer presentations on these and many other topics. The program is intended for the general public and for educators of grades 6 and higher, for whom eight Washington State clock hours are available at no additional charge.

To register, please send this form and a check for $45.00, payable to the "University of Washington" to:
The Southeast Asia Center, Box 353650, University of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195

LAST NAME _____ FIRST NAME _____

ADDRESS _____ CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP CODE _____

DAYTIME TELEPHONE _____ EMAIL _____

If you are a teacher, please list your school, grade level, and subject(s): _____

❑ Please sign me up for clock hours
❑ I prefer a vegetarian lunch

For more information, please contact us at 206-543-9606 or *seac@u.washington.edu.*

This workshop is sponsored by the East Asia, South Asia, Southeast Asia, and Russian, East European and Central Asian Studies Centers in the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington, Seattle.

A Painful Farewell to my Kirghiz Shangri-la

BY ROB SMURR

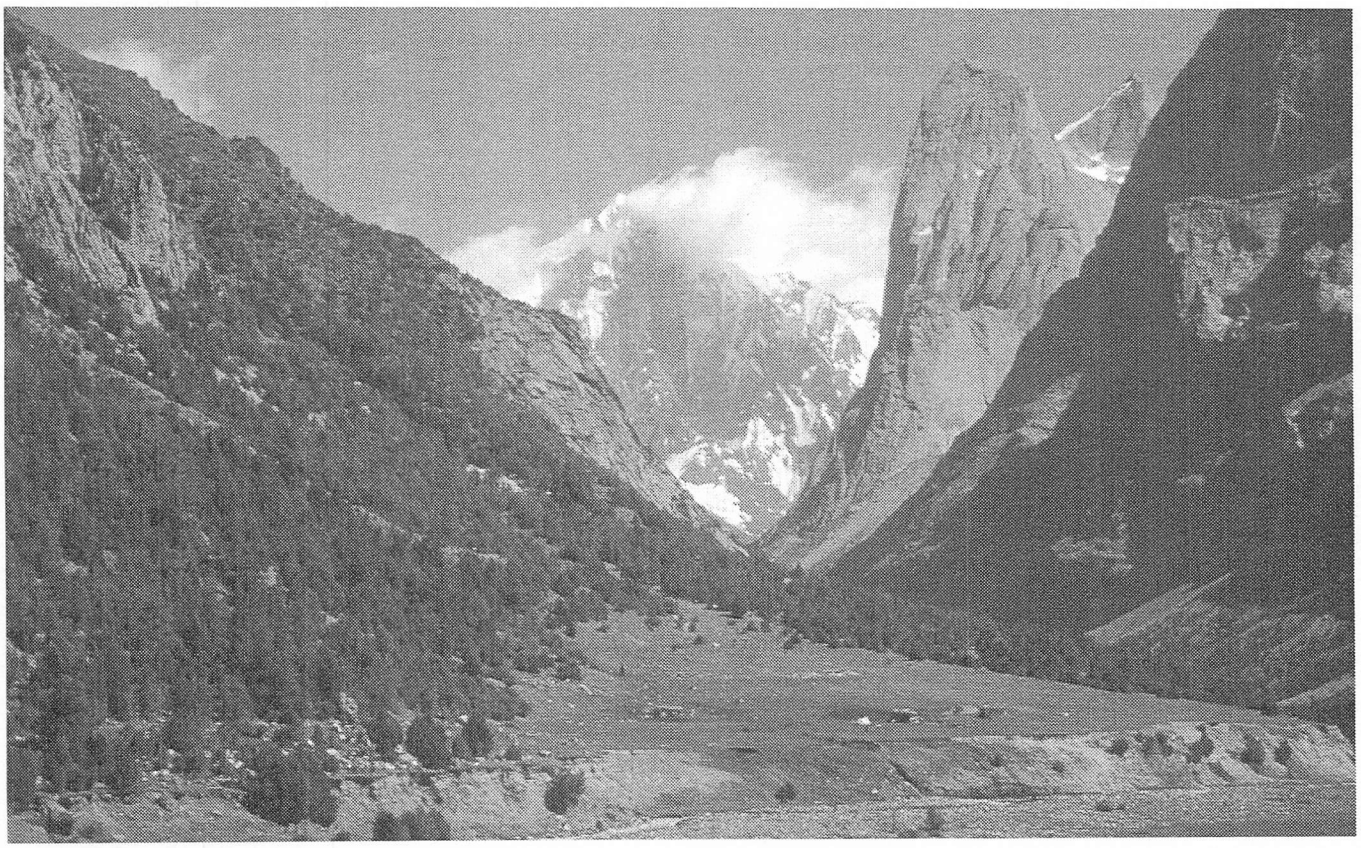

PHOTO © ROB SMURR

The upper Karavshin (or Karasu) Valley, in the extreme southeast corner of Kirghizstan, is by any measure one of the most spectacular places on this planet. The two smooth granite faces of Asan Usan Peak soar 6,000 feet above forests thick with gnarled juniper, and the nearby 18,000 foot Pyramid Peak offers another view of alpine grandeur. A waterfall thunders down the high alpine terrain, providing the only link between the glacier at the valley's head and the parched Kirghiz steppe thousands of feet below. The high Karasu has the scenic punch of Yosemite, Alaska, and central Idaho combined, all within the space of seven miles. Better yet, there are no tourists or RVs. A few friendly shepherds and the occasional big-wall climber are all one is ever likely to encounter. This valley is surely one of the world's last Shangri-las.

That is, it was. The ugly world of narcotics and weapons invaded the Karasu valley this year, grabbing headlines worldwide. Scores of Kirghiz lost their lives, and the serenity of this special corner of the world was destroyed. Things changed most dramatically this August, when a small number of militants belonging to the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) crossed the mountainous border from Tajikistan into Kirghizstan. They quickly and violently made their presence known in Shangri-la.

The militants seized four American climbers and a number of German and Italian mountaineers. Needless to say, it all made for "gee-whiz" press back home: four young and talented big wall climbers were taken hostage in a country (I can't pronounce it, but it's far, far away). STOP. Two of them shot at while 1,000 feet up on a huge rock face. STOP. All four held hostage for seven days. STOP. All four endured firefights and witnessed executions. STOP. Climbers eventually push one militant over 1,000-foot cliff to his death. STOP. All four run 18 miles to freedom. STOP.

The skills young American rock jocks acquire these days are astounding. Not only could they distinguish an AK-47 from an AK-74 (see *Outside,* Nov. 2000), but they could also run 18 nine-minute miles over rough, mountainous terrain after having had next to nothing to eat for a week. My sarcasm stems from bitterness: bitterness that these young climbers might very well have been responsible for the deaths of several Kirghiz soldiers; bitterness that they didn't seem to know, or care, about the culture of the land they were visiting; bitterness that they have clearly exaggerated much for personal gain without considering the harm that their false bravado might cause others; and bitterness that my Shangri-la is forever marred.

The tone of the article in *Outside* magazine, "Fear of Falling," was sensationalistic and alarmist. "The first shot hits the cliff at 6:15 a.m." reads the introductory

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sentence. We are then told that, in order to coax down two of the climbers from their sleeping bags 1,000 feet above the valley floor, the IMU militants placed shots very close to their hanging platforms. Once the pair descended (the other two were in camp), they realized they were to be hostages, and their seven-

PHOTO © ROB SMURR

day ordeal began. It only ended, we are told, when they managed to fling one of their captors from a 1,000-foot cliff to his death. So reported Greg Child, a climbing writer and world-famous climber in his own right. But many of the facts from the climbers' story do not mesh with what I know of the terrain and the local Kirghiz, or with evidence that has emerged since the tragic ordeal.

Indeed, much of the information presented in the article made me suspicious of the story from the outset. For example, the IMU militant whom the climbers claimed to have killed was later found alive and well in Kirghiz custody. Additionally, the distances the exhausted climbers said they covered and the feats they claimed to have accomplished under duress and fatigue border on the impossible. The fact that the author of the article is on a $75,000 retainer with the outdoor clothing and gear manufacturer The North Face—and that the climbers' expedition to the Karasu was also sponsored by The North Face—cast doubt on the article's veracity. My suspicion only increased when I learned that Greg Child had exclusive rights to the young climbers' story, and that numbers ranging from six to seven figures were being discussed for future book and possible movie contracts.

Certainly, the climbers endured a horrible ordeal. They were indeed taken hostage, they did find themselves in the midst of at least one firefight, and they did witness death. Beyond that, the facts are questionable. My goal is neither to criticize the climbers *per se,* nor to accuse them of outright dishonesty, but their story illustrates both how hype and hyperbole often drive American reporting and, even more importantly, how poor or misleading reporting can shape American perceptions of little-known foreign lands.

To begin with, one must ask the question —why did the IMU militants take the climbers hostage in the first place? The goal of the militants is hard to define. Some believe their true goal is to establish an Islamic state in the Fergana Valley of far eastern Uzbekistan. Since the collapse of the USSR, government authorities in Tashkent have been keeping an increasingly wary eye on the lush Fergana region, for Uzbekistan's authoritarian leadership distrusts its more overtly conservative religious leanings. The shadowy IMU, it is argued, would need to cross the thin sliver of Kirghiz territory in order to reach the presumably more receptive territory of Uzbekistan's Fergana Valley.

Several things lead me to question this scenario. First, taking hostages, Western or otherwise, could in no way help the militants attain this goal. If anything, the reverse would be true: the militants had to go out of their way to find the hostages, and once they captured them, the hostages only slowed their progress. Secondly, the IMU numbers no more than 1,200 fighters, while more realistic estimates suggest the number is fewer than 500. I have seen no estimates of more than 300 IMU militants on Kirghiz soil at any one time. A force of 300 lightly armed militants is hardly enough to traverse dozens of miles of severe mountain terrain on foot, commandeer the necessary transportation at the road heads, travel an additional thirty miles or so through a patchwork of Tajik and Uzbek enclaves and border checkpoints, and only then seize all of the necessary command centers to exert their control. Finally, I have not read a single report about Fergana sympathizers linking up with their cohorts as they fight to push through Kirghizstan. This scenario has at its core a dreadful fear of rapidly expanding Islamic militarism, but it is dubious at best. Unfortunately, the abduction of the climbers in the Karasu valley and the Batken district this past August served only to reinforce the West's fear of militarism in this region.

A more prosaic—but admittedly less sensational—explanation is to be found in drugs and money. Mr. Child portrays the IMU militants as Afghan-trained "holy warriors" eager to spread the word of Allah at gunpoint. In contrast, my Kirghiz friends from the embattled Lyailak district told me repeatedly that the Islamic "fundamentalism" in the Fergana region is little more than a cover for drug running. Heroin from Afghanistan is big business in this area, and the political chaos of Tajikistan provides a haven for traffickers within the FSU. The ultimate goal of the smugglers is to transport the drugs through the Russian market into the very lucrative West European market. The crushing poverty that is prevalent in most of Tajikistan drives despairing young men to take up arms in this business for a few hundred dollars...an enormous sum of money in that part of the world. Bestowing a politically charged name like the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan upon a motley assembly of weary youth masks what I believe to be the true story: drugs and drug money define the "movement," not political or religious ideology.

I have been leading groups of trekkers into the Batken and Lyailak region of Kirghizstan for the past four summers. My company opted to heed a State Department warning about possible militant threats in the region this summer, and we cancelled our planned trips. The American climbers state there was no such warning. They were mistaken—the warning could not have been more explicit. We had added incentive to cancel: I was guiding my last of three groups there in the summer of 1999 when we heard of militant actions. This was the first iteration of what might turn into an annual phenomenon, i.e., militants infiltrating southeastern Kirghizstan once the high mountain passes become safe for summer traffic. I distinctly remember an occasion in

August 1999 when dozens of shepherds passed through our camp in the middle of the night. We thought it strange that so many would be moving at night but didn't bother to inquire about it until morning. We then learned that the district governor had ordered all shepherds to leave their high mountain pastures immediately for fear of rebel attack. We reached our trailhead the next day and were met there by a Kirghiz policeman; the U.S. Embassy in Bishkek had alerted him of our presence, and he had come to escort us safely out of the country. We exited the country without any further problems, and we have not since returned to this magnificent region.

Upon our return to Tashkent, we learned that the militants had kidnapped four Japanese geologists and seized three isolated villages. This first cross-border incursion came to an end when the "rebels" filtered back into the politically

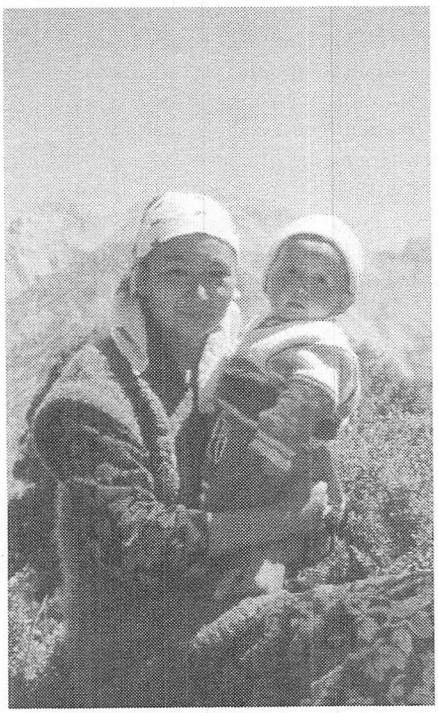


PHOTO © ROB SMURR

chaotic territory of Tajikistan. But they had reason to return to Kirghizstan the following year: although the Japanese hostages were freed after a few months' captivity, it was only after the Japanese government paid several million dollars for their release (the government still denies this). Wealthy foreigners were now viewed as cash cows for those willing to use arbitrary violence.

The greatest tragedy, of course, is the toll these incursions are taking on the local Kirghiz. One of the firefights between Kirghiz government troops and IMU militants, for example, took place in and around the high alpine village of Tosh Korgon. Three years ago, I met an elderly man and his son who were attempting to revitalize this scenic hamlet. The father had been born and raised there, but had been relocated along with the entire settlement during Khrushchev's collectivization drive. After the collapse, the father desired to return to Tosh Korgon and breathe new life into its empty adobe walls and overgrown fields. He had hoped that his example, along with that of his son and daughter-in-law, would inspire others to reclaim their village, but the latest incursion has most assuredly put an end to these dreams.

Those few locals who work directly with Western trekking firms were hit even harder. Because a few firms have been leading a privileged handful of Westerners to the region for the past ten years, the local farmers and forestry workers have grown to count, if not depend, on the annual influx of tourist dollars. Ever since the collapse of the USSR, the Kirghiz in the Lyailak region have had little opportunity to earn a living by their labor. Instead, subsistence agriculture has been the single source of income for a majority of the horsemen with whom I've worked over the past several summers. For this reason, employment as support crew for trekking outfits became highly coveted, and the locals cherished their positions with our outfit once they obtained them. Some of the support crew might end up with a summer income of approximately $200—a substantial amount for these isolated Kirghiz.

In a way, I feel a sense of guilt or complicity in the situation of these families. We created an expectation of reliable income for the local people. On one hand, it was a joy to see the support crew become savvier to Western tastes and expectations with every trekking season. For example, the crew's wives began to weave traditional carpets and saddlebags during the winter, in expectation of summer sales to the eager tourists. On the other hand, I saw firsthand the transformation of a culture that I had cherished *just as it was.* During my first treks to the region, I had been encouraged to see a people so genuinely content with life even though they possessed so little. Upon further reflection, I realized just how patronizing my views were. Yes, I cherished their culture as an outsider, but I did not have to experience its daily hardships and struggles. I thus resigned myself to the fact my friends had the right to try to improve their standard of living as they saw fit. I can only imagine the blow that the militants' incursions must have dealt to so many hopeful trekking households in this Lyailak village.

Even if Kirghiz troops manage to keep the IMU militants from entering Kirghiz territory, Western trekking firms will continue to shy away from the region. Sensationalistic anti-Muslim articles like the one in *Outside* have portrayed southwestern Kirghizstan as too volatile, too unpredictable and, dare I say, too Muslim for the average Western tourist. Certainly, those of us who cherish the opportunity to learn about other cultures firsthand will come up on the losing end, but our loss is nothing compared to that of the Kirghiz. ◆

Rob Smurr is a PhD Candidate in the Department of History. He completed his MA in Russian and East European Studies in the Jackson School and is currently teaching at the Evergreen State College. His employment with the adventure travel company "Mountain Travel-Sobek" has taken him to several remote regions of the FSU, including the Pamir-Alai range of Kirghizstan.

Central Asian Languages and Culture Summer Programs

BY ILSE CIRTAUTAS

A DISTINGUISHED VISITOR FROM UZBEKISTAN

This year's Summer Program in Uzbek Language and Culture (June 19-August 18) enjoyed once again the presence of the distinguished Uzbek poet, writer, and historian Dr. Muhammad-Ali Akhmedov, better known under his pen name Muhammad Ali. He has been teaching Intensive Uzbek courses since the summer of 1993. Students from the University of Washington and institutions around the country remember his cultivated speech, his command of the rich Uzbek vocabulary, and above all his care and concern for his students, which he extends far beyond the classroom: he has opened many doors for students in Uzbekistan, introducing them to scholars and writers who would guide them to important sources for their research.

In the tradition of Central Asia, where literature is primarily understood as poetry, Muhammad Ali began his literary career by writing poetry at the age of fifteen. In 1992, at the age of fifty, he published his first prose work, *Sarbadorla.* This historical novel in two volumes earned him immediate recognition as an accomplished prose writer and the prestigious title "Honored Writer of Uzbekistan." The novel depicts a unique episode in the history of Samarkand, when its citizens rose up against an oppressive local ruler and formed their own government (1365–1366).

The themes of uprisings against unjust rulers and the struggle for independence had already occupied Muhammad Ali in his poetry, despite the fact that Soviet literary policy did not tolerate such subjects. From 1969-1979, he worked on a *dastan* (epic poem) centered around a local leader of the Naqshibandiya Order, Dukchi Ishan. In 1898, Ishan staged an uprising with his followers against the Russian colonizers in Ferghana. In this *dastan,* Muhammad Ali connects the events in Ferghana with the revolt of 1916, when not only Uzbeks but also Kazakhs, Kirghiz, and Turkmens rose up against Russian oppression. To the author's great surprise, the *dastan,* entitled *Baqiy Dunyo* (Eternal World), passed through Soviet censorship. Its publication in 1980 established Muhammad Ali's reputation as an earnest and courageous man.

Sincerity and honesty also mark Muhammad Ali's essays on history, language, and the environment. His article "Let Us Study Our Heritage and Learn Who We Really Are" (1988) won him wide recognition for his outspokenness. It was translated into English and published in France and the U.S. The latest edition can be found in *Central Asia Reader: Recovery of History,* H.B. Paksoy, ed. (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1994, pp.10–24).

Currently, Muhammad Ali is working on his second historical novel, which will consist of three volumes. The setting is again the fourteenth century and the events surrounding the life of Amir Temur (1370-1405), who is known in the West as Timur or Tamerlane. The first part of the novel will be published this year.

In addition to his writings, Muhammad Ali is also involved in a number of community activities. Since March 1999, he has served as the director of the "Oltin Meros" (Golden Heritage) Foundation, which is dedicated to the preservation and promotion of Uzbek culture. He is also a frequent guest on Tashkent TV and radio, where he has organized several programs, such as "Conversations about America," based on his book *Men kurgan Amerika* (The America I Have Seen), published in Tashkent in 1998. ◆

INTENSIVE INTERMEDIATE UZBEK: *Summer 2000*

The Central Asian Program in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilization has been offering Central Asian Languages and Culture Summer Programs since 1989, when Intensive Elementary Uzbek was offered for the first time. In subsequent years, Elementary and Intermediate Kazakh, Kirghiz, and Tajik were added to the summer curriculum, along with Intermediate and Advanced Uzbek.

This summer, Intensive Intermediate Uzbek was offered, with six students enrolled. Each of them was awarded a fellowship covering tuition and some living expenses. Beginning with the summer of 1989, all Central Asian Languages and Culture Summer Programs at the University of Washington have been awarded generous support from the Social Science Research Council (Title VIII). In order to meet the criteria for fellowship support, language classes must be taught for at least four hours daily and offered in combination with an extensive cultural program.

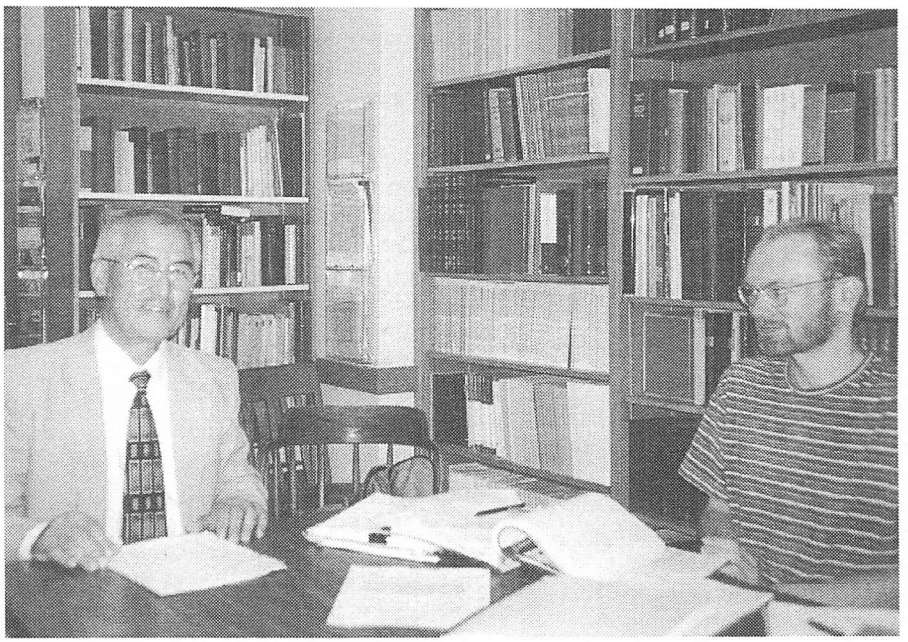
Each week had a specific topic assigned for readings and class discussions, which in turn had been coordinated with the cultural program. For example, in the second week, students watched a documentary of a performance of the Uzbek dance ensemble Munojat , which was founded in 1999 with the specific purpose of reviving traditional Uzbek dance forms. It was compared with the performance of an earlier dance ensemble showing strong influences of the official Soviet stage culture. The class discussion of that week focused on the revival of traditions in everyday life, as well as in art and literature.

In the fourth week of classes, readings from Shukrullo's memoirs *Kafansiz kumilganlar* (Those Buried without a Shroud) were accompanied by a video interview with the author himself, taped in Seattle in 1991. Texts on the childhood of contemporary Uzbek poets and writers were read in conjunction with video presentations of interviews with

the poet Erkin Vohidov and the writer Pirimkul Qodirov, who also talked about their childhood. Dr. Akhmedov's lecture on "Uzbek Literature since Independence" focused on the current standing of the poets and writers discussed in class or presented in the interviews.

Both the cultural and language components of this year's Uzbek summer program benefited greatly from the presence of Dr. Muhammad-Ali Akhmedov; the students were obliged to communicate with Dr. Akhmedov only in Uzbek, even outside of class. This combination of language and culture instruction and the participation of highly qualified native speakers from Central Asia have been nationally recognized aspects of our summer programs. ◆

Ilse Cirtautas is a Professor of Central Asian Studies in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilization at the University of Washington. She specializes in Central Asian/ Turkic Oral Literature, and is the author of several articles and books on this subject.



Dr. Muhammad-Ali Akhmedov (left), Tim Miller. PHOTO © ILSE CIRTAUTAS

REECAS FACULTY NEWS

In recognition of her contributions in research, teaching, and service, **KATARZYNA DZIWIREK** has been promoted to Associate Professor in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures. The local Polish-American community, which supports the Polish program at UW with an annual financial award for the best student, is very pleased that a tenured faculty member is teaching Polish at the UW. It is a matter of pride to the Polish-Americans in Seattle that Polish language instruction is available at all levels in our region: the Polish School offers instruction to grades 1-8 in the Polish language, history, and geography; community colleges teach basic language courses; and the UW offers university-level instruction.

HERBERT ELLISON, Professor of History and International Studies, is in the second year of his leave supported by sabbatical and a Smith Richardson Foundation grant, writing his study of the Yeltsin years, which he expects to complete in the spring. The book makes use of extensive interviews with Russian political leaders, which were part of his recent PBS film documentary on Yeltsin. The plan for the book was recently expanded to include developments in the Putin era. Professor Ellison has also recently completed a chapter for a new book on the current Korean situation, providing a study of Russia's recent Korean policy, and is working on an article on Russian foreign policy under Putin.

JAMES FELAK, Associate Professor in the Department of History, has been elected President of the Slovak Studies Association for the 2001-2003 term, and will be a speaker at the Baker Peace Conference on "War Crimes, Justice, and Peace" at Ohio University this coming February.

KAREN J. FREEZE, a visiting Lecturer in Management and History and a Research Fellow at the Center for International Business Education and Research, spent ten days in Sweden this summer working on a case study on ergonomic tool design for the Design Management Institute. Thanks to a grant she received from the National Research Council's program, "Governance in Post-Communist Societies: Technology and Industrial Economics," Freeze was able to spend a month in the Czech Republic as well. There, she conducted interviews at research institutes, textile machine companies, the Ministry of Industry and Trade, and university departments as part of her research for a project entitled "Czech Industry after 1989: The Fate and Future of the Textile Machine Sector from a Management Perspective." Freeze also presented papers at the 27th Symposium of the International Committee on the History of Technology in Prague, Czech Republic, August 21–25, 2000, and at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the History of Technology in Munich, Germany, August 17–20, 2000.

In addition to becoming REECAS Director and Program Chair, **STEPHEN HANSON,** Associate Professor in the

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Department of Political Science, has recently published "Russia," in Jeffrey Kopstein and Mark Lichbach, *Comparative Politics: Interests, Identities, and Institutions in a Changing Global Order* (Cambridge University Press, 2000). Another work, *Postcommunism and the Theory of Democracy,* co-authored with Richard Anderson, Jr., M. Steven Fish, and Philip Roeder, has been accepted for publication by Princeton University Press.

CHRISTINE INGEBRITSEN, Associate Professor in the Department of Scandinavian Studies, just completed the department's first "Study in Scandinavia" program, which lasted from January through June, 2000. Eighteen students joined Ingebritsen and Katherine Hanson for interdisciplinary instruction in language, literature, society, and politics at the University of Bergen in Bergen, Norway. The program included excursions to Oslo, Finse, and Hardangerfjord, as well as guest lectures by Norwegian scholars, authors, and policy makers. Generous support from the UW-UBergen Faculty Exchange Program, Vice Provost Steven Olswang, Dean David Hodge, the International Programs and Exchanges Office, and the Norwegian Foreign Ministry made this program possible. In 2003, students are welcome to join Professor Lotta Gavel-Adams for a semester in Stockholm, Sweden. In 2006, students are invited to accompany Lecturer Guntis Smidchens to the three Baltic states.

CLAUDIA JENSEN, Lecturer in the School of Music, continues to offer courses on Russian music. Interested students may contact her at *cjensen@u.washington.edu.*

BRUCE KOCHIS, Senior Lecturer in the Liberal Studies Department (UW Bothell), has won a UW Distinguished Teaching Award for 2000 in recognition of his excellence in teaching in the areas of social justice and human rights. The Seattle chapter of the United Nations Association also recently honored Kochis for his contributions to the cause of human rights. Kochis will teach a course at the UW Seattle campus in Spring 2001 on "Human Rights in Russia and Eastern Europe."

A new book by **KAZIMIERZ POZNANSKI,** Professor of International Studies, was recently published in Poland. In *Wielki Przekret: Kleska Polskich Reform (The Great Scam: The Failure of Polish Reforms),* Poznanski discusses the results of privatization in Poland and Eastern Europe. Privatization was supposed to replace public ownership with private and, more importantly, recreate the native capitalist class that had been eliminated under communism. He argues that privatization — and thus the whole transition process from communism to capitalism — has failed.

Much of the former public property has indeed been privatized, but in a manner harmful to Eastern European countries: a large percentage of assets is now foreign-owned. For example, Hungary's industry and banking are 70% foreign-owned — the highest level in Eastern Europe. Poland's banking and industry are 70 and 45% foreign-owned, respectively. Since Poland is two to three years behind Hungary in privatizing, these levels could still increase. In contrast, the average level of foreign ownership in Western Europe is 15–20% in industry and 7–12% in banking, and there are no signs of a further major increase in the share of foreign holdings.

What is worse, Eastern European assets are being sold off at only 10–20% of their implied market value, according to Poznanski's macroeconomic estimates, which are based on Polish and Hungarian data. This means a one-time, irretrievable loss of 80-90% of the value of these assets to the foreign investors. It also means that there is an absentee capitalist class. A strong native capitalist class has not been recreated, which suggests that the transition has been unable to reverse the major damage caused by the communist experiment. Poland and its neighbors suffer further losses when these Western capitalists take their profits home: deprived of control over so much of the national revenue, the Polish government has much weaker control over development, stability, and recessions.

Despite its pessimistic message, Poznanski's book has sold about 25,000 copies in Poland and received many favorable reviews. The author attributes this to the current public atmosphere in Poland: even though this country is one of Eastern Europe's few success stories, about 60–70% of the population disapproves of the outcome of transition. This does not necessarily imply disapproval of private ownership; rather, it is a reflection of the fact that unemployment has increased along with production, but real wages have not. In addition, people are unhappy with the government's neglect of social problems: housing construction is 1/4 of its pre-1989 level, and real funding for education — corrected for inflation — has decreased by half. During the recent Polish presidential race, several candidates referred to *Wielki Przekret* in their debates on these issues, underlining the book's timely contribution.

Professor of Economics **JUDITH THORNTON** is currently co-editing a book with Charles Ziegler. Entitled *Security Implications of Political and Economic Developments in the Russian Far East,* it will include research papers by scholars from several countries—the US, Russia, Japan, South Korea, and China—looking at regional developments in Pacific Russia. The book summarizes the results of a research program sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, which involved a research workshop in Khabarovsk, Russia, in-country research conducted in most of the oblast/krai of the Russian Far East (RFE), and conferences presenting and discussing the results in Seattle (at the University of Washington) and in Washington, DC. The papers look at political and economic developments in the RFE and prospects for regional growth in the future. A significant portion of the region faces a declining standard of living and out-migration. Even in territories with stronger economic prospects, such as Primorye, Khabarovsk, and Sakhalin, political uncertainty, weak property rights, and uncertainty in the structure of federal-territorial relationships present barriers to investment and integration into the Pacific economy. The dependence of some RFE cities on foreign sales of military products, notably to China and India, raises questions about the potential impact of military modernization on Asian security, yet efforts to convert former military producers to the production of civilian products have so far been relatively unsuccessful. ◆

The Donald W. Treadgold Papers

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NO. 1: **Law in Russia** (1994) – Theodore Taranovski, Peter B. Maggs, Kathryn Hendley, and Steven A. Crown ($5.25)

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

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

New Materials in the REECAS Outreach Collection

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

TEACHING GUIDES

- ***Polishing the Mirror: A Curriculum Unit on Central and Inner Eurasia*** (Grades 9–12). A unit intended to help American students come to a more complex understanding of their own cultural environment through examination of the history and culture of Central and Inner Eurasia.
- ***Common People, Uncommon Strength – Teaching the Rest of the Story: Events of the Common People of Russia*** (Grades 5–12). Materials focused on the history of the Russian *narod*, or common people, across the Medieval, Imperial, and Soviet periods in Russian history.
- ***Children of Other Lands: Sasha Litvin of Russia*** (Grades 3–6). This package includes both a teacher's guide and a videotape, based on young Sasha Litvin's life at home, at school, and in his native St. Petersburg.
- ***Global Studies: Russia, the Eurasian Republics, and Central/ Eastern Europe.*** This is the latest update (Eighth Edition) of a popular teachers' reference text.
- ***The Russian Revolution: A Collection of Contemporary Documents*** (Grades 7-12). Provides a visual introduction to the Russian Revolution with reproductions of historic documents, police files, banknotes, pamphlets, handbills and newspapers. Also provides reproducible classroom activities that encourage students to discover the historical significance of primary source materials.

DOCUMENTARY AND EDUCATIONAL VIDEOTAPES

- ***Boris Yeltsin: A Legacy of Change*** (2000). The UW's own Professor Herb Ellison served as chief consultant and executive producer for this review of Boris Yeltsin's impact on history. *Boris Yeltsin* is based on wide-ranging interviews with government leaders, both before and during the Yeltsin years, and provides original insights into the key turning points of 1991, 1993, and 1996.
- ***Chagall: Portrait of an Artist*** (55 min., 1985). Explores Marc Chagall's life and work, documenting the history of the Russian Jewish artist who began his life in poverty and became a luminary of French art by the time of his death.
- ***Children around the World: Central Europe*** (25 min., 1993). A look at children's lives in the Central European countries. Grades K–7.
- ***Children of Other Lands: Sasha Litvin of Russia*** (15 min., 1995). See Teaching Guides. Grades 3–6.
- ***Death of Yugoslavia: 20th Century with Mike Wallace*** (50 min., 1996). Provides an introduction to the history of the former Yugoslavia, from the Second World War through the end of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Draws heavily on news footage, including original commentary.
- ***Eastern Europe: Political Powder Keg*** (3 videotapes). Using rare archival footage, this three-part series provides an in-depth look at the history of Eastern Europe. The programs track events from 1900 to the fall of Communism. Includes Eastern Europe, 1900–1939 (55 min.); Eastern Europe, 1939–1953 (59 min.); and Eastern Europe, 1953–1991 (59 min.).
- ***Eastern Europe, 10 Years Later*** (10 min., 1998). This short video examines the political and economic landscape of the former Soviet bloc in the decade since 1989 and reviews the transition from state control to private enterprise. Grades 9–12.
- ***Eric Hobsbawm and Slovakian Nationalism*** (55 min., 1996). Hobsbawm traces the birth of modern Slovakia from its roots in the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, to the region's annexation by Hitler and subsequent domination by the Soviet Union, to Slovakian independence. "Nationalism is not compatible with the progress of history," concludes the Marxist historian.
- ***Habiba: A Sufi Saint from Uzbekistan*** (30 min., 1997). Habiba is a Tabib, a Muslim healer belonging to the earliest Sufi "Chain of Mystic Transmission." She continues her predecessors' work in Uzbekistan, where Western and Eastern civilizations have long intermingled along the Silk Road.
- ***Immortal Fortress: A Look inside Chechnya's Warrior Culture*** (52 min., 1999). This film explores Chechnya's war-driven culture, while searching for its most prolific modern warrior, Shamil Basayev. Considered a terrorist by many, Shamil personifies the Chechen warrior ethos. The film answers the broader question of why Shamil and thousands of other Chechens fight.
- ***The Journey of Butterfly*** (1996). This documentary weaves together the music, art, poetry, and history of children imprisoned by the Nazis in the ghetto at Terezin in Czechoslovakia from 1941 to 1945.
- ***Kolyma*** (1997, 193 minutes, 3 tapes). This documentary details the tragedy of Kolyma, considered the worst of the Soviet concentration camps, in which two million people lost their lives. Including eyewitness accounts, archival records, and surviving documentary footage, this is the complete director's cut of the winner of the Berlin and Amsterdam Documentary Film Festivals.
- ***Kovno Ghetto: A Buried History*** (100 min., 1997). Before World War II, 35,000 Jews lived in Kovno, Lithuania. Few escaped the Holocaust, but the people of Kovno risked their lives to record their fate in thousands of photographs and documents. Kovno Ghetto pieces together their story, from the first stirrings of war to the annihilation of the ghetto just days before the city's liberation.
- ***Oratorio for Prague*** (26 min., 1968/1990). The only filmed record of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. This gripping document also includes never-before-seen scenes from the Prague Spring before the invasion.

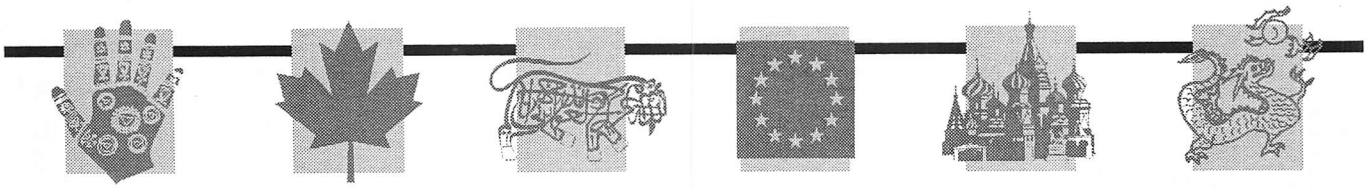
- ***Rural Russia*** (1998, 50 min.). The residents of small villages in northeast Russia depend upon the closeness of family and friends, hard work, and pride. This documentary portrait captures a world where the land still looms larger than technology.
- ***Russia: Hidden Memory*** (56 min., 1995). Students and scholars of folklore visit elderly Russian villagers, recording their songs, dances, and stories, and collecting traditional costumes.
- ***Landmarks of Faith: Russian Orthodox Alaska*** (46 min., 1999). Details the construction of the town of Sitka in the old Russian colony we now know as Alaska. Looks at the construction of houses of Orthodox worship in the immense wilderness, where fur traders reaped fortunes from the pelts of seals and sea otters.
- ***Tartar Crusaders*** (50 min.). In 1243, Pope Innocent IV sent forth a series of emissaries to discern the will of the Mongol lords and persuade them to accept Christianity. Unexpectedly, the papal envoys discovered a government that actively encouraged religious tolerance.
- ***Vilnius: The Symbol of a New Europe*** (45 min., 1998). Rarely visited during its years of Soviet occupation, Vilnius now stands as the vibrant social center of independent Lithuania. This film showcases the city's historic churches, ethnic heritage, educational institutions, music, and nightlife.
- ***World Religions: Russian Orthodox.*** This videotape provides a concise and informative introduction to Russian Christianity.

FICTION AND EXPERIMENTAL FILMS

- ***Beshkempir, the Adopted Son*** (Aktan Abdykalykov, Kyrgyzstan, 1998, 81 min., DVD). The first independent feature ever made in Kyrgyzstan, this film follows a boy living out a typical childhood, until he discovers one day that he is adopted. Kyrgyz with English subtitles.
- ***Chapayev*** (Serge Vasilyev/Georgi Vasilyev, USSR, 1934, 100 min.). The account of a beloved hero of the Russian Revolution, an illiterate Russian who served in the tsar's army, then after the Revolution formed his own forces to fight alongside the Reds. Russian with English subtitles.
- ***The Decalogue*** (Krzysztof Kieslowski, Poland, 1988–1989, DVD, 2 discs). *Decalogue* explores the timeless moral issues of human existence through ten contemporary tales, each based on one of the Ten Commandments. Originally produced for Polish television, the series of separate but intertwining films transcended the boundaries of film and TV, winning honors as it played around the world. All ten films in a two-disc set. Polish with English subtitles.
- ***Early Russian Cinema*** (Russia/USSR, 1908–1919, 10 videotapes). This ten-part video anthology considers the early thematic, cultural, political, and artistic developments of Russian cinema. The films span the time from the first Russian dramatic production, *Stenka Razin* (Romashkov, 1908), and even earlier documentaries such as *A Fish Factory in Astrakhan* (1908), to *The Funeral of Vera Kholodnaia* (1919), which records the vast public response to the early death of Russia's greatest star.
- ***Prisoner of the Mountains*** (Sergei Bodrov, Russia, 1996, 99 min.). A moral drama of love and war, Sergei Bodrov's Academy Award-nominated film is an update of Tolstoy's classic tale of the Caucasus, set in the context of the contemporary conflicts between Russians and Chechens. Russian with English subtitles.
- ***The Red and the White*** (Miklos Jancso, Hungary, 1968, 92 min.). Set in Central Russia during the Civil War, the story details the constant shifting of power between White guards and Red soldiers, first at an abandoned monastery and later at a field hospital. The film exhibits Jancso's signature wide-screen technique of very long takes and a ceaselessly tracking camera movement. Hungarian with English subtitles.
- ***Storm over Asia*** (Vsevolod Pudovkin, USSR, 1928, 70 min., DVD). Pudovkin's epic tells the story of an exploited Mongolian fur trader who becomes involved in the Mongolian uprising against the British during the period of the Russian Civil War. Silent with a music track.
- ***Turksib/Salt for Svanetia*** (Viktor Turin/Mikhail Kalatozov, USSR, 1929/1930, 110 min.). A gritty documentary on the construction of the Turkestan-Siberia railway, *Turksib* (57 min.) actively defies the conventions of plot- and character-driven films. *Salt* (53 min.) depicts life on the brink of starvation in an isolated village high in the Caucasus Mountains. English titles.

OTHER

- ***Music of the Baltic Lands*** (Recording on CD). The University of Washington Chamber Singers, conducted by Dr. Geoffrey Boers, recorded in live performance of Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian classics. Presented by the UW School of Music and the Baltic Studies Program.
- ***The Ideas of Karl Marx*** (Educational CD-ROM).
- ***Lithuania, Independent Again: The Autobiography of Vytautas Landsbergis*** (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000). The leader of the Baltic independence movement, who visited the UW this last November, offers a view from inside the historic changes in his country.
- ***Higher Education in Estonia*** (2nd Edition: Tallinn, 2000). This reference text includes an introduction to the country's new system of higher education and a directory of institutions.
- ***Nuclear Legacy: Students of Two Atomic Cities*** (Maureen McQuerry, with Tetyana Gavrysh and Inna Ryazanova; Richland: Battelle Press, 2000). Documents a collaborative project involving Ukrainian and American middle school students from the regions surrounding Chernobyl and Hanford. Articles researched and written by the students themselves cover subjects as diverse as regional history, the 1986 nuclear accident at Chernobyl, environmental concerns in Washington State, and the future of communication across nuclear cultures. In English and Ukrainian. ◆



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WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 31

International Business

The Euro R.I.P?

Robert C. (Rocky) Higgins, Professor of Finance, School of Business

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 14

Western Europe

Sexuality in Scandinavia—Myth and Reality: A Cultural Perspective

Ia Dubois, Lecturer, Scandinavian Studies

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 28

Middle East

Challenges of Democracy in an Undemocratic Culture: The Case of Iran

Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak, Professor, Near Eastern Languages & Civilization

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 14

International Studies

From Genocide to Reconciliation: Varieties of Ethnic Conflict in Today's World

Dan Chirot, Professor, Jackson School of International Studies

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 28

Russia, Eastern Europe and Central Asia

The Coming Collapse of Russian Education?: Demographics and the Fate of Schooling in the Former Soviet Union

Stephen T. Kerr, Professor, College of Education

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 11

Southeast Asia

Beyond Rangoon: Political Instability in Burma

Mary Callahan, Assistant Professor, Jackson School of International Studies

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 25

East Asia

North-South Interactions on the Korean Peninsula: Implications for the U.S.

Clark Sorensen, Associate Professor, Jackson School of International Studies

WEDNESDAY, MAY 9

Canada

The Emergence of Canadian Cinema: The Making of an Industry through Government Policy

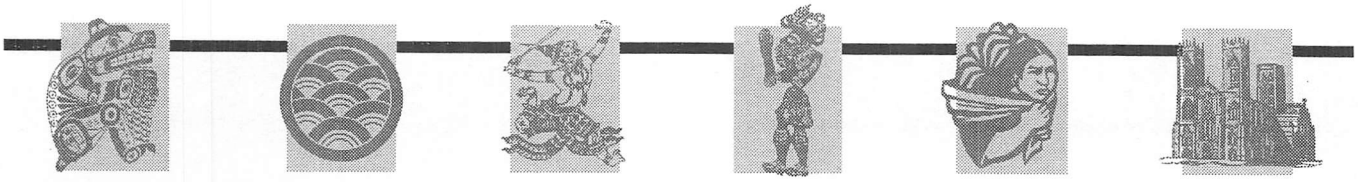
Darryl Macdonald, Director, Cinema Seattle/Seattle International Film Festival

WEDNESDAY, MAY 23

South Asia

The Cultural Politics of Wildlife Policy in India

Kalayanakrishnan Sivaramakrishnan, Assistant Professor, Anthropology



INTERNATIONAL UPDATES 2001

LOCATION FOR EACH LECTURE-DINNER: Walker-Ames Room, Kane Hall, University of Washington, Seattle

TIME: 5:30 – 8:00 p.m.

COST: Lecture-Dinner fee is $22.00 per session, per person. Check or money order only, payable to the University of Washington.

DEADLINE for registration is one week prior to each session. Please register early, as space is limited.

FOR MORE INFORMATION call 206-543-1675 or e-mail *cwes@u.washington.edu*

Please mail registration form and fees of $22.00 per session, per person *(payable to the University of Washington)* to:

International Updates Registration
c/o Center for West European Studies
University of Washington
Box 353650
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International Updates 2001: Trends and Transitions in Your World

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Check if:

- ❑ Vegetarian meals are desired
- ❑ Clock hours are desired (no additional charge, but teachers must attend at least two updates to earn clock hours)

Please mark the dates for which you are registering:

- ❑ Wednesday, January 31: International Business (Higgins)
- ❑ Wednesday, February 14: Western Europe (Dubois)
- ❑ Wednesday, February 28: Middle East (Karimi-Hakkak)
- ❑ Wednesday, March 14: International Studies (Chirot)
- ❑ Wednesday, March 28: Russia, Eastern Europe and Central Asia (Kerr)
- ❑ Wednesday, April 11: Southeast Asia (Callahan)
- ❑ Wednesday, April 25: East Asia (Sorensen)
- ❑ Wednesday, May 9: Canada (Macdonald)
- ❑ Wednesday, May 23: South Asia (Sivaramakrishnan)

REECAS WINTER QUARTER EVENTS

JANUARY 29: Ethnic Conflict and Conflict Resolution
"Transitions to Independence and Commitments to Minorities," David D. Laitin, Stanford University, Parrington Hall Forum (309), 3:30 p.m.

FEBRUARY 3: International Documentary Film
Effective Use in the Classroom (a workshop for educators), 8:30 a.m. – 4:30 p.m., Thomson Hall Room 235; see p. 19 for more information.

APRIL 6: REECAS Seminar
"Water in Central Asia: Root of Conflict or Tool for Cooperation?," Philip Micklin, Professor of Geography, Western Michigan University, time and place to be announced.

FEBRUARY 10: $Asia_2O$: Water Issues across Asia
A seminar for educators and the general public, Thomson Hall; see p. 20 for more information.

FEBRUARY 12: Ethnic Conflict and Conflict Resolution
"Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," James Fearon, Stanford University, Parrington Hall Forum (309), 3:30 p.m.

MARCH 1: Putin and the New Russian Foreign Policy
"Putin's Foreign Policy: Challenging the U.S. with a Practical Approach," Celeste Wallander, Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations, 7:30 p.m., Kane Hall Room 210.

MARCH 2: In the Eye of the Revolution
A Symposium on Early Soviet Film
9:00 a.m. – 6:30 p.m., HUB Room 310; see p. 11 for more information.

MARCH 8: Putin and the New Russian Foreign Policy
"The Promotion of Democracy in Putin's Russia: Myths and Realities," Sarah Mendelson, Assistant Professor of International Politics, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, 7:30 p.m., Kane Hall Room 210.

MARCH 28: International Update Dinner-Lecture
"The Coming Collapse of Russian Education? Demographics and the Fate of Schooling in the Former Soviet Union," Stephen T. Kerr, Professor of Education, UW, Walker-Ames Room, Kane Hall, 5:30 – 8:00 p.m.; see pp. 30-31 for more information.

APRIL 5: Ethnic Conflict and Conflict Resolution
"When Genocide? Interpretations of the Causes and Timing of the Armenian Genocide," Ronald Grigor Suny, Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago, Parrington Hall Forum (309), 3:30 p.m.

APRIL 6: REECAS Seminar
"Constructing Primordialism: Old Histories for New Nations in the Post-Soviet Region," Ronald Grigor Suny, Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago, Thomson Hall Room 317, 3:30 – 5:00 p.m.

APRIL 12: Putin and the New Russian Foreign Policy
"Russia's Relations with Eastern Europe and the Baltic States: A New Divide in Europe?" Mark Kramer, Harvard Project on Cold War Studies, Harvard University, 7:30 p.m., Kane Hall Room 210.

Please call 206-543-4852 for information on all events.

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