

The Languages of Ukraine's Orange Revolution

BY LAADA BILANIUK

This past fall, the people of Ukraine carried out a revolution. Making news around the world, hundreds of thousands of people took to the streets in Kyiv and other cities throughout Ukraine to protest the widespread fraud that gave the run-off presidential election win to Viktor Yanukovich. Yanukovich, Prime Minister at the time, was favored by the regime of incumbent President Kuchma, and publicly backed by Russia's President Putin and the Kremlin. His opponent, Viktor Yushchenko, promised to eradicate the widespread political and economic corruption in Ukraine, to promote democracy and to integrate Ukraine more closely with Europe.¹

During several research stays in Ukraine over the last decade, I found many people pessimistic about the possibility of eliminating the corruption in the political and economic systems in their country. In fact, protests occasionally occurred. For example, in 2000, demonstrators called for President Kuchma's ouster when audio tapes allegedly implicated him in the murder of journalist and government critic Georgii Gongadze. But these protests failed to have much impact, thus reinforcing the public's general sense of disempowerment. Furthermore, sociological research showed that a large portion of Ukraine's population remained politically noncommittal.²

In the fall of 2004, things changed. The manipulation of the November 21st election was too blatant. Internet news sites, and two television stations that had held out against government control, were key in disseminating news of the large discrepancies between the official results and exit polls. They also reported instances of disappearing ink, ballot stuffing, people bussed station to station to vote multiple times and other electoral process transgressions. One of the first



© YURIY VERBOVSKY

The fifth day of protests in Kiev

dissenters in the state-run media was sign-language interpreter Natalya Dmytruk, who instead of conveying news of Yanukovich's supposed victory, told hearing-impaired viewers not to believe the rigged results, that in fact Yushchenko was the true winner, and apologized for

having conveyed previous untrue statements.³ Many other journalists and reporters in the state-run media also refused to report the government-dictated falsities and joined the demonstrations. Yushchenko's once handsome

continued on page 2

INSIDE THIS ISSUE

New Program in Prague	5
Observing the October Election in Belarus	6
The Donald W. Treadgold Papers	9
Indispensable Knowledge: Rebuilding Russian Studies	10
Islam, Asia, Modernity Symposium	11
A Summer in Tajikistan	12
Nicholas Poppe Symposium on Inner/Central Asian Studies Call for Papers	15
REECAS Northwest Conference	15
Nine Months Later: Lithuania in the EU	16
Ellison Center News	18
Exploring Chernobyl's Complexities On-Site and in the Classroom	19
Visiting REECAS Scholars	22
Summer Seminar for Educators	23
Upcoming Ellison Center Events	24

continued from page 1

face, disfigured by the attempt on his life by dioxin poisoning in September, was a poignant symbol of what was at stake: the choice between a more open and fair government versus the existing trend of Soviet-style control of information, including efforts to eliminate problematic dissenters such as Gongadze and Yushchenko.

Popular musicians joined the call to break people from their complacency towards the increasingly authoritarian regime and to demand human rights. A rap song, "*Razom nas bahato, nas ne podolaty*" (together we are many, we will not be defeated) resounded among the protesters, and became recognized as the "Hymn of the Orange Revolution." Middle-aged people even confessed to learning to like rap during the demonstrations.⁴

During the days of the protest, a friend from Kyiv wrote that in contrast to the usual cynical mood regarding politics, she saw faces beaming with hope and optimism for the first time. She even felt herself swept into the atmosphere of generosity and goodwill among the people in the streets of the city. Vivid against the black and white wintry landscape, the orange color of Yushchenko's campaign was visible everywhere in ribbons, flags and anything orange that people could find to wear or display.

Despite frigid temperatures, the protesters were festive and defiant.

As the world watched, the massive protests and political negotiations ultimately prevailed against the fraudulent election and a new, more carefully monitored election was held on December 26th. Yushchenko won this election by a comfortable 8% margin, and was inaugurated President on January 23, 2005. This win was a triumph for the democratic process and a major challenge to authoritarian regimes throughout the post-Soviet region. But support for Yushchenko was not unanimous, and one of the biggest challenges of the new government will be mediating the social divisions within Ukrainian society.

Why did so many Ukrainians—44% of all voters in the December 26th election, mostly in the east and south of the country—vote for Yanukovich? Analysts in the press quickly latched onto a simple explanation: the controversy over the election was a case of East versus West. Yushchenko's supporters were West-oriented, Ukrainian-speaking, western Ukrainians, and Yanukovich's supporters were Russophilic, Russian-speaking, eastern Ukrainians. While based on historic regional differences, this simplification was misleading. There were significant public showings of support for Yushchenko in some eastern

as well as western cities. Moreover, Kyiv, the site of the most massive public support for Yushchenko, is in the very center of the country, and is difficult to characterize with simple linguistic or cultural labels.

The issue of language affiliation, which has been the focus of my research, bears closer discussion, as it has been a key dimension of political controversy. During Soviet times in Kyiv, it was rare to hear anything but Russian. Even now, Kyivans use Russian in public more often than Ukrainian, although the use of Ukrainian has been on the rise since independence.⁵ Ukrainian has begun to lose its previous connotations of backwardness as it has been promoted in education, the media, state institutions and popular culture. This rise of Ukrainian has been facilitated by the 1989 legislation, reaffirmed in the 1994 constitution, which made it the sole state language of the country. It was inevitable that the promotion of Ukrainian would encroach on what had been exclusively Russian spheres, which some people saw as threatening to the dominant status of Russian. Yanukovich hoped to capitalize on any misgivings Russophones may have, by promising to make Russian a second official language, just as the incumbent president Kuchma had promised. Kuchma had not carried

ELLISON CENTER

203B Thomson Hall, Box 353650

University of Washington

Seattle, WA 98195-3650

PHONE: 206-543-4852

EMAIL: reecas@u.washington.edu

REECAS on the Internet:

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

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

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

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

Carrie Dyk, Newsletter Editor
EMAIL: dykc@u.washington.edu

Laura Dean, Outreach and Website Assistant
EMAIL: deanla@u.washington.edu

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

John Mason, Managing Editor, Treadgold Papers
EMAIL: treadgld@u.washington.edu

ELLISON CENTER EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

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

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

Katarzyna Dziwirek, Associate Professor
Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures

James R. Felak, Associate Professor
Department of History

Stephen E. Hanson, REECAS Director and
Chair; Associate Professor
Department of Political Science

Beth Kolko, Associate Professor
Department of Technical Communication

Judith Thornton, Professor
Department of Economics

© YURIY VERBOVSKYY



Yushchenko with Yulia Tymoshenko

through with his campaign promise: it was easier to leave the controversial issue that would entail constitutional amendments aside, allowing language dynamics to work themselves out at lower levels.

While Yanukovych tried to appeal to Russophones, the protesters of the Orange Revolution spoke and carried signs in both languages. Language did not appear to be a divisive issue among them. Yushchenko himself is from a northeastern Ukrainian city, Sunny, 40km from the border with Russia. His most visible campaign supporter, Yulia Tymoshenko, now appointed as Prime Minister, grew up speaking Russian in the southeastern city of Dnipropetrovsk and reportedly did not speak Ukrainian until after independence. While Yushchenko was against legislation granting Russian language official status alongside Ukrainian, he made a point of occasionally speaking publicly in Russian to emphasize his acceptance of this language as part of Ukrainian life.

The simplistic presentation of an East-West split as explanatory of the divide between supporters of Yanukovych versus Yushchenko was also politically misleading; it reduced the opposition between the candidates to a regional-cultural difference, diverting attention away from the legitimate political issues. Yanukovych represented a corrupt autocracy (continuing the status quo of Kuchma's regime), while Yushchenko represented a promise of democratic reform.

Why, then, did so many eastern and southern Ukrainians vote for Yanukovych? Part of the explanation may lie in the restricted and manipulated flow of information to eastern regions. Where there were "so many nice things," as one Crimean woman said about Yanukovych on state-controlled television and newspapers, there were likewise rumors in both Donetsk and Crimea that Yushchenko was doing America's bidding and would close down Ukrainian mines in order to store American toxic waste.⁶ Soviet-era fears of American malicious intentions are apparently still alive.

Another segment of support for Yanukovych was more opportunistic. In a system where favors and connections play a significant role in administrative appointments at every level, there were people who feared that they might lose their jobs and their influence if Yushchenko should win and subsequently crack down on corruption.⁷ Pensioners and workers in southeastern Ukraine were given raises shortly before the election. While some saw this as a blatant effort at bribery, others believed that this was evidence that their local candidate, Yanukovych, cared about their interests, and that they should vote for him to retain these benefits.⁸

In addition to the opportunism, misinformation and wild rumors, support for Yanukovych in the southeast of the country also stemmed from an ideological preference for Slavic unity, in particular with powerful neighboring

Russia. Many people, especially in eastern Ukraine, have familial ties in Russia. After decades of open borders between the Soviet republics, Yanukovych's promise of instating dual Ukrainian-Russian citizenship appealed to those who had found crossing post-Soviet, international borders onerous.

Yanukovych, even with his criminal record of assault and robbery, represented a comforting familiarity to many Ukrainians. For entrepreneurs, doing business with Westerners often meant prioritizing efficiency and impartiality, and doing away with the Soviet/Slavic social rituals through which mutual understandings were established and business dealings were personalized.

Openness to the West and western products had coincided with drastic economic instabilities for many people. Yushchenko's platform of striving for further integration with Europe was seen by some as leading to further erosion of a familiar way of life.

In late November, when politicians in the southeastern Ukrainian regions recognized that Yushchenko's presidential bid might be successful and thus threaten their access to power, they attempted to capitalize on regional differences by proposing a move for regional autonomy. A meeting of about 4,000 local councilors from southeastern Ukrainian regions in Donetsk oblast was also attended by Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov, who referred to the pro-Yushchenko "Orange Revolution" as "The Sabbath of witches who have been fattened up with oranges."⁹ Many Ukrainians saw Russia's support of separatism (through Luzhkov) as an effort to divide and to conquer, aided by regional politicians who wanted to maintain their influence. In the end, the threat of separatism fizzled, lacking both grass-roots support and economic viability.¹⁰

Unquestionably, the gross characterizations of eastern versus western Ukrainian regional identities do have some truth based in historic circumstances. Eastern and central Ukraine experienced Russian dominance for centuries within the Russian empire, and then in the USSR. The eastern regions in particular saw much immigration from Russia and other parts of the USSR as mining and

continued from page 3

industry developed. Western Ukraine was under Austro-Hungarian and Polish rule, but never under Russian control. It did not become part of the Soviet Union until after WWII. Crimea had much of its Crimean Tatar population deported at the end of WWII, and only joined Ukraine in 1954, becoming a premier vacation spot of the Soviet elite. These historic demographic circumstances mean that there are more people who consider themselves Russian, or Russian their native language, in the south and east than in the west. But the East-West or Russian-Ukrainian oppositions obscure a more complex cultural and linguistic dynamic. For example, there are many Ukrainian citizens who prefer to speak Russian, but want closer ties with Europe than with Russia. Polls showed that 20% of ethnic Russian Ukrainians, who tend to be Russophones (but no longer exclusively so in the years since independence), supported opposition leader Yushchenko.¹¹ There are also Ukrainophones who reject the West, are nostalgic for the USSR, and would rather build east Slavic unity. Since most people in Ukraine are bilingual to some degree, and many actively use both languages in their daily life, it is problematic even to try to divide people according to language as the press often did.

Russian and Ukrainian are closely related, but significant phonological and lexical differences impede mutual comprehension if a speaker does not already have some exposure to both languages. In Ukraine, however, almost everyone has had exposure if not schooling in both languages, leading to widespread bilingualism. People who cannot or choose not to speak both languages are for the most part passively bilingual, that is, they can understand the other language. It has become very common, both in public interactions and in television and radio programs, for people to carry on non-reciprocal bilingual conversations: each person speaks their preferred language, but both understand each other. This practice has defused the potentially explosive issue of language choice. While some people bemoan that this allows the once dominant Russian language to continue to dominate, the acceptance of non-reciprocal bilingualism has in many ways also facilitated the spread of Ukrainian.

Thirteen years after independence, the public and institutional use of Ukrainian has expanded significantly, but Russian continues to be widely used. In Kyiv, people can now usually feel comfortable speaking either language in public, although Russian is still the dominant, less marked, choice. Ethnolinguistic tensions have not disappeared entirely. My friend in Kyiv, who generally prefers to speak Ukrainian, wrote that with people speaking Russian, she switched to Russian so as not to risk angering them against Ukrainians or against "the orange ones" (Yushchenko supporters). She felt that it was still a safer bet to use Russian publicly in Kyiv, as she had during the Soviet period. She tended to begin interactions in Russian with people she did not know, while Ukrainian was reserved for friends or people she heard using Ukrainian. Paradoxically, she can be characterized as a Ukrainophone who contributes to Russian dominance in public spaces of the city. Yushchenko's victory will likely make it more comfortable for her and others like her, who would prefer to speak Ukrainian in public, to do so.

Families and friendships were bitterly divided by their support of different candidates in the last election, but few people wanted to see Ukraine split in two.¹² Earlier analysts had faulted Ukrainians for being politically non-committal,¹³ but it may be that the penchant for "having it both ways" worked to bring together Ukrainophones and Russophones—and those who do not fit neatly into either category—to join under the orange banners to fight for their human rights. In a speech to protesters in Kyiv, Yushchenko argued that all Ukrainians should know Ukrainian, Russian, English, French and German, so that Ukraine may return to the level of international connections and respect it had in centuries past.¹⁴ Yushchenko's multilingual vision may not be within reach for most Ukrainians, but he expresses a pluralistic ideal that may be the best bet for forging a democratic future in Ukraine. Any simple solution in favor of only Ukrainian or Russian is bound to fan ethnolinguistic tensions. But in the end, the idea that all Ukrainians should know Ukrainian, along with other internationally powerful languages—is already a huge step

favoring Ukrainian, a language that Tsarist and Soviet ideologies repressed and designated for extinction. The Orange Revolution has given people in Ukraine the hope that their voices will be heard, that they can have a say—in Ukrainian or Russian—about their country's future. ♦

Laada Bilaniuk is an Assistant Professor in the UW Department of Anthropology, specializing in language ideologies, cultural politics, gender and popular culture in Ukraine. Her book on language politics in Ukraine, entitled *Contested Tongues*, is forthcoming in fall 2005 from Cornell University Press.

- 1 My thanks to Dominique Arel, compiler of the electronic Ukraine List (UKL), and Roman Senkus, who distributed many of the sources referred to in this article electronically.
- 2 Riabchuk, Mykola. "Ambivalence to Ambiguity: Why Ukrainians Remain Undecided?" Paper presented at conference, "L'Ukraine et le monde extérieur dix ans après l'indépendance" at the Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales [Paris] 5 Apr. 2002.
- 3 Vasovic, Aleksandar. "State Controlled Media Turning More Critical." *Seattle Times* 1 Dec. 2004.
- 4 Wagstyl, Stefan and Tom Warner. "Dancing in the Streets as 'a Nation Is Born.'" *Financial Times* 4 Dec. 2004.
- 5 In 2002, I worked with Hanna Zaluzniak of the Kyiv City "Hromads'ka Dumka" Center for Sociological Research to organize a survey of 450 people representative of the city of Kyiv, which included a question asking respondents to identify the percentage of people on the streets of Kyiv speaking Ukrainian. This added some statistical data to my own impressions of increased public usage of Ukrainian. On average, respondents answered that 36% of people in Kyiv spoke Ukrainian in public.
- 6 Mulvey, Stephen. "Ukraine's Local Industrial Heart." *BBC News* [Donetsk] 3 Dec. 2004 and Trofimov, Yaroslav. "Yushchenko's Formidable Challenge." *Wall Street Journal* 20 Dec. 2004.
- 7 Melnyk, Oleksandr. "Why Does the East and South Vote Yanukovich?" Electronic letter posted to The Ukraine List #263. 13 Nov. 2004.
- 8 Meek, James. "Divided They Stand." *The Guardian* [UK] 10 Dec. 2004.
- 9 Maksymiuk, Jan. "Will Ukraine Split in Wake of Divisive Ballot?" *RFE/RL Newsline* Vol. 8, No. 223, Part II, 30 Nov. 2004.
- 10 Blinova, Ekaterina and Maksim Glinkin. "Too Many Ukrainians: A Titular Nationality Dominates in the Eastern Regions of Ukraine that Allegedly Supported Yanukovich." *Nezavisimaia Gazeta* [Moscow] 4 Dec. 2004 and Schwabe, Alexander. "The Leeches of Ukraine." *Spiegel Online International* [Germany] 3 Dec. 2004.
- 11 Riabchuk, Mykola. "The Ukrainian Fault-Line: Citizens Versus Subjects." *Berliner Zeitung* 3 Dec. 2004.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 For example, Riabchuk 2002.
- 14 Wynnyckyj, Mychailo. "Yushchenko Redeemed." Electronic letter posted to The Ukraine List #297. 2 Dec. 2004.

New Program in Prague

This past summer, the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures and the International Programs and Exchanges (IPE) office launched a new C-term program in Prague.

The program creators designed it for students who have completed one year of Czech; so shortly after Intensive Summer Czech ended, eight students boarded a plane for a three-week language and cultural immersion experience in one of Europe's loveliest cities. Students spent three days a week studying the Czech language. When not in class, they explored Prague's many churches, museums, castles and other historical monuments. They visited the historical town of Kutná Hora, the medieval Karlovačín castle and the concentration camp Terezín. An exciting and unusual part of the program was a guest lecture series, which included talks by luminaries such as history professor M. Homerova, Civic Forum activist Dr. Ivan Rynda and acclaimed writer Ivan Klima. Evening excursions included a performance of *Faust* at the Black Light

Theatre and a concert by the Prague Philharmonic Orchestra. After their intense study, students returned to Seattle enthusiastic and impressed by the depth and variety of their experience. Organizers hope that the program will continue to grow and to attract students from other universities.

Thanks go to Czech lecturer Jaroslava Soldanova, Fulbright scholar Jitka Ryndova and the dedicated staff at the IPE for their hard work in putting this program together. Deep gratitude also goes to Wayne Jehlik, a Slavic L&L alum, for creating the Jehlik Scholarship fund. This scholarship awarded \$1,500 to a C-term in Prague student. Michelle Foshee helped with publicizing the new program. ♦

We are currently accepting applications for the 2005 C-term in Prague. First priority given to applications received by July 8th. To learn more, please visit our website: <http://courses.washington.edu/learn.cz>.



University of Washington Intensive Language Programs

June 20th—August 19th, 2005

Earn one year of foreign language credit in only nine weeks. Our immersion program offers over 100 hours of classroom instruction. In addition, students attend after class activities, which in the past have included sing-a-longs, folk dancing, plays, poetry readings, film screenings, lectures and Slavic food preparation.

Summer quarter 2005 course offerings include:

- First-year Czech
- First-year Polish
- First, second and third-year Russian

Contact the Department for information:

Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures
M253 Smith Hall, Box 353580
Seattle, WA 98195
<http://depts.washington.edu/slavweb/>

Learn a language and have fun while you're at it!

Observing the October Election in Belarus

BY SARAH ISAKSON

One month prior to the start of Ukraine's Orange Revolution, international and local observers called into question the results of neighboring Belarus' election. Many aspects of the Belarus election evidenced serious irregularities.¹ Yet unlike events in Ukraine, no massive street protests occurred, and the official results gained acceptance despite observer's and reports of fraud and misconduct.

Although not a presidential election, the October 17th election in Belarus still held great potential in determining the course of the country's future. After the call for the parliamentary election for deputies to Belarus' House of Representatives, President Aleksandr Lukashenko added a referendum to the ballot that overshadowed the entire election. This referendum would eliminate the two-

participating states in Europe, Central Asia and North America. Last year, they observed elections in Kazakhstan, Serbia, Macedonia, Ukraine as well as the US presidential election.

Short-term observers, like myself, only spend about a week in the country, just enough time to observe the actual voting and counting process. Long-term observers, however, had been in Minsk for several weeks prior to our arrival, monitoring the election administration, legal framework, media environment and the general conditions surrounding the election. As usual, OSCE/ODIHR adeptly orchestrated our transportation as well as provided us with all the needed materials and information for the mission. OSCE also arranged for an interpreter, driver, observing partner

the day after arrival. The somewhat uneasy relationship between the OSCE and the host country made for a particularly cautious briefing in Minsk. "We have never been under so much scrutiny," cautioned an OSCE senior staff member. The local media had recently published personal attacks against OSCE staff, alleging bias in favor of the opposition, among other things. Therefore, they emphatically warned us to be on our best behavior. The government's official welcome of the OSCE contradicted the Lukashenko regime's clear antipathy toward the West.

Due to the tense climate, everything at the highly diplomatic briefing required close attention and some reading between the lines in order to decipher what had actually been occurring. My notes from the briefing include mention of "disappearances of prominent political people"—all members of the opposition—and the "government's recent liquidation of the main opposition party." Yet, they failed to emphasize or to comment upon these events, as if these were the most normal and uninteresting of the pre-election data.

After the briefing, everyone eagerly clamored around lists posted in the hotel lobby to see to which of Belarus' six regions they would soon be departing. OSCE assigned Ivan, the lone Croatian on the mission, and me to the city of Gomel, Belarus' second largest city, in the eastern corner of the country near the borders with Ukraine and Russia. According to city information we received, 18 synagogues once stood in Gomel. Today only one remains. The locals I asked while there, however, did not know its location or even if it still existed. The city's proximity to Chernobyl constituted Gomel's other main point of interest among the observers. In fact, NGOs such as *Chernobyl Children's Project* still take children from Gomel to live with host families in Ireland and elsewhere for a summer of "fresh air". Yet, everyone said that today there were no problems living in Gomel, as long as one did not venture into the contaminated zones. When I discussed this with



© SARAH ISAKSON

Observation team after the election in Gomel

term constitutional limit, thereby allowing himself to run for a third term in 2006.

I went to Belarus as a short-term election observer, along with about 270 other observers from 38 different countries. The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and their Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (OSCE/ODIHR) routinely monitors elections throughout the OSCE's 55

and supplies in advance. Upon arrival, I assembled with the other short-term observers in the capital city of Minsk. There we en masse checked in and out of hotels, got on and off buses, went to and from meals and attended briefings as instructed.

As usual for OSCE programs, we attended a one-day briefing covering the particulars of the election, the campaign environment and observation procedures

Tatyana, our interpreter born and raised in Gomel, she said, "It is not advisable to live in Gomel." She did not elaborate.

Upon my return to the US, I was able to do more research about the effects of Chernobyl on this region. I learned that a resident scientist and former rector of Gomel Medical Institute, Yuriy Bandazhevsky, conducted research demonstrating that 1.5 million people

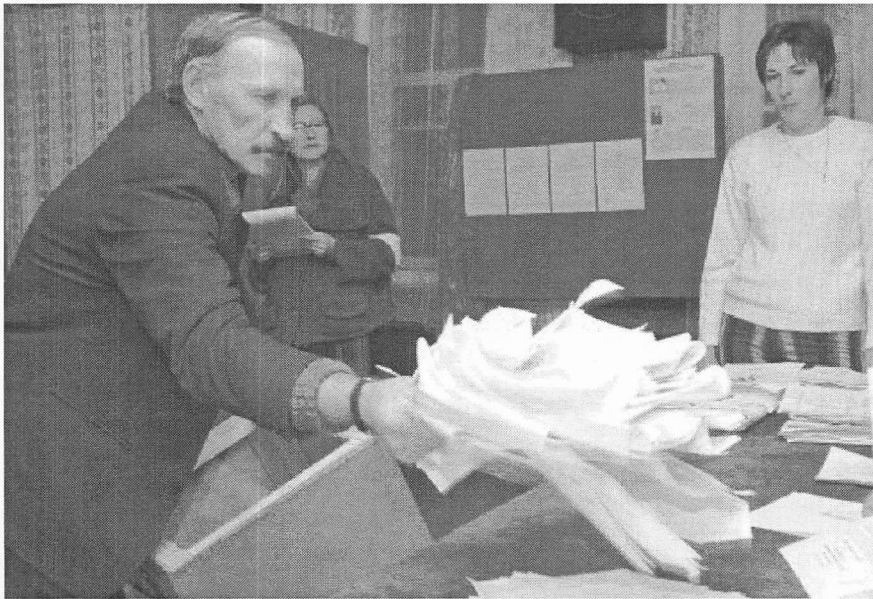
We then set out in teams of four, including interpreter and driver, armed with lists of polling stations and observation forms. During my first time observing elections in Montenegro, a Danish colleague told me two camps of people went on these missions: those passionate about electoral rules and regulations and those interested in traveling and seeing new places. Regardless into

On election day, the pace quickened. We raced from polling station to polling station, observing about 30 minutes in each, completing the standardized forms and faxing our findings to the mission headquarters in Minsk. At some polling stations, the officials happily answered our questions; at others, they appeared unnerved by our presence and refused to provide the information that constitutes a routine part of OSCE missions. Such refusals on the part of local election officials surprised many of us, who expected to find the effusively warm hospitality we had experienced at other elections—especially in the Balkans. Well past midnight, after the election ended and the counting was completed, OSCE workers in Minsk compiled the faxed observations from every region for the following day's press conference.

Other observers echoed most of our experiences during a post-election briefing in Minsk. In the OSCE's official report, many of the problems with the election occurred prior to the actual voting. Police raided campaign offices, detained a candidate, campaign workers and opposition observers and prevented large numbers of opposition candidates from even registering to run in the election. No independent electronic media originated inside Belarus and the electoral coverage overwhelmingly gave support to Lukashenko. The OSCE report also mentioned problems with the actual voting and counting procedures. Several polling stations refused observers admittance. A few observers saw evidence of ballot stuffing. Others saw ballots completed prior to voting, and many of us experienced difficulty in getting answers to our questions. Finally, there were reports of coercion and pressure on voters to vote, perhaps contributing to the 90% turnout.² The OSCE press release concluded only, "Universal principles and constitutionally guaranteed rights of expression, association and assembly were seriously challenged."³

The official results contradicted those acquired through a Gallup exit poll. The exit poll showed 48% of voters supported the referendum, while the official results were 77%.⁴ The passage of this referendum cleared the way for Lukashenko to run for a third term in 2006. With the success of the neighboring Orange

continued on page 8



Pollworkers preparing to count ballots

still lived in areas contaminated by Chernobyl. His research showed evidence of illness, birth defects and deaths traceable to the nuclear disaster. Moreover, he documented the authorities' neglect of addressing these problems. He has been in prison since 1999, serving an 8-year sentence for allegedly accepting bribes. There is currently a campaign by Amnesty International to raise awareness about his case; musicians such as The Cure and others have recently signed petitions for his release.

Once in Gomel, our group of 16 observers, from 12 different countries, received a quick briefing from the two long-term observers already there. They went over election day procedures, restaurant recommendations (mostly pizza) and threw in a few stories about being followed by the secret police (still referred to as the KGB). They told us to expect to be followed, "They'll do their job, while we do ours."

which camp one falls, the mission gets particularly interesting when one begins crisscrossing the city to check polling stations. As observers, we wandered into remote schools, factories and hospitals looking for polling stations and met teachers, factory workers and doctors working in these stations. We also drove around a region about which we had little prior knowledge, with the luxury of our very own driver and interpreter. In Belarus, however, our obligations left little time for sightseeing. Early voting took place the week prior to election day, so time that on other missions could have been spent at cafes and scenic drives was consumed by hunting down polling stations and observing as much of the early voting as possible. One afternoon we did take a quick break to stroll along the river in Gomel's leafy downtown park, stopping for mushroom blini—the culinary highlight of my week in Belarus.

continued from page 7



© SARAH ISAKSON

Minsk's Old town Across the Svislock River

Revolution, a new question arises: Could Minsk in 2006 look like Kiev in 2004? *The Washington Post* reported that some of the most enthusiastic protesters camped outside in Kiev actually came from Zubr, a Belarus youth group. In a brutally clear example of the difference between the neighboring countries, Belarusian authorities stopped several of these activists on their way home from Kiev, taking them off the train, beating and detaining them.

Even before Ukraine's street protests, Lukashenko's regime did not seem to take any chances. In the weeks before the election, the Ministry of Information suspended a dozen independent print media outlets. On election day, Pavel Sheremet, a journalist from Russia's *Channel One* known for his criticism of Lukashenko, was beaten and hospitalized. In December, a top opposition politician who had run against Lukashenko in the past received a five-year prison sentence. He was charged with stealing US government property, despite US Embassy protests that American officials donated the property to Mikhail Marinich. Few sources reported that opposition protesters demonstrated in Minsk for

several days against the Belarus election results, albeit in small numbers. The government violently suppressed these protests on October 19th, the day we left Minsk, with several beatings and the detention of about 40 protesters, including several prominent members of the opposition.

On our last morning in Minsk, I took a stroll near the hotel through the immaculate, somber streets. I wondered if the serious-faced men in leather jackets standing on various street corners would find a lone American with a camera suspicious. Consequently, I came home without any pictures of the most striking, visible reminders of Belarus' recent history: the gigantic Lenin statues still standing in Gomel and Minsk. Overall, Soviet monuments in Belarus have not been toppled. If one had just arrived in Minsk or Gomel from another planet, one might assume that Belorussians celebrated Lenin as either their much-loved hero or their current leader.

One of the last conversations I had in Minsk with a young member of the opposition, working as a translator for the OSCE, affirmed my suspicions. She told me that the majority of the young

and middle-aged population disliked Lukashenko, but feared speaking out against him.

As we all packed to leave Minsk for cheerier locations, there seemed to be a feeling of resigned hopelessness in the air. That was a month before Ukraine's successful revolution. Does Lukashenko's increasingly tight grip rule out a similar scenario for Belarus or does it merely reveal fear of such a possibility? Either way, the question of Belarus' future in 2006 remains, and I expect the world will be watching closely. ♦

Sarah Isakson is a second-year REECAS MA student at UW. She is currently working on her thesis on protest movements in Serbia during the 1990s. She has served as an elections observer in Montenegro, Kosovo and Belarus.

1 OSCE / ODHR "Election Observation Mission, Republic of Belarus October 17, 2004 Election Final Report" www.osce.org/documents/odihr/2004/12/3951_en.pdf.

2 "OSCE Final Report."

3 "Belarus Elections Fell Significantly Short of OSCE Commitments." OSCE [Minsk] 18 Oct. 2004.

4 This has been widely reported including: Diehl, Jackson. "Battle for Belarus." *The Washington Post* 3 Jan. 2005.

Announcing the New Embodiment of Treadgold Papers:

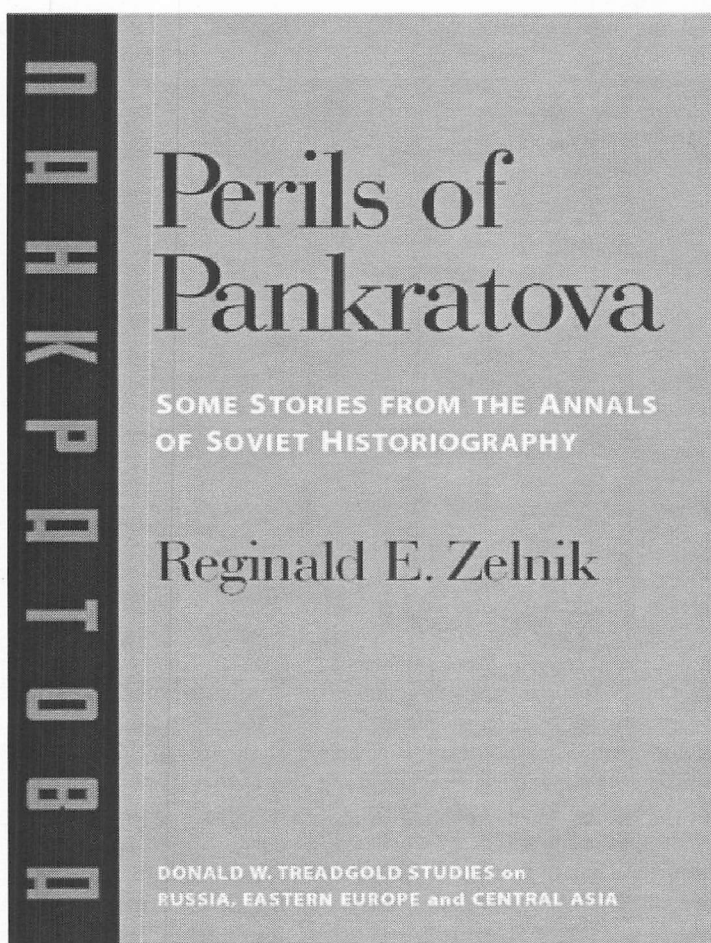
TREADGOLD STUDIES

PUBLISHED IN CONJUNCTION WITH UW PRESS

Reginald E. Zelnik

Perils of Pankratova: Some Stories from the Annals of Soviet Historiography

Forthcoming Spring 2005



Professor Reginald E. Zelnik, who died in a tragic accident in May 2004, was one of the most respected and beloved historians of Russia. His last manuscript is a biography of Anna Pankratova, a woman from Odessa who became a leading labor historian and academic administrator in the Soviet Union from the 1920s to her death in 1957. Her experience during World War II in Kazakhstan, in Soviet Central Asia, led her to champion the national cause of the Kazakhs.

Accompanying Zelnik's monograph are essays by Laura Engelstein, David A. Hollinger, Benjamin Nathans, Yuri Slezkine, and Glennys Young. The volume also encompasses excerpts from two Soviet texts mentioned in Zelnik's monograph, a list of his PhD students at Berkeley, and his curriculum vitae.

University of Washington Press
ISBN 0-295-98520-8 \$12.95

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

For information about earlier issues, visit our website: <http://depts.washington.edu/reecas/dwt/dwt.htm>

Orders for earlier issues should be directed to: Managing Editor, *The Donald W. Treadgold Papers in Russian, East European and Central Asian Studies*, Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington, Box 353650, Seattle, WA 98195-3650. Tel: 206-221-6348, Fax: 206-685-0668, E-mail: treadgld@u.washington.edu.

Submissions are welcomed. For submission information, contact Glennys Young, Editor, at the above address.

Indispensable Knowledge: Rebuilding Russian Studies for the 21st Century

Conclusions from “The Russian Studies Symposium: Keeping the Doors Open in the 21st Century”

BY STEPHEN E. HANSON AND BLAIR RUBLE

A slow erosion of US expertise on Russia and its neighbors threatens to undermine our country’s understanding of this vital region at a crucial turning point in world history. A combination of misguided attacks on “area studies” within academia, the retirements of a number of leading Russia specialists trained during the Cold War and the contemporary prioritization of the Middle East and China in foreign policy circles has left Russian studies with very few vocal advocates. Yet the study of Russia remains as critical today as ever, given its pivotal geopolitical position and central role in the global war on terrorism; its huge arsenal of weapons of mass destruction; its growing importance as an energy exporter; the dangers posed by the spread of infectious diseases and the trafficking of drugs and people through the country; and the opportunities stemming from Russia’s economic rebound and continuing role as a leader in world science and culture.

If Russian Studies represents an indispensable asset for the United States, and, simultaneously, is endangered by a complex set of psychological factors, what needs to be done to change attitudes and reinvigorate the field? To answer this question, the Herbert J. Ellison Center for Russian, East European and Central Asian Studies at the University of Washington’s Jackson School of International Studies and the Woodrow Wilson Center’s Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies convened leaders in the field representing academia, government, the business community and non-governmental organizations to set out what should be done next. The three-day meeting at the University of Washington from November 18–20, 2004 included an inventory of the field’s accomplishments as well as assessment of broad trends and needs.

Some of our main conclusions were negative. The leadership necessary to rebuild Russian Studies will likely not come from academic institutions facing

growing budgetary problems, from US and Russian businesses frightened by the implications of the YUKOS affair or from the still-divided community of Russian émigrés. To convince skeptics that Russian Studies is worth supporting, moreover, we must admit the need for greater efficiency, clearer measures of impact and the development of a

small but well-trained group of younger Russian specialists who entered the field in those years now occupy positions of leadership in academia, government and the NGO sector. This cohort has managed to build upon the intellectual heritage of Soviet Studies, using new theoretical tools, previously-unavailable archival materials and personal connections with



Left to right: Carol Saivetz, George Kolt and Frank Russell

coherent grand strategy for the field as a whole. Our discussions in Seattle generated many exciting suggestions in this regard, revolving around three critical priorities for Russian Studies today: inspiring young people to explore Russia’s great history and culture; expanding the new networks that bind Russian and American citizens as well as academic and non-academic specialists together in sustainable partnerships; and nurturing the next generation of Russia specialists who can lead the field in the decades to come.

In the early 1980s, the administration of President Ronald Reagan, with the support of leaders in the US Congress and influential foundations, launched a major drive to stem a serious decline in enrollments in programs specializing in Russian language, history and politics. As a result of that visionary initiative, a

Russian colleagues to adapt Russian Studies for the 21st century. The field of Russian Studies, despite all the difficult challenges of the post-Soviet era, has thus maintained its tradition of excellence to the present day. But unless current trends are reversed soon, the future of Russian Studies does not look bright. In the near future, faculty retirements and academic budget cuts will result in a serious further downsizing of the field. And as we learned on the tragic day of September 11, 2001, the loss of the nation’s capacity to understand the politics, society and language of a major world culture can have critical consequences for US security. As in the days of the Reagan administration, we need visionary leadership and careful strategizing to rebuild Russian Studies to meet the challenges of the new century. ♦

A three day conference to explore the changing politics, practices, and representations of Islam in Asia, and how these are engaged in classrooms and in the media.

Ziauddin Sardar
Ulll Abshar-Abdalla
Imtiaz Ahmed
Muzaffar Alam
Bakhtiyar M. Babadjanov
Gardner Bovington
Partha Chatterjee
Dru C. Gladney
Mushirul Hasan
Huma Haq
Maria Jaschok
Marianne Kamp
Sumit K. Mandal
Norani Othman
Jacob Rigi
Azade-Ayşe Rorlich
Endo Suanda
Nazif Shahrani

ISLAM ASIA MODERNITY

MAY 5-7, 2005

WALKER AMES ROOM
KANE HALL
UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

Event is free. Registration required.
More information on panels and speakers is
available at <http://depts.washington.edu/asialismo/>

Sponsored by The Jackson School of International
Studies, The Simpson Center for the Humanities, UW
Law School, UW Graduate School



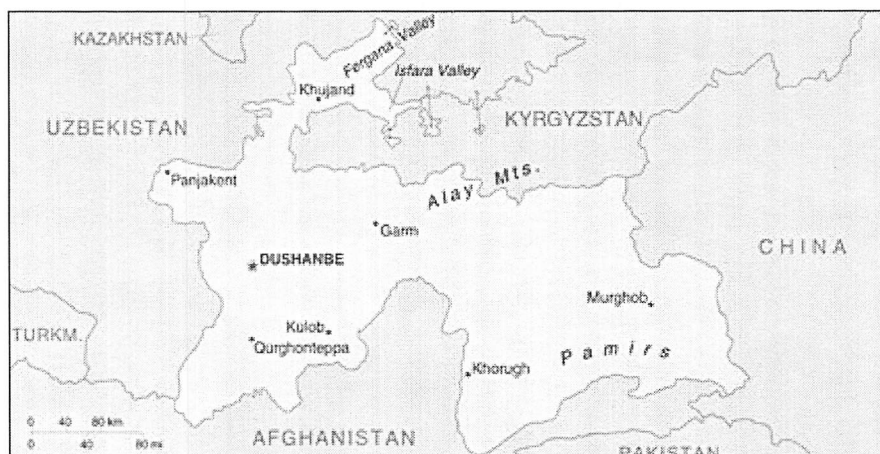
A Summer in Tajikistan

BY BRYAN AVERBUCH

The Tajikistan Airlines Tupolev 154M passenger jet began its descent into Dushanbe just before dawn on June 3, 2004. On the starboard side of the aircraft, I could see snowcapped mountains in the darkened sky, with the moon floating above them. To port, the rising sun illuminated another expanse of towering peaks. Full of anticipation, I fidgeted as the young flight attendant gave instructions in Persian, Russian and English. I had little idea what to expect in the coming months in a country just beginning to emerge from one of the darkest periods in its history.

The University of Washington provided a grant for me to study abroad in Tajikistan, and my plan was two-fold. The first part of the trip would center around studying Tajik – one of the three major dialects of Persian.¹ The second half of the trip would consist of an archaeological dig at the ancient Sogdian city of Panjikent. In spite of limited time and many uncertainties, I also had high hopes of traveling either to the primarily Persian-speaking cities of Samarqand and Bukhara in Uzbekistan, or to the remote Pamir mountains in Eastern Tajikistan. Initially, however, I would have to get the lay of the land.

At the age of 13, the newly independent state of Tajikistan has had a rough adolescence. Soviet planners in Stalin's time drew the highly arbitrary borders of Tajikistan according to the whims of Moscow. Purposefully ignoring both ethnic and linguistic geography, the Soviets separated the culturally prominent centers of Bukhara and Samarqand from what is now Tajikistan, while at the same time isolating a primarily Uzbek-area within the new republic. This policy of "divide and rule" made all of the Soviet republics heavily interdependent. And after independence would prove catastrophic for Tajikistan. Although the country is blessed with abundant water and fertile valleys, over 90% of its territory is mountainous, and Tajikistan possesses little in the way of easily-exploitable natural resources. Towering mountain ranges divide the country into very distinct northern, southern and



Map of Tajikistan and surrounding regions

eastern sections.² Traversing many of the country's passes by road in the winter or even in warmer weather after an avalanche can be virtually impossible. These geographic divisions helped to create distinct dialects throughout the country. Broadly speaking, there is a northern and a southern dialect in the western part of the country, and deep in the Pamirs of the eastern part of the country, a number of other non-Persian Iranian languages can be heard. In addition to dialectical diversity, the majority of the country follows Sunni Islam, but the Pamir region is primarily Shiite Ismaili. These southern worshippers follow the spiritual leadership of the Agha Khan.

The difficulty of holding these regions together became apparent when a tragic civil war with both ideological and ethnic dimensions engulfed the country from 1993-1996.³ More than any other Soviet republic, Tajikistan depended on subsidies from Moscow to maintain its infrastructure; economic collapse swiftly followed the removal of this support in 1991 and the nation fell into a state of civil unrest. An estimated 50,000 Tajiks lost their lives in the fighting, and perhaps as much as 10% of the population was internally displaced or fled as refugees. The civil war in neighboring Afghanistan further aggravated Tajikistan's problems, burdening the over-extended state with additional refugees. It was during this time that a famous Tajik journalist, Muhieddin Alimpour, formerly a guest

speaker at the University of Washington, was murdered.⁴ We had listened to Alimpour's broadcasts in my Persian language classes as a sample of modern Tajik, and I had read much about his life and death in Monica Whitlock's *The Land Beyond the River*. He was one of many victims of a vicious campaign of assassination that claimed the lives of many of Tajikistan's intelligentsia.

Between 1996 and 1997, a coalition of interested countries helped the warring factions to reach a peace agreement. A government was established that brought the United Tajik Opposition (UTO) parties into the Russian-backed government of Imam Ali Rahmanov as legitimate opposition. Despite this reconciliation, years of instability and economic hardship followed as the country struggled from the brink of collapse. By the time I arrived in the summer of 2004, things had improved greatly. Lonely Planet was to publish a book later that summer happily announcing that Tajikistan was "Safe, stable and spectacular."

During my first days in Dushanbe, I had a number of surprises. The city was remarkably attractive and relaxed. The lazy avenues, abundance of trees and greenery, buildings with beautiful early 20th-century facades, pleasant fountains and parks with children eating ice cream contradicted most of the stories I had read about it. "Things have improved here 200%," said the manager of an Indian restaurant to me one night. Another

expatriate, a veteran UN Tajikistan employee, was fond of telling me about the days when there was a curfew in Dushanbe at night, and when the safest place to go drinking was the basement of the Indian Embassy. Things have indeed improved; Dushanbe and even some other towns are full of outdoor restaurants and beer gardens. Internet cafes dot the landscape, sometimes sprouting in rather surprising places. For those who can afford it, life is not so bad. That percentage, however, is still rather low.

Poverty remains the greatest problem facing Tajikistan. Despite recent estimates that there has been a dramatic decrease in the number of people living in poverty, life is still a struggle for many

represented in Dushanbe stores. A new Iranian investment bank had also just opened in the capital. "The Iranian government now sees Tajikistan as a business opportunity," one diplomat told me. Turkish, Indian and Chinese companies all seemed to be expanding their business ties with the country. Still, I was not particularly surprised to see children begging outside of the airport on my first morning in Dushanbe, or to hear that shortages of medicine and medical supplies were commonplace.

During my first month in the country, I concentrated on studying Tajik language and literature with professors from the Tajik National State University. Dr. Azim Baizoyev and Dr. Abdushukur-i-Abdusator were my principal guides on

Dushanbe and there were gun battles in the streets, but his students still met to work on physics problems. Another professor said that despite the many comforts and subsidies of the Soviet era, he enjoys his new intellectual freedom. The lack of resources to carry out research or to provide adequate facilities to students and scholars continues to plague them. "Back in those days, when there was bread, we had no teeth," he said, quoting a Persian Central Asian poet, "Now we have teeth, and there's no bread!"

Other areas of scholarship have likewise suffered. A particularly acute problem is the need to preserve Tajikistan's cultural heritage, which extends back three millennia and includes Hindu, Buddhist, Zoroastrian, Manichaeian and Islamic elements. In July, I journeyed over the Anzob Pass to Panjikent in the Zarafshan valley, where a team of experts from both the Hermitage of St. Petersburg and the Tajik Academy of Sciences has been excavating since the 1950s. I had planned an earlier departure from Dushanbe, but the Varzob River had flooded after heavy rains, rendering about 40km of the highway impassable. It was a fine illustration of the problems facing this young nation. The only North-South highway was blocked, leaving anyone who wanted to travel in those directions with three options: flying to Khujand; making a roundabout journey through Uzbekistan; or waiting out the weather. I settled on the third option and I continued to focus on my Tajik language studies. During the interlude, I increasingly met more Tajiks and, of course, the small expatriate circles in the city. At the better restaurants in Dushanbe, I saw many of the foreign factions struggling to gain or to retain influence in this poor but strategically important country: Iranian businessmen, Chinese diplomats, French airmen, Russian officers, UN staff, journalists taking a break from Afghanistan, missionaries and employees of more than two dozen NGOs flocked to the restaurants and cafes that lined Rudaki Avenue after hours. From speaking with them, I developed a reasonable picture of current affairs in Tajikistan, at least, from a foreigner's perspective. After long discussions about Tajikistan's myriad economic, social and political problems, I found that many of them have a rather

continued on page 14



© BRYAN AVERBUCH

The Anzob Pass, Tajikistan

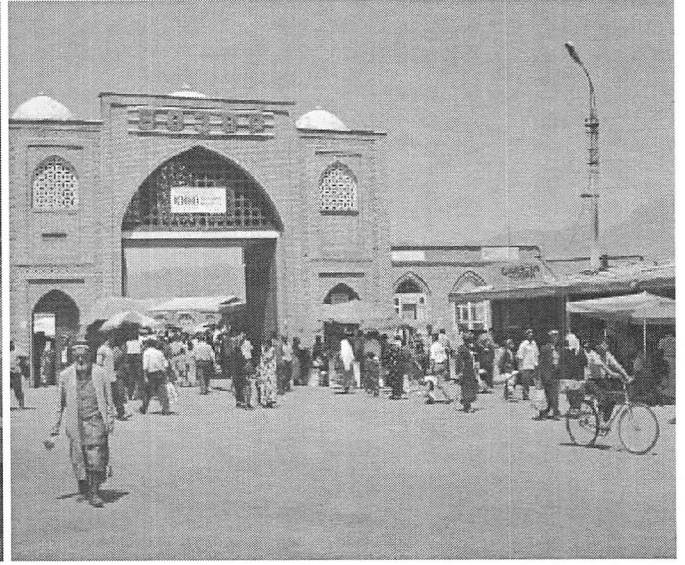
of Tajikistan's six million citizens. The geographic position of the country as well as regional political problems have isolated Tajik markets and limited both imports and exports. This too, however, was changing fast by the time I arrived. The land border with China had just opened; new bridges were under construction to span the river separating Tajikistan and Afghanistan; and a tunnel is being built under the mountains that will allow year-round road travel between the north and south of the country. At one Tajik/Uzbek border crossing, I witnessed long lines of trucks carrying Iranian merchandise, which were well

a journey that encompassed everything from newspaper articles and provincial dialects to Soviet novelists and 10th-century poetry. Dr. Azim Baizoyev, a specialist on the differences and similarities between Tajik and Farsi, had recently published a Persian textbook which I would venture to say is the best one available, easily surpassing books concentrating on Farsi and Dari. The enthusiasm and dedication of the scholars I met were remarkable, particularly in the light of the hardships that many of them had endured during the war. One theoretical physicist told me of days when there was little bread to be had in

continued from page 13



© BRYAN AVERBUCH

A typical evening in Dushanbe*Panjikt Bazaar*

upbeat assessment of the direction the country is headed since the huge turnaround after the civil war. Perhaps the most commonly cited problem is corruption, the hydra that plagues most of the former Soviet Union. I had seen problems with corruption before in Haiti, North Africa, Mexico and the Middle East, but Tajikistan's corruption problem appeared to be especially prevalent. I was surprised to be accosted by the Militia for bribes a mere two blocks from the Presidential Palace. I quickly learned that the only escape was either to feign total incomprehension or to show them a diplomatic card and suggest they discuss the issue with the embassy. In spite of these problems, my difficulties in Dushanbe were minor, and the wonderful friendliness of the people more than compensated.

Shortly after the passes opened, I headed to Panjikt in one of the ubiquitous old Soviet Ladas, which may break down often, but are easy to repair—hence their popularity. The roads were terrible, but the route was stunning and scenic. Snow covered peaks marched against the backdrop of a blue sky, and alpine valley meadows lay meekly at their feet. Small villages lined the way, and no attractive riverbank lacked a chaykhana (teahouse) inviting passers-by to stretch and to enjoy a relaxing cup of tea and conversation.

Upon arrival in ancient Panjikt, I met Dr. Boris Marshak, curator of the Hermitage and a specialist on Central

Asian art. His particular expertise was the Silk Road city of Panjikt and its ancient residents, the Sogdians. The local curator is trying to have Panjikt added to the list of UN World Heritage Sites. The remarkable wall paintings and objects of art that have been discovered would certainly suggest that Panjikt deserves more resources for preservation and research.

After about three weeks of hard and fascinating work, I traveled onward to Samarqand and Bukhara in Uzbekistan. These ancient cities, renowned for their Timurid architecture, artistic, political, religious and commercial heritage, attract perhaps more tourists than any other place in Central Asia. They held a particular fascination for me; many of the literary lights that I had come to know through the Persian language had lived, worked, loved and died in these two cities. The cities are still fascinating, and now, inextricably intertwined with their rich medieval heritage is their Soviet legacy. I met travelers who decried what the Soviets had done to these places, turning the old monuments into museums and building over medieval neighborhoods. I sympathized, but wondered: Did the Emirs of ages past not preside over slums? Were some of these high minarets and turquoise domes not built by slaves? The writings of early Tajik Soviet authors like Sadruddin Aini give the impression that not all the locals were sad to see things change.

I turned east and headed back to Tajikistan, toward the vast mountains and the lush green valleys with their quiet villages, delicious melons and amazingly hospitable people. I had only another 20 days in Dushanbe before starting home. Like so much of the world, Tajikistan and the Tajiks are trying to come to grips with changes, epic in scale and profound in character, that swept through their mountainous land in the 20th century. The revolutions that transformed Tajikistan from Emirate state, to Tsarist possession, to Soviet showcase, to independent nation, lay just below the surface of nearly all that I observed this summer. The changing characters of this drama's many sets loomed large around me, but none of them larger or more lasting than the mountains. ♦

Bryan Averbuch is a second-year MA student in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Cultures at the University of Washington. His fields of study include Arabic, Persian and Islamic Cultural History. He plans to graduate in the spring of this year.

- 1 Iranian Farsi and Afghan Dari constituting the other two.
- 2 The Anzob Pass north of Dushanbe is the division between the northern and southern regions in the western half of the country.
- 3 Sporadic violence continued until circa 2000.
- 4 At the time, it was unclear who was responsible for the murdered of Alimpour and others. Since that time, I do not believe anyone has been brought to trial for these crimes.

DEPARTMENT OF NEAR EASTERN LANGUAGES
AND CIVILIZATION

Seventeenth Annual Nicholas Poppe Symposium

**INNER/CENTRAL
ASIAN STUDIES****CALL FOR PAPERS**SATURDAY, MAY 14, 2005, 8:30 AM – 6:00 PM
DENNY HALL 215 AND 215A

Papers from students and faculty pertaining to Inner or Central Asia are being solicited. Please submit abstracts (250 words maximum) by April 22, 2005 to:

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

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

SPONSORED BY the Department of Near Eastern Languages & Civilization; the Ellison Center and Middle East Studies in the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies.

For information about attending the conference, you may also contact Dr. Cirtautas.

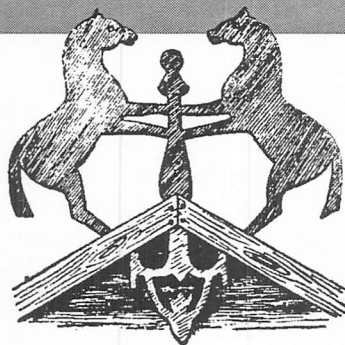
DEPARTMENT OF NEAR EASTERN LANGUAGES
AND CIVILIZATION**Uzbek and Uighur Language
and Culture Programs**

June 20 – August 19, 2005

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

FELLOWSHIPS ARE AVAILABLE**For information, contact:**

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

THE ELEVENTH ANNUAL RUSSIAN, EAST EUROPEAN AND CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES
NORTHWEST CONFERENCE**Politics and Culture
in the Post-Communist World****Saturday, April 9, 2005****8:30AM–5:00PM, REED COLLEGE, PORTLAND, OREGON****SESSION 1 (9:00–10:30AM)**

Language, Literature and Culture: Russia versus the West
Legal Reform in Russia

SESSION 2 (10:45–11:45AM)

Comparing Strategies for Environmental Protection
History and Legitimacy: Soviet Symbols Then and Now

LUNCH and PLENARY SESSION (11:45AM–1:45PM)

Politics and Culture in the Post-Communist World

SESSION 3 (2:00–3:30PM)

Russian Literature
Identity, Representation and Trade in Central Asia

SESSION 4 (3:45–4:45PM)

Religion & The Sacred Under Communism and Post-Communism
Property Rights and Migration in the European Union

CLOSING RECEPTION (4:45–6:00PM)

For more information or registration, please go to <http://depts.washington.edu/reecas/events/conf2005/regconf05.html>

Nine Months Later: Lithuania in the EU

BY IEVA BUTKUTE

On the eve of the European Union's "Big Bang" expansion on May 1, 2004, hundreds of thousands of "new Europeans" flooded the streets to celebrate the long-awaited countdown to this historic enlargement. In Lithuania, the southernmost and the largest of the three Baltic States, fireworks lit up the sky. People switched on all their lights and started fires across the country in preparation for a satellite picture documenting Lithuania as the brightest country to join the EU. Voters in Lithuania had given their overwhelming support to join the EU in a national referendum a year before, with 91% of voters approving the accession. Since Lithuania broke away from the Soviet Union more than 13 years ago, re-establishing ties with the West has become a strategic objective of this Baltic country. Despite frequent changes in the government, there has been consensus regarding integration into the EU and NATO amongst all major political parties throughout the 1990s. This foreign policy line found support not only from the elite, but also the majority of the population. For Lithuania and the other formerly Communist countries that joined the EU last May, membership seemed to guarantee their country's security, political stability and economic growth. With these initial assumptions in mind, it is interesting now to look at what changes, if any, have occurred in Lithuania since the festivities last Spring.

According to the *Economist*, the first 8 months have been good for business "almost everywhere" within the newly admitted EU and NATO members.¹ Lithuania, with a population of three and a half million, experienced the greatest growth of 7.2% in the enlarged EU in 2004. Yet, this figure falls below that of the previous year's growth. Economic growth is perhaps most visible in Vilnius, Lithuania's capital, where new hotels, shopping malls and spa centers have sprung up over the last year, and where the first commercial skyscraper district in Lithuania has taken root. Rising several times higher than any of the old town's churches and castles, the skyscraper district formally opened on

EU accession day. Called "Europa Square," Vilnius' modern downtown serves as a symbol of the new era for both the capital city and the entire country.

Despite the dynamic economy and ever brighter signs of Western modernization, the economic and social gap between Lithuania and the EU-15 countries remains evident in Vilnius. According to some studies, it might take as many as 30 years for Lithuania to converge on the West European level of economic development. Lithuania's current GDP per capita equals only 46% of the EU-25 average.² In this regard, even though Lithuania stands as one of the most successful transitional economies of the former Soviet Union, it remains among the poorest in the enlarged EU. While many expect membership in the EU to stimulate the economy greatly and to help Lithuania catch-up with the other members, no significant increase in the country's relative economic performance has occurred since last May.

In fact, since Lithuania became part of the EU, the economic situation of some Lithuanians has grown worse. A jump in prices constituted the most visible, negative change for consumers. In May 2004, for example, consumer prices in Lithuania shot up 1.5%, the biggest rise in more than four years.³ The prices continued to climb for several months after the accession. Furthermore, because of their membership in the EU, several new groups in Lithuania faced unemployment. A large number of custom officials lost their jobs as Lithuania removed control posts along borders with EU neighbors. Changes in the border control system also negatively affected some



Fireworks above Gediminas Castle Hill

Lithuanian transit companies. Because of the reduced waiting time at the borders, goods can now be transported more quickly and thus fewer workers are needed to meet the orders. Lithuanian companies, that produce exclusively for the Lithuanian market have faced losses as well. This is due to the fact that a new flow of cheap goods from neighboring countries has created a more competitive market.

In an attempt to find better employment opportunities, a number of Lithuanians took advantage of the EU right of free movement of labor and emigrated to West European countries immediately following May 1st. The majority went to Great Britain, since it, unlike most other EU-15 countries, chose not to implement transitional arrangements to restrict East Europeans' access to its labor market. The overall labor emigration from Lithuania, like that of all 10 new member states, was much smaller than originally

anticipated. Hence, the EU-15's fears of a massive East European "invasion" proved unfounded.

EU membership has also brought about some unwelcome changes in Lithuania's relations and trade regimes with its neighbors to the east, including Russia, Ukraine and Belarus. According to some estimates, imports to Lithuania from these three countries are 5.9% more expensive than before. This increase is due to adjustment to the EU's common visa and border regime and tougher border controls against non-EU members. Furthermore, Lithuania's membership in the EU has complicated the country's relations with the Russian region of Kaliningrad. Often referred to as an historic and geographic oddity, Kaliningrad is a Russian enclave separated from mainland Russia by Poland and Lithuania. Traditionally, Lithuania served as the main avenue for the transit of people and goods between mainland Russia and Kaliningrad. Upon integration into the EU, however, Lithuania met requirements to impose strict border controls along the Kaliningrad border and to institute visa regulations for Kaliningrad residents. Even though the EU and Russia reached an agreement governing the rules of transit of people and goods to and from Kaliningrad through the territory of Lithuania, the currently operating system does not satisfy either party. Lithuania continues to look for means of strengthening access and engagement with this traditional trading partner.

Since joining the EU and NATO, promoting dialogue between the EU and



© TOMAS VYSNIAUSKAS

Celebrating the opening of Europa Square

Kaliningrad, Ukraine and Belarus has become a main objective of Lithuania's new foreign policy. As stated in Lithuania's current foreign policy agenda, Lithuania now aspires to become, jointly with Poland, "the front runner" in regional politics by advancing proposals to the EU on developing cooperation with eastern neighbors.

In pursuit of these objectives, recently, Lithuanian President Valdas Adamkus along with Poland's President Aleksander Kwasniewski mediated the conflict in Ukraine's "Orange Revolution" and helped to negotiate a peaceful settlement between the two sides. Interestingly, the initiative taken by President Adamkus and his Polish counterpart angered European Parliament President Josep Borrell, who likened the pair to a "Trojan horse" for the United States. The remark echoed French President Jacques Chirac's suggestion two years ago that Eastern Europe had missed an opportunity to "shut up", after Central and East European countries supported the US invasion in Iraq.⁴ In this regard, even though a full member of the EU, many West Europeans still consider Lithuania naive and even an obstruction to decision-making in the sphere of foreign policy. Implicitly, EU heavyweights thus encourage Lithuania to leave this area to more seasoned members.

Overall, since admission to the EU, Lithuania has not yet experienced the economic benefits of membership in full and has yet to find its niche as an active

and capable player in regional and international politics. On the other hand, much more time must pass before we can grasp the full impact of EU membership on any of the newly admitted countries. So far, Lithuanians themselves remain highly enthusiastic about the EU and, according to Eurobarometer data, remain the biggest supporters of the EU among new member states. As the poll shows, about 69% of the respondents in Lithuania support their EU membership, while only six percent view it in a negative light.⁵ Let us hope that these trends will continue in the future. ♦

Ieva Butkute is a second-year REECAS MA graduate student. Originally from Lithuania, Ieva came to the US in 2003 on a Fulbright scholarship. Ieva is very interested in issues related to the enlargement of the European Union and is currently working on her Master's thesis about the effects of the European Union's migration policies on Lithuania. Ieva is also the Lithuanian language TA in the Department of Scandinavian Studies.



© CALGUARD.CA.GOV

Kaliningrad Region

1 "New Europe Is Doing Well" *The Economist* 6 Jan. 2005.
 2 Eurostat. http://epp.eurostat.cec.eu.int/cache/ITY_PUBLIC/2-03122004-BP/EN/2-03122004-BP-EN.PDF.
 3 "Lithuanian Prices Rise After EU Entry" www.eubusiness.com/afp/040608084909.at1ou5cv.
 4 Paulikas, Steven. "A House Divided; The Orange Revolution Is Carving New Fault Lines between Old and New Europe that Have Nothing to Do with War in Iraq" *Newsweek* 24 Jan. 2005.
 5 Eurobarometer. http://europa.eu.int/comm/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb62first_en.pdf.

ELLISON CENTER NEWS

JAMES FELAK, Associate Professor in the History Department, has been accepted as a participant in the Christianity in Eastern Europe Project, organized by Bruce Berglund of Calvin College and Brian Porter of the University of Michigan. The project is aimed at specialists in East European history who wish to become more familiar with the methodologies and interpretative approaches of religious and church history. It begins with a workshop this June, at which East Europeanists will read works of scholarship in the broader field of church history, critique each other's projects and engage with specialists in church history from other regions of the world. His contribution to the project will be his research on some of the basic conflicts between the Catholic Church and the state in Slovakia in the immediate post-World War II period.

Associate Dean for Academic Programs and Professor in the College of Education, **STEPHEN KERR**, has recently published three works. The first two chapters were "Demographic Change and the Fate of Russia's Schools: The Impact of Population Shifts on Educational Practice and Policy," and "The Experimental Tradition in Russian Education" in the collection, *Educational Reform in Post-Soviet Russia: Legacies and Prospects*, edited by Ben Eklof, Larry E. Holmes, Vera Kaplan (Frank Cass, 2004). He also co-authored an additional chapter, "Russia: Struggling with the Aftermath," with Mary Canning, his collaborator on the third World Bank Russian education loan, which appeared in Iris C. Rotberg's (Ed.), *Balancing Change and Tradition in Global Education Reform*, (Scarecrow Education, 2004).

In addition, "E-Learning Support Project" World Bank Loan was finally signed by all the relevant ministries and the World Bank's representatives in early December 2004. Professor Kerr has been serving as a member of the design and advisory team for this project, and recently attended the launch of the project in Moscow this winter. The initial tranche for \$100 million will be disbursed over four years and involve seven pilot regions; the second tranche for \$200 million will extend the project to

the entire Russian Federation. The intent of the project is to enhance teachers' abilities in using information and communication technologies in the classroom; to create resource centers to train and to support teachers; and to create libraries of electronic curriculum and learning materials.

Senior Lecturer, **DIANA PEARCE**, has been nominated to the Senior Specialist Fulbright roster. It is expected that she will be invited to Tashkent, Uzbekistan to lecture at several universities and to act as an educational consultant on developing Social Work curriculum. There is currently no formal professional education in this field within Uzbekistan.

ALI IGMEN successfully defended his PhD dissertation entitled, "Building Soviet Central Asia, 1920-1939: Kyrgyz Houses of Culture and Self-Fashioning Kyrgyzness" in December 2004. Dr. Igemem previously received his MA from UW's NELC department and has subsequently spent time teaching in Osh and Bishkek as well as presenting numerous papers and offering classes at UW. An article about Kyrgyz culture and history he authored was recently featured on the front page of *Vecherniy Bishkek*, a regional newspaper. He is currently teaching a course for the History Department on Central Asia in the Stalin period.

MICHAEL BIGGINS' translation of the 1938 Slovenian novel *Alamut*, a cult classic in Slovenia during the independence-driven 1980s, was published in November by Seattle-based Scala House Press. The book was publicized through the sponsorship of a week-long series of Slovenian cultural events, entitled, "State of Art", which was held in Seattle from November 19-24, 2004.

KLAUS BRANDL with Margie Lawrence will soon publish a paper, "Aligning in Foreign Language Instruction," in *Aligning for Learning*, edited by Donald H. Wulff (Anker Publishing Co, 2005). This research project focused on how language instructors can bring pedagogical

content knowledge, content, student needs and expectations into alignment.

Winter Quarter 2005, REECAS and the Institute for Global and Regional Security Studies at the UW jointly sponsored a groundbreaking class "Non-Proliferation and Atomic Energy as Global Issues: A Russian Perspective." The instructors, Professors Gennady Pshkakin and Victor Sosnin, are visiting scholars from Obninsk State University for Atomic Energy. The principal text for this course is Russia's first textbook on nuclear non-proliferation, edited by Pshakin and containing chapters written by Sosnin. It was published by the Russian Ministry of Education and Science in December 2004 and is available to students in both Russian and English (funded by Pacific Northwest National Laboratory). This course complements other courses funded by IGRSS at the UW, which deal with international security, arms control and weapons of mass destruction.

This year marked the inaugural year of the Budlong and Boba Summer Research Fellowships. The Budlong Fellowships are awarded to REECAS and History graduate students to travel to Russia. Likewise, the Boba Summer Research Fellowships enable REECAS students to travel to Eastern Europe or Central Asia for the summer. Priority was given to those conducting research or holding internships in these regions, but participating in advanced language training was also considered. Both fellowships provide awards up to \$1000.

FLORIAN SCHWARZ, who is currently at the Ruhr University (Germany), will join the UW faculty in September 2005 as a professor of Middle East history. He has extensive experience teaching about Islam and the Middle East and is a prominent expert on early modern Central Asia. His research includes books on numismatics and Sufism in 16th-century Transoxiana; his current book project is a broad history of Islamic intellectual networks in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Exploring Chernobyl's Complexities On-Site and in the Classroom

BY NATHANIEL S. TRUMBULL

The 1986 Chernobyl accident served as a catalyst of unrest for the Soviet Union's citizens towards their government. For a public already skeptical of its government's concern for citizen health and safety, the accident played no small role in the Soviet Union's ultimate demise. Although other nuclear accidents in the Soviet Union were larger,¹ the Chernobyl accident holds an undisputed place among the world's greatest environmental disasters. Secondary accounts of the event continue to be supplemented by more recent interpretations of the causes of the accident and its aftermath.²

Today, new first-hand opportunities for students of environmental issues of the former Soviet Union to learn about the Chernobyl accident exist. They include the excellent Chernobyl Museum in Kyiv, the opportunity to travel and to meet directly with villagers and others affected by the accident and even to visit the exclusion zone at the Chernobyl accident site. This zone comprises a 30km radius, within which special permission must be gained to enter. Last summer, I took advantage of these opportunities on a tour organized by Friends of Chernobyl Centers US (FOCCUS).³

The Ukrainian National Chernobyl Museum in Kyiv is a world-class institution. Through its display of formerly secret documents, equipment, photographs and a number of other visual presentations directly related to the accident, the Chernobyl Museum delivers the haunting legacy of the disaster simply



Abandoned signs for 1986 May 1st celebration

© NATHANIEL TRUMBULL

and eloquently. The museum's building itself reinforces the tragedy of the event as visitors enter the museum through a central staircase with "no entry" slashes similar to those on road signs to the villages and towns within the exclusion zone.

The day we visited the museum, a number of Ukrainian soldiers and officers also attended. We found it difficult to ignore their disparaging comments and pointed questions to the museum tour guide about the Soviet leaders' delayed response to the accident in the first days of the tragedy. Also illuminating about those first weeks after the accident, a number of memoranda and documents gave testimony to the involvement of international aid organizations, including a number of US firefighters.

In addition to the museum, tourists have been allowed to visit the exclusion zone at Chernobyl since 2003. Undoubtedly, both a desire to increase public understanding and a need for tourist revenue led to the decision to permit tourist access. Given the small numbers of tourists, however, this is likely a niche market. Government approval does not mean that there are no longer safety

concerns, though, as our Geiger counters vividly reminded us.

Nineteen participants comprised our study tour group, including a radiology specialist from the closed city of Sevsk who had worked at the cleanup site during the two-year period immediately following the accident. Before heading to the exclusion zone, we had the opportunity to visit a total of six villages and towns within the affected Chernobyl zone.

The government has officially recognized that residents of these special zones live in conditions adverse to their health and their standard of living falls below the national average. The special zones were created to designate the various degrees of contamination and, due to that, their level of government aid. There are four different zonal categories, with varying levels of social aid and financial support. The zones were not determined simply by their distance from the Chernobyl explosion, but rather by estimated fallout levels. Apparently, the fallout distribution pattern from the accident was highly uneven. Still, many find classification of villages and their corresponding subsidies from Ukrainian government difficult to comprehend as villages within

continued on page 20



Map of Chernobyl and surrounding regions

© WORLD NUCLEAR ASSOCIATION

continued from page 19

sight of one another are classified as different zones and thus receive significantly different levels of government aid.

The nature of our study tour allowed for many opportunities to converse with villagers. We asked about how and when they evacuated and how they viewed the government and international assistance they received. We also inquired into the long-term effects they had observed in their own health from the accident. The last question was problematic in that few residents knew exactly which of their health problems could be directly attributed to the accident. We did learn, however, that despite the terrible stories of delays in evacuation immediately after the accident, children had indeed been among the first to be evacuated. Later, when the adults were also relocated, families were reunited.

The exclusion zone is the most clearly delineated of the contaminated zones; its access is by permit only. Despite the name and the official rules, we observed a large number of residents and day visitors crossing into the zone. Those workers included about 5,000 Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant (CNPP) employees, who live in the 19-year-old town of Slavutich, built outside the exclusion zone for resettlement and for employees working daily at the CNPP.

Despite Slavutich's attractive neighborhoods and special medical facilities, it essentially operates as a one-company town to provide support for the CNPP. The closing of the last Chernobyl reactor in 2001 in effect tolled the death knell of the town's industry and therefore employment for many workers in Slavutich. The town's workforce is now retooling itself for the long period of closing and securing the CNPP. (Indeed, as the example of clean-up at Hanford suggests, this work will require a large workforce and last decades if government and international agencies provide the needed sums.) We heard from more than one resident of Slavutich that the decision to close all the reactors had been largely politically motivated. Those three reactors remaining, they argued, presented no more danger today than any other RBMK⁴-type reactors in Ukraine or Russia. Only Reactor Four had been damaged beyond repair; other CNPP

reactors had continued to operate safely and effectively since 1986.

As we toured the ghost town of Pripjat', where the plant is located, we photographed extraordinary scenes of school classrooms evacuated unexpectedly on April 26, 1986, complete with lesson plans and calendars left open to that date. We also stopped to take pictures of an amusement park and Ferris wheel abandoned 20 years ago. Despite the open access we had in Pripjat', camera use proved to be a controversial point throughout much of the tour. Locals repeatedly told us that we could only take pictures of the CNPP and Reactor Four from certain angles. Those angles proved hard to describe. Consequently, at least one of our group's members had to rewind and erase his video tape. Threat of terrorism appeared to have been the motivating concern for our guide, although that clarification only came later.

The images we were able to capture of the ghost town of Pripjat' gave evidence to the lives that were disrupted by the evacuation. Their fears seem to have been warranted as our Geiger counters, even so many years later, showed high readings. Although they were particularly high at CNPP, the readings peaked over an area of moss at Pripjat's deserted amusement park. The moss had obviously accumulated radioactive particles. Our Geiger counter readings remained so elevated during our two-day visit to the exclusion zone that they indeed sparked much discussion and at least initial concern. We soon forgot the radiation threat and climbed stairwells in Pripjat' with large accumulation of dust and stood only a few hundred yards from the sarcophagus above Reactor Four during brisk winds that visibly cycled dust into the air.

Even our accompanying radiologist expressed surprise that our tour guide would so obviously subject us to the apparent threat of contamination. Our tour guide repeatedly and cavalierly dismissed our concerns, explaining that she and other guides had been visiting the site for years without any apparent health impact. Nevertheless, she did later agree that visits to Chernobyl constituted a form of "extreme tourism". In addition, at least two of the sites we climbed for a better view, the open roof of a 15-story

residential building in Pripjat' and a 200-foot high guard tower overlooking the "graveyard" of radiated and "dirty" clean-up equipment (consisting of helicopters, trucks, buses and earth-moving equipment), would have elicited immediate shock to any Western tour operator and especially their insurer.

Conversations with our accompanying radiologist and the local residents, who have returned to live within the exclusion zone, proved highly illuminating. As the radiologist described the daily schedule of being "at war", we clearly saw that the last two decades had left an indelible effect on her physically and emotionally. She did not dwell on the fact that she had a cancerous thyroid gland removed in recent years—a scar from the operation still visible on her neck. She told many stories of the personal tragedies that she had witnessed day after day during the cleanup. In addition to workers from other Soviet states, some Pripjat' residents had volunteered to help with the cleanup for the express purpose of saving their own property. The government forbade most former residents from returning to Pripjat' after the evacuation. Nevertheless, selected permission to enter and even unauthorized looting have been common in the months and years following the accident.

Our visits with villagers now living within the exclusion zone raised serious questions as to the long-term effect of the accident on human health. The vast majority of them appeared to be pensioners and continued to drink water from wells and to grow their own vegetables within the exclusion zone. The fact that they lived in villages that officially were not recognized by government authorities meant they had no access to mail, bank or other regular government-provided services. On the other hand, those residents did have electricity and phone service in their homes, suggesting that the categorization of the exclusion zone as strictly prohibited to any residence is not without exception. Indeed, the hotel in which we overnights, within 10 miles of CNPP, also stood well within the exclusion zone. Electricity powered the hotel as well as the nearby café (the owners assured us that the food came from outside the exclusion zone).

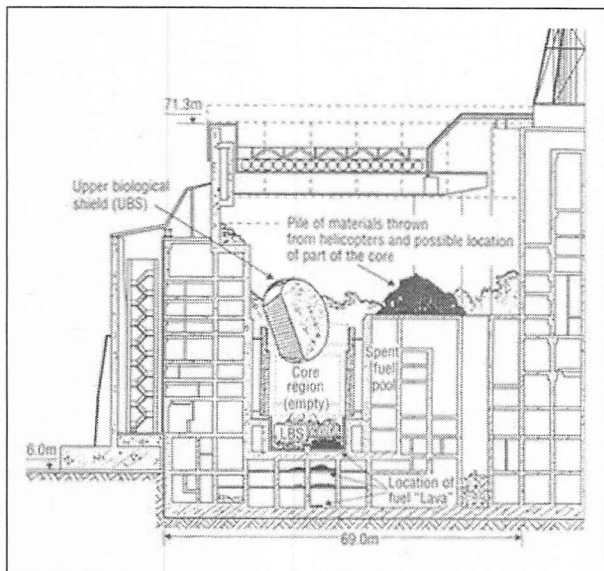
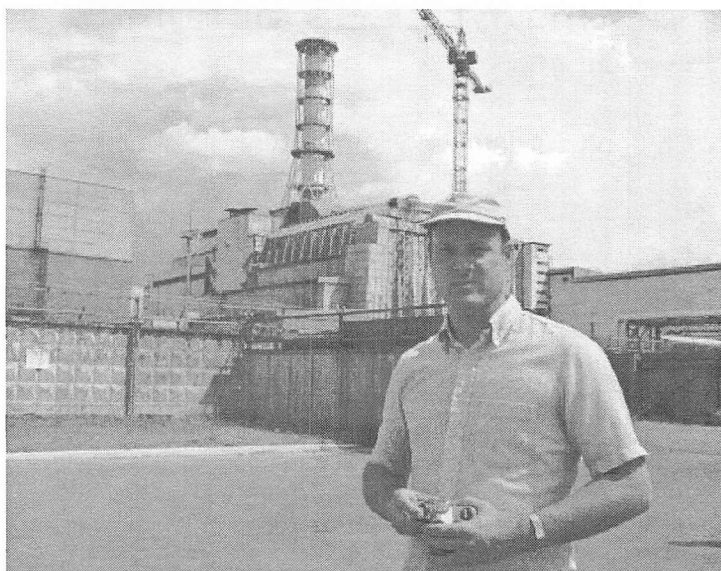


Diagram of the damaged Unit 4 reactor building



Nathaniel Trumbull in front of damaged Reactor 4

© WORLD NUCLEAR ASSOCIATION

© NATHANIEL TRUMBULL

Reflecting upon this incredible study tour, I found myself asking more questions and feeling I understood less of the Chernobyl accident and its impacts than before the tour. Study of the accident will remain critical for future generations of students who specialize in the region of the former Soviet Union. The collection of data from those present at the accident and those who participated in its clean-up poses one of the most obvious continuing challenges to researchers of the Chernobyl accident. Compilation of a methodical and rigorous survey of the impacts of the accident may in fact never be possible as a result of the large geographic distribution and resettlement of Chernobyl accident victims and liquidators. Yet, more information will undoubtedly be revealed as scientists and health specialists continue to tackle the challenging task of examining the political, social and biological impacts of the accident.

Controversy over Chernobyl continues, in both traditional and novel forms. The Western media continue to decry the local authorities' mismanagement of the situation, such as Belarus' recent refusal to permit children from Chernobyl-affected zones to participate in visits to the United Kingdom. Similarly, many internet surfers have been moved by photo journals about the region, but some question the motives that frame the images. Another example of this new

controversy that questions the misrepresentation of the situation involves the victims themselves. The overly-demanding appeals for continued aid by survivors seem to evidence to some that they are "professional victims".⁵ The Ukrainian government has likewise been accused of exaggeration of the global environmental threat Chernobyl poses in order to attract increased Western funds for cleanup. A final point of debate is voiced by experts who lament the negative effect Chernobyl has had on public acceptance of the nuclear power industry—something they see as a real practical effort to mitigate global warming.⁶

The legacy of Chernobyl will be long-lasting. A recent incident in Saratov, where residents overdosed on iodine pills as a result of rumors of a nuclear accident at the nearby Balakovo Nuclear Power Plant, underscores the importance of understanding the lessons of Chernobyl. The legacy of Three Mile Island and Hanford bring similar issues home to US students. Students in the REECAS course "Natural Resource Use and Management in Russia and the NIS," I taught last fall, found themselves struggling over these same issues. Opportunities for REECAS students and others to participate in their own on-site visits of environmentally degraded sites in the former Soviet Union, many of which only recently opened, would be a

most desirable development to advance discussion and knowledge of these important issues. ♦

Nathaniel Trumbull is Co-Director of the Transboundary Environmental Information Agency, based in St. Petersburg. He taught the REECAS-sponsored course Natural Resource Use and Management in Russia and the NIS during fall 2004.

- 1 This includes the still poorly known Kyshtyn accident in 1957 in the Urals.
- 2 Darwell, John. *Legacy: Photographs From the Chernobyl Exclusion*. 2001, Mould, Richard F. *Chernobyl Record: The Definitive History of the Chernobyl Catastrophe*. 2000, Medvedev, Grigori. *The Truth About Chernobyl, No Breathing Room: The Aftermath of Chernobyl and Medvedev, Zhores A. The Legacy of Chernobyl and Chernobyl & Nuclear Power in the USSR*.
- 3 FOCCUS is a non-governmental non-profit corporation whose goals are to support populations and communities severely affected by the Chernobyl disaster and to promote public awareness of the disaster and its consequences. FOCCUS has been working with Chernobyl community centers for the past 7 years. To learn more about FOCCUS, visit www.foccus.org.
- 4 A Russian acronym for Reactor Bolshoi Moschnosti Kanalnyi "Channelized Large Power Reactor."
- 5 A similar phenomenon has been observed among some victims of the Armenian earthquake. See *The Seattle Times* 30 Jan. 2005.
- 6 King, Sir David, "Chernobyl Created a Negative View of Nuclear Technology," *The Independent* 17 Jan. 2005.

Visiting REECAS Scholars

BY CARRIE DYK

Cholpon Turdalieva, visiting Kyrgyz Scholar



Cholpon Turdalieva returned to the University of Washington to research the travel accounts of Westerners depicting the Kyrgyz people. As a Fulbright Visiting Scholar, she will be here for the duration of the academic year, expanding previous research on this topic to include both a more extensive geographic scope as well as a broader historic window, including the entire 19th Century and the beginning

of the 20th Century. She is particularly interested in what these accounts reveal about gender. Her work is part of the Central Asia Research Initiative (CARI) project of the Open Society Institute.

Turdalieva's previous visit to the University of Washington in 2002, she affirms, gave her both the research skills that she needed as well as the initial information about foreign travelers, which provided a foundation for her current project.

From her research, Turdalieva hopes to help educate her people about their heritage by giving them another, non-Soviet, perspective. She hopes that reprinting of the travel accounts, the creation of internet resources and the organization of international projects will provide the tools necessary for her and her colleagues to be more educated about their cultural traditions. Upon completion of her research, Turdalieva will return to her position as head of the Cultural Studies Department at the I. Arbaev Pedagogical University in Bishkek, Kyrgistan.

Irina Selezneva, visiting Russian Scholar



Irina Selezneva, PhD of the Siberian Branch of the Russian Institute of Culturology in Omsk, conducted research at the University of Washington under a grant from the National Council for Eurasian and East European Research as a Carnegie Fellow from September through December 2004. Her research project, "Popular Forms of Islam in Siberia" is part of a larger project examining

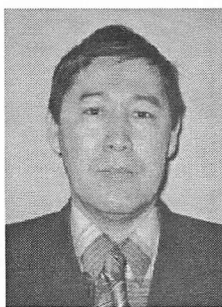
popular forms of religion around the world.

Under the guidance of Professor Daniel Waugh, Selezneva said that she had found a wealth of resources at the University of

Washington, which she looks forward to analyzing upon her return to Omsk. Selezneva expects these resources, along with a greater understanding of research methodology and theoretical frameworks for analyzing her results, will lend to new interpretations of the data gained from her field research in Siberia. Selezneva also looks forward to sharing what she has gained from her time at UW with her students at the Omsk State Agriculture University, where she is a Senior Lecturer.

Marveling at the access to information provided at the UW libraries, Selezneva laments having only four months in which to complete her research. This was her first visit to the United States.

Dr. Ashirbek Muminov, visiting Uzbek Scholar



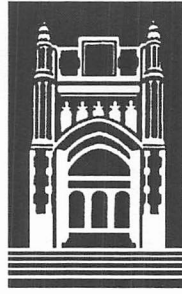
Dr. Ashirbek Muminov, Chair of the Department of Islamic Studies at Tashkent State University of Oriental Studies, is conducting three months of research as a visiting scholar at UW. This marks the midpoint in a three-year grant project aimed at developing educational programs for the study of comparative religion in Uzbekistan, a project partnering UW with three Universities and two Academic

Institutions in Uzbekistan.

Four of Dr. Muminov's colleagues, Rectors from each of the other partner institutions in Uzbekistan, accompanied him to

Seattle for the first two weeks of his stay. Professor Muminov has remained in Seattle in order to study English and to collect materials for the compilation of a new textbook about comparative religion—the first of its kind to be written in Uzbek. This textbook will be used in his university as well as the four other Uzbek educational institutions participating in the project.

Professor Muminov hopes that in addition to his book, his students and colleagues will be able to gain an understanding of comparative religion at the UW Resource Center in Tashkent. This center includes a research library and English language classes. A recent book drive by UW's NELC and REECAS programs furnished the center with an extensive collection of scholarly materials.



2005 SUMMER SEMINAR FOR EDUCATORS OF GRADES 6 AND UP

MYSTICS, ECCENTRICS, VISIONARIES AND REVOLUTIONARIES

People Who Changed the Course of History

JUNE 28–29, 2005
KANE HALL, WALKER-AMES ROOM,
UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON, SEATTLE CAMPUS

The Outreach Centers at The Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies invite you to attend the annual Summer Seminar for educators, June 28–29, 2005. This year's seminar, "Mystics, Eccentrics, Visionaries and Revolutionaries", will bring scholars and master teachers together to focus on individuals from around the world whose unique outlook changed the world as we know it. Over a dozen speakers will focus on these extraordinary people who were able to see the world in a different light, and then to take action to bring their vision to pass.

Registration deadline: June 21, 2005. We expect this event to fill quickly, so please register as early as possible.

Registration fee: \$80 includes parking/bus vouchers, coffee and morning pastries, lunch and 16 WA state clock hours (you must attend the entire seminar to receive clock hours). Please make checks or money orders payable to the University of Washington. Travel stipends are available for teachers from 75+ miles away.

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

Mail form to: Center for West European Studies, University of Washington, Box 353650, Seattle, WA 98195. Questions or inquiries, please call: 206-543-1675 or contact cwes@u.washington.edu. You will receive a confirmation packet with a receipt, map, driving and parking directions and program details.

REGISTRATION FORM

Name _____
Mailing address _____
Daytime phone _____ Email _____
School _____ Grade level _____
Do you wish to receive clock hours? _____ Travel stipend? _____ Seattle bus fare? _____

UPCOMING ELLISON CENTER EVENTS

APRIL 9: 11th Annual REECAS-NW Conference Reed College, Portland, OR

"Politics and Culture in the Post-Communist World."
9:00 am–4:45 pm. See p.15 or <http://depts.washington.edu/reecas/events/conf2005/regconf05.html> for more information.

APRIL 11: The Donald W. Treadgold Memorial Lecture

"Remaining Relevant after Communism: The Role of the Writer in Eastern Europe, 1989–2004." Andrew Wachtel, Dean, The Graduate School, Northwestern University. Parrington Hall Forum, 3:30 pm. A reception will follow.

APRIL 13: Hot Spots in Our World

"Kosovo Final Status: Independence or Something Less." Frederick Lorenz, Adjunct Professor, JSIS, UW. 7:00–8:30 pm. For more information and to register, please call 206-897-8939 or visit <http://extension.washington.edu/ext/special/Jackson>.

APRIL 26: International Classroom Teachers Workshop

A three-part workshop on Russian Politics, Daily Life and Education, Whitworth College, Hixon Union Building, 4:00–7:00 pm. See <http://depts.washington.edu/reecas/events> to register.

APRIL 30: Chechnya Roundtable and Film Seminar

Dr. Mikhail Alexseev, Assistant Professor at UC San Diego; Albina Digaeva, Chechen Refugee; and Raisa Talkhanova, director of the BBC Documentary *Inside Chechnya* will discuss the history and current situation in Chechnya. Their comments will follow the showing of 3 documentaries about the region, including *Inside Chechnya*. Smith Hall, Room 205, 10:00 am–2:00 pm.

MAY 1: Czeslaw Milosz and the Future of Poetry

Acclaimed poets Edward Hirsch and Adam Zagajewski will offer a joint presentation on the poetry of Nobel Prize winner Czeslaw Milosz, touching upon the significance of Polish poetry and experiences of being lost in translation. Kane Hall, Walker Ames, 7:00 pm.

MAY 5–8: Islam, Asia, Modernity Conference

The symposium will consist of a public lecture by Ziauddin Sardar, a leading writer on the future of Islam, two days of panel discussions that examine how the changing practices and politics of Asian Islam are studied, documented, taught and represented in the academy and the media and how these practices affect society, politics, art and culture in Asia. For more information, go to <http://depts.washington.edu/asaismo>.

MAY 19: Ellison Center Speaker Series

"Afghan Communities in Post-Soviet Central Asia: Case Study of Uzbekistan." Natalya Khan, Visiting Scholar at the University of British Columbia. Communications 226, 3:30 pm.

MAY 19 – JUNE 12: Seattle International Film Festival

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

JUNE 28–29: Summer Seminar for Teachers

"Mystics, Eccentrics, Visionaries and Revolutionaries: People Who Changed the Course of History." Kane Hall, Walker-Ames Room, University of Washington, Seattle Campus, 9:00 am–5:00 pm. See p.23 for more information and registration.

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



REECAS NEWSLETTER

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

RETURN SERVICE REQUESTED

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