

REECAS NEWSLETTER

RUSSIAN, EAST EUROPEAN AND CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES CENTER

JACKSON SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON AUTUMN 2001 / WINTER 2002

From the Director

STEPHEN E. HANSON

Sometimes a single historical event brings into focus the meaning of an entire decade, encapsulating both the major risks and opportunities of the era. Just over ten years ago, the failure of the August 1991 coup against Gorbachev marked the final collapse of Leninist dictatorship in Europe and the beginning of a time of turbulence and uncertainty in the former Soviet Union—and simultaneously ushered in what was probably the most optimistic decade in American history. With the disintegration of the USSR and the end of the Cold War, the world seemed finally safe for the continuous expansion of democratic values, market economics, and a newly globalized American culture. The U.S. economy achieved its longest sustained expansion in history, and the U.S. stock market soared to unprecedented heights. Meanwhile, Russia and most of the other “Newly Independent States” lurched from crisis to crisis, and the former superpower became an object of ridicule in the Western media. For the rest of the 1990s, the unprecedented opportunity to build a global consensus in support of liberal values and human freedom was accompanied by the risk that a triumphant America might simply reject the need to engage with the non-Western world altogether, creating an increasingly dangerous global divide.

September 11, 2001 has brought the 1990s to a sudden and terrifying close, and marked the new decade as one that will no doubt force us to deal with very different global risks and opportunities. For obvious reasons, most of our attention in the difficult days since the attacks on New York and Washington has been focused on the former. We must now deal with the danger of new terrorist attacks on our country; a serious, and possibly prolonged, economic recession; and the need to protect our cherished civil liberties in the face of unprecedented



Presidents Bush and Putin commiserate in Crawford, Texas

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domestic and international threats. Meanwhile, the U.S. military response to the acts of war against our country, while just and sadly necessary, has drawn America into unfamiliar and dangerous international terrain—both literally and symbolically. Yet, despite the horror of the day itself, September 11 presents new

opportunities as well. President Vladimir Putin's immediate telephone call to President Bush expressing solidarity with America, along with the countless, less publicized messages of support many of us received from our friends and colleagues in Russia, Central Asia, and

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Eastern Europe in the days immediately following the tragedy, indicate the potential for building renewed, deeper bonds between our country and the former communist region. If the 1990s was a decade when "area studies" was seen as anachronistic and the interests of non-Western powers could seemingly be safely ignored, the world is now acutely conscious of the need for a sensitive, genuinely internationalist approach to managing the complex social and political dynamics of the 21st century.

All of us in the REECAS Program are ready to respond to these new opportunities for greater international understanding and cooperation in the wake of September 11. We were proud to contribute to the Jackson School open classroom series, sponsoring a panel on "Central Asia: What Are We Getting Into?" (with REECAS faculty members Daniel Waugh, Ilse Cirtautas, and George Wright, as well as Vitaly Nishanov from the American University of Kyrgyzstan) for the University of Washington's Day of Reflection and Engagement on October 11, and an October 20 public lecture by University of Washington Press author Larry Goodson on "Afghanistan's Endless War". Herbert J. Ellison delivered the Henry M. Jackson Memorial Lecture on "Boris Yeltsin and Russia's Revolution," which explored among many other topics some historical roots of the current U.S.-Russian alliance in Afghanistan. Engaging an understudied topic, REECAS also helped organize a November 19 roundtable on environmental security in Central and South Asia in the wake of the war against the Taliban. Numerous REECAS faculty and staff have been

active in other outreach activities, both on and off campus, designed to help students, businesspeople, and concerned citizens here in the Pacific Northwest understand the history, culture, and politics of the Eurasian region. Meanwhile, our program's long-standing focus on the emerging connections between former "peripheries" of the Soviet empire and their neighbors continues to serve us well in this new and unsettling context—as is evidenced by the timeliness of events such as the November 29-30 conference on NATO expansion to the Baltic states, co-sponsored with the Institute for Global and Regional Security Studies and the Baltic Studies Program, and REECAS visiting scholar Josette Baer's recent seminar on Macedonia's role in the new Europe.

As might be expected given both world events and our program's unique interdisciplinary approach to regional studies, student interest in REECAS also continues to grow. With an incoming Master's Program class of eighteen, the program now enrolls nearly 40 MA students. Recent graduates continue to advance in the REECAS field. Meanwhile, many of our current graduate students participate actively in program administration, including newsletter editor and website assistant Megan Harris, Treadgold Papers managing editor Autumn Lerner, and outreach and office assistant Grant Heard. We are grateful for all of their hard work on behalf of REECAS.

In the days following September 11, UW President Richard McCormick declared "education for global citizenship" to be one of the highest priorities for the future development of the university. REECAS,

along with the other area programs of the Jackson School of International Studies, will play a central role. New REECAS program faculty such as Kevin Quinn, Erik Wibbels, and Jon Mercer of Political Science, Kirsten Foot of Communications, and an incoming faculty member to be hired in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures next year, will bring fresh energy and innovative ideas to complement the strong core of existing program faculty and graduate students. Finally, we will continue to support important ongoing REECAS activities, such as the Treadgold Papers series now edited by Glennys Young. Thus, REECAS hopes to contribute in diverse ways as the university and the scholarly community respond to the global challenges and opportunities in the next decade.

In closing, I'd like to extend my thanks to Daniel Waugh, who took over as REECAS Interim Director during the Fall of 2001 while I was on leave at Harvard University, and to Jacob Kaltenbach, the REECAS Assistant Director, who is stepping down in January 2002 after extraordinary service to REECAS and to the Jackson School. Without Dan's tireless work and vision, the REECAS program would not exist in its current form. Without Jacob's consistent excellence as an administrator, organizer, and leader, my own job would have been immeasurably more difficult—and far less fun. All of us will miss Jacob terribly, but we know that he will go on to achieve great success in his future endeavors. ♦

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Central Asia: What Are We Getting Into?

Among the many campus events organized for the UW's October 11 Day of Reflection and Engagement was a forum on Central Asia organized by REECAS and the Central Asian Studies Group. Speaking before an audience of more than 250 in Kane Hall, panelists included Daniel C. Waugh, Acting Chair of REECAS and Associate Professor of History and International Studies, Professor Ilse Cirtautas of Near Eastern Languages and Civilization, Associate Professor of Family Medicine George Wright, and Professor Vitaly Nishanov, currently visiting the UW Business School from the American University of Kyrgyzstan. All four panelists fielded questions from the audience on such topics as the effectiveness of US aid, the level of anti-American sentiment and the existence of terrorist cells in the region.

Daniel Waugh's introductory comments are reproduced below. He was followed by Professor Cirtautas, the director of UW's distinguished program in Central Asian languages and culture, who emphasized the negative impact of Soviet policies in Central Asia and the necessity of improving education for a brighter future in the region. George Wright, speaking from experience in medical assistance and economic development programs in Uzbekistan, discussed the region's economic problems and highlighted the apparent contradiction between the still viable Soviet-built infrastructure and the low levels of income and economic productivity. One of the themes emphasized by both Cirtautas and Wright was the need for expanded — and more effective — foreign aid programs for the region. Vitaly Nishanov, in his first public presentation since arriving in Seattle, provided insights into the range of Kyrgyz public opinion — which he reported is primarily positive — concerning the September 11 attacks and US response in Afghanistan. Wright's commentary on how to best improve the effectiveness of international educational exchange and aid programs in the region follow Waugh's remarks as a separate article (see pp. 5-6). In addition, UW Ph.D. candidate David Hunsicker, Jr. reports from Tashkent, Uzbekistan, on the impact of recent events and on strategies the US could employ to kindle democracy and long-term stability in the region (see pp. 7-8).

The Need for a New Perspective on Central Asia

BY DANIEL C. WAUGH

Let me begin with a few comments on the importance of Central Asia and on political aspects of the current crisis. A recent article in *The New York Times* (October 10, 2001) was headlined "Five Ex-Soviet Asian Republics Are Now Courted by the US," and it began as follows:

"The five countries that emerged in Central Asia after the collapse of the Soviet Union a decade ago — Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan — are unknown to most Americans but are now being urgently courted as the United States seeks to destroy terror bases in nearby Afghanistan..."

"Unknown to most Americans" but "courted." And, I would predict, just as quickly forgotten once the current crisis has ended. My first point then is this: Central Asia is important, deserving of our continuing attention and study, and, I might emphasize, the commitment of Washington State and UW resources to maintain our offerings on this campus.

Historically the region has played a key role in connecting the peoples of Europe,

Asia and Africa. The civilizations of Central Asia are amongst the oldest and richest in the world and deserving of our attention not in the first instance because of the recent tragic events and the current crisis. I have been referring to "Central Asia" as an entity, but that is only convenient shorthand for a region whose complexity and interconnectedness with other areas are quite remarkable.

My second point is a corollary of the first: Central Asia is not Russia. Yet we must recognize that whether or not we like it, the Russian impact on the region is substantial, and Russian interest in what happens there is not going to disappear. Russian and, I would also emphasize, US interest in Central Asia has and will likely continue to be dictated primarily by selfish (if understandable) considerations.

At least at one time (and I suspect this may still be true), Seattlites would often refer to Tashkent as our *Russian* sister city. Of course as I hope you all now know, Tashkent is the capital of Uzbekistan, and Uzbekistan and the four other Central Asian states have been independent already for ten years. It is about time we

started to treat them as such and not, following *The New York Times'* example, continue to refer to them as the "Five Ex-Soviet Asian Republics."

The common perceptions of Central Asia in international politics today mirror to a considerable degree the attitudes of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The region then was treated as simply a pawn in the schemes of neighboring powers — especially Britain and Russia — to expand and defend their empires (this rivalry is commonly called "The Great Game"). In the case of Russia today, not only a lingering yearning to restore lost empire but very real considerations of security ensure that Russia will continue to play an active role in the region. From the standpoint of the Central Asian states, geography alone dictates that Russia will continue as an important focus of their foreign policies and have an impact on their economies.

The US role in the region is, I am afraid, equally dictated in the first instance not by any altruistic concern for the people of Central Asia. There are, of course, notable exceptions in the activities of

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Where Marx once inspired the proletariat in the central park of Tashkent, the dreaded conqueror of Central Asia Tamerlane now holds sway with the slogan, "Strength in Justice." The first of those virtues is as abundant as the second is absent in the policies of the Karimov regime.

NGOs such as the Seattle-Tashkent Sister City Association. Understandably, US policy is guided in the first instance by concerns for our own security, and by the fact that several of the Central Asian countries have something we badly want: petroleum resources. Quite bluntly, no oil and no Osama bin-Laden would guarantee that Central Asia would not even be on the other Washington's map. The only way we can ever hope to change this indifference is by supporting and expanding a Central Asian focus in our learning, teaching, and activism.

My final point concerns challenges of US policy in the current crisis. I should stress here that I am not going to detail what that policy might be, but simply offer some cautionary words: There is a real danger that the United States may contribute to a potentially even more serious crisis in Central Asia if we focus too narrowly on "courting" support and bases for the fight against terrorism, and thereby fail to address the serious political and economic challenges faced by the five countries of the region.

The governments of all five Central Asian countries today are, to put it diplomatically, far from being democratic. Furthermore, these countries still have weak economies, whose underdevelopment is in part the legacy of Soviet rule, but in part, too, the result of the continuation of Soviet-era policies, the lack of the rule of law, and rampant corruption. These political and economic conditions are helping to fuel the discontent that governments such as that of Uzbekistan ruthlessly suppress and are quick to brand with the label of Islamic fundamentalism. The US clearly must not be condoning such regimes, and in fact must work seriously to encourage and facilitate change. This does not mean our goal should simply be to make them "more like us." As we all know, there may well be aspects of American culture and society that others would choose wisely not to emulate. Furthermore, what we might determine are "traditional" Central Asian values, some of them rooted in Islam, in fact correspond very well with values we espouse.

Should we fail to encourage developments that will enhance the well-being and long-term stability of the independent countries of Central Asia, it is entirely possible that those countries, which are still consolidating their national identities, will go the way of Afghanistan. That is, they will continue to be pawns in the modern version of the Great Game, and they never will enjoy the blessings of political stability and prosperity. A long-term commitment of an American public and political leadership well informed about Central Asian affairs, languages and culture, could help to ensure that such a bleak scenario does not become a reality. ♦

Daniel C. Waugh was Acting Chair of REECAS in Autumn 2001. He has traveled extensively in Central Asia, and teaches courses on Central Asia's early history of cultural and economic interactions along the Silk Road. During the 2001-2002 academic year he is coordinating a series of public education programs about the Silk Road.

Commentary: Responding to the Crisis by Revitalizing Cultural Exchange

BY GEORGE E. WRIGHT

The academic community's response to the disaster of September 11 must include efforts to expand the nation's understanding and appreciation of Islamic culture. The highly popular recent lecture series sponsored by the Jackson School is vivid testimony of the demand for thoughtful information. Area studies are also a necessary antidote to our country's penchant for smug self-absorption. But elsewhere in the world, the United States must also expand and reinvigorate its cultural exchange and education programs to combat the negativity directed at the US. By dispelling ignorance, recognizing the failure of privatized cultural exchange, and returning to its previous overseas information and library service, the US can begin to improve its image. This problem is not limited to the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and Central Asia, though it is most urgent there. In order to improve US educational efforts abroad, bridge cultural misconceptions, and improve the educational lot of those in emerging democracies, we must introduce reforms in the quantity and quality of international exchange and education.

September 11 brought into sharp relief the poor popular image of the United States, particularly in the Middle East and increasingly in the new nations of the former Soviet Union. Our concern should not be with disagreements over specific American foreign policies (e.g. Israel, Kosovo, Iraq, or the Kyoto Accords), but with a more deep-seated sense that the United States' position in the world is antithetical to the interests and aspirations of other cultures. Beyond unpopular policies, there are several causes of this erosion of America's image, from our own cultural exports to uncontrolled propaganda abroad.

Negative one-sided propaganda has had free reign for decades throughout the Middle East and CIS, fostering a negative to hostile environment through a combination of official sources and Islamists granted free reign by otherwise repressive regimes (Islamic missionaries

seeking to revive the faith in Central Asia have unfortunately tended to represent extreme variants). Another factor is the image of greed, materialism, militarism, lust, arrogance, and disrespect for Islamic values that the US projects through its entertainment, which is readily available in its milder mainstream and more caustic underground variants. Access to mostly "bad" American culture is readily available on Cable TV broadcast from Moscow and on the Internet. Many foreigners are repulsed by their idea of American cultural mores or in awe of American affluence, or both, but fail to perceive what makes us proud to be Americans, our idealism, or our own self-doubts.

There is little access to counterbalancing views of the U.S. The vast numbers struggling to learn English in the Middle East and the former Soviet Union have little access to English materials, except violent movies and rap CDs. As for foreign periodicals, the Uzbek government keeps most out, and in more liberal Kyrgyzstan, few are available because no one can afford them. Meanwhile the under-funded higher and secondary education systems emphasize how to make a quick buck manipulating an artificial market, not fresh ideas and ideals, nor practical courses in macroeconomic stabilization, economic development models, or regulatory policy. Half my class in the Tashkent Finance Institute imagined their future careers in the Uzbekistan stock exchange, duplicating the source (they believed) of American prosperity.

The demise of US-supported information centers has left an information gap. The popular libraries the United States Information Agency (USIA) used to operate all over the region have disappeared, and even before the recent troubles, the few remaining offices discouraged Uzbek visitors, depriving them of Internet and electronic journal access. Now, in Central Asian capital cities, a guarded USIA office has one American staff member/director locked

inside. Business centers cater to government officials and administrators of elite universities or help US business develop foreign investment opportunities. Unlike the British, the US embassy had no funding for performances by American artists or musicians. Voice of America offers a barely credible broadcast schedule and reaches a tiny audience via short-wave radio, so small that the service was almost terminated this year. Popular student exchange programs, such as the scattering of Peace Corps volunteers, reward a few (often elite) students, and offer little to the great majority.

Not only have government-sponsored efforts left something to be desired, but the private-sector alternative also doesn't suffice. In 1997, the only English library in Tashkent open to all students was operated by missionaries. It was popular, but the books had either a religious or blindly free-market slant, and well-meaning American staff members would inquire in whispers as to the spiritual life of patrons. All one finds on commercial TV is a diet of low-cost reruns. The Soros Foundation does fine work in some countries, but is viewed with increasing suspicion in others.

Sloppily administered exchange programs are another cause of the declining international image of the US. While taking pride in their efforts to educate the world through myriad exchanges of teachers and students, sponsors tend to focus on selection and funding of exchange participants with little coordinated attention on the quality of our guests' US experience. A negative experience can sour a foreigner's view of America and his future interest in foreign attempts to discuss the virtues of democracy and open societies. At present, exchange programs leave foreign guests more or less on their own with little support for personal issues or forums to talk about their experiences. Governments and universities should clean up their exchange programs if they are serious about the goal of building

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understanding and friends in difficult regions of the world. Ad hoc, essentially privatized American efforts at cultural exchange, have failed and it is thus necessary — and in our interests — to publicly fund effective efforts to improve popular understanding of America, particularly among secondary and university students.

This problem is most urgent in the Middle East and the Central Asian former Soviet republics, where the US needs to start reversing decades of neglect. In an information age, an old Cold War propagandistic approach would be completely self-defeating. We should rather base our efforts on a premise of mutual respect and try to show others that *how* we wrestled with our historical struggles has relevance for them. Pilot programs in a few countries should actively experiment with alternative, nation-specific models. To better tailor programs, surveys or focus groups with local populations can identify negative perceptions about the US and clearly define existing problems. Universities, which have more credibility among the young than does the US government, may be the only way in some countries to start addressing the negative climate. New programs should strive to fulfill the core objectives of exchange programs: building good will and mutual understanding. Finally, host governments should be invited to help design information programs they will not oppose, and that perhaps even support some of their educational objectives, which will in turn allow our efforts to prosper.

An initiative based on a strong ethic of open exchange would include: expanded current exchange programs, revitalized US overseas information programs, and expanded opportunities abroad for students and professors.

Expand Current Exchange Programs

Current US-funded exchange programs, such as offered by the Fulbright, Muskie, and ACCELS programs, should expand to the Middle East (Muskie and ACCELS are currently limited to the NIS). Participants on exchange programs should receive a broader picture of our nation, its history and culture, as well as more orientation and end-of-term sessions for students and scholars to discuss their experiences and perceptions. Cross-

cultural seminars should encourage participants to adapt to, rather than adopt, American and European models. Universities should fund increased hospitality and training opportunities for exchange students and scholars, so that guests are never left feeling abandoned or unwelcome. Exchange students should not only see Mt. Rainier, but also experience cultural immersion, through a weekend stay with a farming family, an evening volunteering in a soup kitchen, or a field trip with an environmentalist. The focus should *not* be on how great we are, but on how people and communities can organize to solve problems. Finally, competitive grants may create greater financial opportunities for campuses to improve foreign student services.

Revitalize US Information Programs Overseas

The current USIA network of information centers should change their orientation, locations, and operations. USIA-operated libraries from a decade ago may now present intractable security problems. However, they need more staff, larger facilities, more regional offices, and more broadly based programming to reach a wide audience. Other desirable improvements include Internet cafés, particularly in locations with few private sector alternatives, seminars for instructors and librarians on how to use the Internet as an educational tool, and Internet site guides for CIS students, translated into Russian for local academic communities without sufficient English. University-to-university links, initially emphasizing libraries, should expand, such as virtual information centers in which several universities in a country are networked to a central source. An effort to substantially upgrade university libraries in the CIS may draw inspiration from Microsoft's support of Internet access for every US public library. Also needed is the expansion or introduction of American higher education models, perhaps via transnational universities. These played an important role in the modernization of the Middle East, but current efforts to duplicate such vital initiatives, such as the American University of Kyrgyzstan, are under-funded in impoverished economies. Add to this list our mass-communications programming, which should follow the less

lead, less self-congratulatory, and thus more credible and popular examples other nations have developed.

Expand Opportunities Abroad for Students and Scholars

Existing, cost-effective exchange opportunities tend to place an American professor in front of 100 students for an entire semester or year. The number of slots offered is limited and the low stipends are a major disincentive for attracting the specialists requested by the host nation. It is necessary to support high-quality English teachers at both the secondary and university levels, particularly where the absence of the Peace Corps has left a huge demand for native teachers of English and for English clubs or summer camps (effective opportunities for real cultural exchanges). Finally, overseas USIA offices should be adequately staffed to develop teaching sites, which could help inexperienced CIS universities use exchange professors and teachers effectively. Few USIA offices currently have the resources needed to locate and prepare rewarding teaching opportunities.

No effort at information, education, and cultural exchange will create acceptance for unpopular US policies abroad. Indeed, the sketch put forward here is not intended to address disagreement with policies that, after all, have plenty of domestic critics. Rather, we have learned to our sorrow that our nation needs to work consciously to offer alternatives to the view that we as a people are out to subvert the diversity of our planet's values and cultures. I would suggest the participation of American universities because they are better placed to implement an ethic of open sharing. I would likewise suggest an initial focus on host country students, particularly those outside of elite universities, because elites are manifestly not our problem. Additional benefits from expanding cultural exchange in Central Asia include spreading democratic ideals in host nations, and developing our own understanding of the CIS region. ♦

George Wright is Associate Professor in the UW Department of Family Medicine, where he conducts research in the economics of health and development. He was a Fulbright Scholar in Uzbekistan in 1996-97.

Winning the War against Terrorism in Central Asia

BY DAVID HUNSICKER, JR.

The war on terrorism being waged by the United States and its coalition partners has brought long-sought attention to the Central Asian states of the former Soviet Union. Prior to September 11, 2001, few Americans knew anything about Afghanistan's northern neighbors. Now that American troops have been stationed in Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan have offered airspace for humanitarian aid, the region no longer represents a blank spot on the map for Americans. The Central Asian states have become important allies in US efforts to root out terrorism. The US would be wise to proceed carefully and consider a strategic approach in its policies in Central Asia, so as to root out terrorism in both the short and long term and to avoid turning the tide of public opinion against us.

Official statements coming out of the Central Asian capitals have all been solidly in favor of the US action in Afghanistan. Uzbekistan, in particular, by becoming the first former Soviet state to allow US troops to be stationed on its soil, has undertaken what it hopes will be a new era in its international strategic relations. At the same time the Karimov regime is holding its cards close to its chest, attempting to maintain popular support by limiting public disclosure of the exact details of military cooperation with the United States. This makes it difficult to evaluate the present US-Uzbek relationship with any certainty. Tashkent probably hopes that the United States will help eliminate the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), which has been engaged in armed conflict against the Uzbek government for several years. The elimination of the IMU, however, will not end the Uzbek government's headaches, nor will it stem possible anti-American sentiment in the region. The implications of this new relationship remain to be seen, but one thing is clear: the United States needs to tread carefully. In allying itself with the regime in Tashkent to meet its short-term goals in Afghanistan, the United States needs to seriously weigh what long-term policies it will implement in Central Asia. While the United States



The 16th century Kukeldashmedrese (religious school) in Tashkent

seeks to eliminate anti-American terrorists in Afghanistan, it must be careful not to simultaneously aid the growth of anti-American sentiment in the Muslim world in general, and among Afghanistan's northern neighbors in particular.

Behind the façade of unwavering support for the United States, some among the general populace in Central Asia remain suspicious of America's newfound interest in the region. Ten years after the Soviet regime's collapse, it is not surprising that such suspicion can still be found; today's Central Asians grew up listening to the Soviet message that the US was an evil capitalist power bent on achieving world hegemony. Despite a continued distrust of Russian hegemonic designs in their former colonies, and the desire of the Central Asian regimes to use relations with the United States as a counterbalance, it will probably take a generation before suspicion towards the US is uprooted. The US coalition's attacks on Afghanistan certainly do little to help. Muslims in Central Asia are greatly disturbed by the loss of innocent lives in Afghanistan, and by their perception that the United States has yet to provide proof of Osama bin-Laden and al-Qaeda's guilt in the September 11 attacks.

US rhetoric that the war on terrorism is not a war on Islam is increasingly unconvincing to people in the region. This is especially true in Uzbekistan, where the Uzbek government has used the threat of terrorism as an excuse to crack down on its own perceived Islamic opposition. The warm relations now enjoyed between the Karimov regime and the United States do little to ease fears of Muslims in Uzbekistan about the US government's concerns for the human rights of Muslims in Uzbekistan. This can only be further exacerbated by the Bush administration's decision to leave Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan off of the list of "countries of particular concern" under the 1998 International Religious Freedom Act, which was revised on October 26, 2001.

Long-term American policy in Central Asia (and indeed in the rest of the Islamic world), as set forth by both the government and private groups and individuals, needs to concentrate on two main fronts. The first is to remain consistent in criticizing the slow rate of democratization and free market reform in the region, with particular emphasis on human rights. Any aid to the Central Asian republics must be conditional upon reform, including the creation of

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conditions favorable to foreign investment. The coalition against terrorism has produced some strange bedfellows, and some of the strangest are the totalitarian regimes of Central Asia and the United States. The Bush administration may not be aware that the strongest weapon in its arsenal is ideological. The export of democratic and free market values will do much more for increasing stability and stemming anti-American sentiments in the region than will direct economic or military aid.

Some roots of terrorism lie in disenfranchisement. This is also true in the post-Soviet states in Central Asia. The economies of the region still suffer from the effects of 70 years of Soviet central planning. Jobless rates in the region are extremely high, and wages for those who do have jobs are pitifully low. Coupled with these economic hardships, the lack of any voice in government policy, or the ability to freely express criticism — constructive or otherwise — leaves many in the region feeling hopeless. Without hope, and feeling they have nothing to lose, some of the disenfranchised can be convinced to take up arms or engage in terrorist acts to overthrow their respective governments. If for no other reason than its own security, the United States should bring strong pressure to bear on Central Asian governments to quickly implement reforms. Ultimately democratic and free market reforms would be in the best interest of the countries themselves, because they could temper potential unrest and help guarantee security.

One practical step that can be taken is to strengthen the press. Western non-governmental organizations, such as Internews, should be given increased funding from private philanthropists and Western governments, to expand ongoing promotion of independent news outlets in the region. Funding should also be devoted to translation and publishing projects to help eliminate reliance on dated reading material, originally written to promote Soviet ideology, and on post-independence publications that seek to create narrow national mythologies. Low-cost literature promoting democratic principles, read by large numbers of people in their local languages, could help finally bring the peoples of Central

Asia out from behind the shadow of the Iron Curtain. If funding is properly directed, it can also promote the growth of local independent publishing efforts. Promotion of such efforts must of course be coupled with a strong interest in protecting the rights of journalists by Western governments.

The second front, closely connected with the first, is to promote and reform educational programs. Until now, efforts have focused on providing opportunities for exceptional students to study in Western countries. Organizations like the American Councils for International Education (ACTR/ACCELS), the Open Society Institute, and the International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX) all provide limited opportunities for university students, graduate students, and educators to study in the United States and Europe. While these programs remain essential, they do not address larger needs. Alumni of these programs return to educational and governmental systems that retain most of their Soviet-era character. Alumni are often unable to find ways to put their newly acquired experience and knowledge into effective practice, because the systems in which they must operate remain unreformed. Resources need to be tasked with reforming these systems so that not only a select few — but the entire population — can benefit.

Fulbright and Civic Education Project (CEP) scholars have been able to make small steps in this regard. They have taught courses using Western pedagogical methods and participated in curriculum development projects, but these are only short-term efforts. One year teaching in former Eastern Bloc countries simply isn't enough to make a long-term difference. In this respect, the Turks have been far more far-sighted in their approach. Following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the Turkish government and private foundations established schools and universities in Central Asia and the Caucasus. These schools continue to operate, except in Uzbekistan where they were closed following a souring of relations between the two countries, and are generally recognized as some of the best educational institutions in the region. While the American University of Kyrgyzstan is a notable exception,

American and Western European efforts have lagged far behind in this regard. If setting up schools and universities in Central Asia should prove too costly at present, curriculum and textbook development efforts at least can and should be expanded. The endowment of chairs and departments of American Studies in Central Asian universities is also a possible first step that would provide a vehicle for disseminating democratic values.

Admittedly, many of these efforts would be expensive, but the long-term dividends would more than pay off, counterbalancing the misinformation most people in the world have about the US. The glimpses of America we offer via the movies we export and through our government's sometimes ill-conceived foreign policies are not flattering. If Americans really want to destroy the roots of terrorism, they need to use their private economic might and their influence over their elected leaders to spread democratic values. Few places are more in need of such efforts than Central Asia. More foundations and non-governmental organizations willing to promote democratic values need to be established. Existing organizations need to be strengthened to undertake long-term sustainable projects. The US government needs to pressure regimes in Central Asia to undertake reform. Similarly, we should create conditions that will attract Western investment in the region, thus creating jobs and opportunities for Central Asians to undertake these projects themselves. In short, what is needed to defeat terrorism and anti-Americanism in Central Asia is a privately funded, ideological, and educational Marshall Plan. ♦

David R. Hunsicker, Jr., completed his M.A. in the UW Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilization in Summer 2001, and is now a candidate in the Interdisciplinary Ph.D. Program in Near and Middle Eastern Studies. He has been studying and researching in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, for most of the last two years, with support from the American Councils for International Education and Schwartz grants from the Dept. of Near Eastern Languages and Civilization.

The Central Asian Collections at the UW Libraries

BY MARY ST. GERMAIN

This is the last in a series of articles on the history and current direction of the UW Libraries' resources for Russian, East European and Central Asian Studies.



The al-Farabi State University campus in Almaty, Kazakhstan. The statue at the end of the paved area is al-Farabi, a medieval philosopher

© MARY ST. GERMAIN

With the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the former Central Asian republics found themselves transformed into sovereign, but land-locked and cash-starved countries. Libraries and academies that had exchanged books and periodicals with the UW Libraries for decades were deprived overnight of the far-reaching, subsidized postal service available to them in Soviet times, and were unable to ship materials to the US. They lacked discretionary funds to support exchanges with UW, and many could not even buy books for their own collections. Most fell silent, preoccupied with their very survival.

At the same time, there were throughout the 1990s no known booksellers in Central Asia, independent or otherwise, who could supply US libraries with materials. The only options were a small handful of distributors based in North America or Europe, who typically asked disproportionately high sums for little product.

To try to rectify this situation and to acquire material needed for the US Department of Education-sponsored website at the UW, Central Eurasian Information Resources (CEIR), I traveled to Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan in Summer 2001. My goal was to purchase suitable books, statistical publications, census data and maps, and to identify parties who could provide a suitable selection of titles at a reasonable

price. I began my trip in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, and traveled to Bukhara, Samarkand, then on to Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan, and finally to Almaty, Kazakhstan, before returning to Seattle about five weeks later.

I noted three consistencies in all the places I visited: scholarly periodicals are not distributed through either bookstores or kiosks; authors must pay to have their books published, which many cannot afford; and popular books in Russian are still common.

I used a standard procedure when shopping. I had generated separate lists of books owned by the Libraries, by country of publication. I checked each book I found against my list and jotted down a citation to avoid duplication. I ignored elementary and secondary textbooks and popular publications in Russian. I purchased everything pertinent that we did not own and feel confident that I missed very little.

Arriving in Uzbekistan's 100-plus-degree heat, I felt wilted and found the book trade in a similar state. Tashkent has five large bookstores for current publications and two for antiquarian books. In Bukhara, although I had hoped to find Tajik books and possibly books from the Jewish community, the sole bookshop sold mostly textbooks. Samarkand's four bookstores included one, opposite the University of Samarkand, with an

excellent selection. The others were close to perishing. One had been approximately 40' x 60', but was now reduced to two shelving units in a small cubicle selling office supplies. Uzbekistan is not well linked into the world banking system, and abacuses were still used for totaling purchases.

Prior to 1991, the major Uzbek presses were Ghafur Ghulom, FAN, and Uzbekiston. Very little was published between 1991 and 1993. Between 1993 and 1996, presses generally published 2-4 titles per year. Ghafur Ghulom has recovered to publishing around 15 titles per year. A new publisher, Sharq, has steadily expanded to publishing around 20 titles per year. Adolat, Chulpon, Ezuvchi, Ma"naviat, Uzbekiston, Uzbekiston Millii Entsiklopediiasi, and Uqituvchi have produced one to four books each year since 1993. FAN's production seems to be waning as time passes. Thirteen other presses existed long enough to produce one or two titles in the 1990s.

Censorship is still heavy, so many writers limit themselves to apolitical fiction. Some history is also published. A few books on Islam are produced, either by the A. Qodiri press, or without specified publication information, and sold from tables in the Charsu Bazaar. Students of Islam often use old handwritten books. Miniature painters buy these books for

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their high quality paper. Most use only the blank pages, but I did see full pages of text with recently added margin paintings for sale in Bukhara.

Although Uzbekistan plans to switch from Cyrillic to a Latin alphabet, so far only a few such books have been published, with just the title page and cover in the Latin alphabet. Russian is rarely used for scholarly books.

Librarians in Uzbekistan had excellent training, but currently work in extremely difficult circumstances. I visited the Alisher Navoi National Library, the Library of the Academy of Sciences, the Library of the National University of Uzbekistan, and the Library of the Samarkand State University. In one library, salaries had been halved and many books taken from the central library to form departmental libraries. Nevertheless, the librarians showed great dedication to their work. In another, short-sighted administrators were pressuring librarians to speed the discarding of all books including the words 'communist' or 'communism.' Library associations supported by the Soros Foundation publish a journal, which the librarians in Uzbekistan avidly read, and in which they dream of the recent past under Communism, when libraries were fully functional.

Conditions improved as I moved eastward. In Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan, there were four bookstores, two substantial kiosks and a Central Statistical Office. The Center for Kyrgyz Books was creative enough to accept payment by a Western Union transfer. This bookstore was run by two women, a Kyrgyz and a Russian, who had unparalleled knowledge of the book trade, authors, and publishers. The Central Statistical Office was also a ray of light, publishing a full array of census and statistical publications, and the Raritet Bookstore distributed a good selection of maps.

Kyrgyzstan, an old press, and Sham, a new press, each issuing 5-10 books per year, have emerged as the dominant presses. Kyrgyz Entsiklopediiyasi produces 2-3 books each year, including an encyclopedia on each oblast. Akyl and Uchkun produce a book or two in most years. With twenty-seven other publishers, including Ilim, producing one or two books during the last decade, presses

have not yet stabilized. Language, literature, and history are thriving. Small numbers of books appear on law, politics, ecology, economy, folk music, and culture. Approximately one-third of the books on the market are in Russian, primarily on history, politics, economics, law, sociology, ecology, and the Korean minority.

I had the good fortune to visit the Knizhnaia Palata, or book depository, where I viewed the archives as well as materials that would soon be moving onto the market. I was struck by the range and high quality of upcoming economics publications. To obtain books, librarians visit the Knizhnaia Palata and identify the publisher, through whom they then contact the author to solicit a free copy. I also visited the National Library, the Chernyshevsky Public Library, the Library of the National University, and the Kyrgyz-Russian Slavic University (KRSU).

The book trade in Almaty, Kazakhstan, was a feast after famine. Prior to 1991, Kazakhstan and Nauka, now Ghylym, were the top presses. This has expanded to eight large presses: Ana Tili, Atamura, Oner, Qazaqstan, Rauan, Sanat, and Zhazushy, which regularly publish up to ten books per year. Sanat and Zhazushy had bumper years in 1998, publishing close to 20 books each. There are several smaller, but solidly established publishers: Balausa, Bilim, Daik Press, Ghylym, Olke, Qainar, Qazaq Entsiklopediiyasi, Zhaly, and Zheti Zharghy, a legal press, each of which produces fewer than five books per year. Another 18 presses produce an occasional book, including authors publishing their own works.

Most of the presses are located in the Dom Izdatel'stva, with their own sales room and the cheapest prices. The several large book stores include: Akademkitap, the most expensive and the official map distributor; Kitap Alemi, which has the broadest selection, including books published by Elorda in Astana; the official Atamura store; and an unnamed book store on the corner of Furmanov and Abai, which sells privately published books.

Language, literature and history are the major topics, but politics, foreign relations, treaties, traditional culture, law, ecology, economics, and minorities in

Kazakhstan are not far behind. Historical materials, works of folk poets and writers from the turn of the century, particularly materials that could not be published under the Soviets, are being systematically republished. Easily a fifth of scholarly publication is in Russian. Works such as telephone books and Internet directories are beginning to appear. Zhazushy also publishes a small number of works in Uighur.

In Almaty, I visited the National Library, the Library of the al-Farabi University, and the Library of the National University. The latter is well organized and has a very strong Kazakh collection. The National Library is making a name for itself by sending its staff to international meetings and disseminating standards throughout the country.

In total, last summer's trip to these three countries of primary interest to the UW's Central Asian Studies program netted the UW Libraries a total of over 950 new books: 543 from Kazakhstan, about 248 from Uzbekistan, and 190 from Kyrgyzstan, all of which I selected at bookstores, kiosks, or in library exchange departments, and shipped back to Seattle. Most of these materials are of recent publication date.

At each library along my route, I tried to determine the likelihood of future book and periodical exchange arrangements with the UW. Although the results of this survey were not overwhelmingly positive, the UW now has some hopeful prospects to pursue this year. The potential for revived exchange activity, together with direct purchasing from booksellers contacted in the field, are now our primary avenues for maintaining Central Asian acquisitions in the coming years. The Library's Near East Section and our Slavic and East European Section will collaboratively develop these avenues of supply in the next months. ♦

Mary St. Germain is the UW Libraries' Near Eastern Studies Librarian. She traveled to three Central Asian Republics in June and July 2001 to make contacts with libraries and acquire materials for the UW Central Asian Studies collection in the UW Libraries and also provided materials for the CEIR website, <http://depts.washington.edu/reecas/atlas/ceir-1.htm>. Michael Biggins, the UW's Slavic and East European Studies Librarian, contributed to this story.

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The Republic of Georgia: Two Field Reports

The Republic of Georgia has again faced mounting political troubles during the last few months of 2001. The war in Chechnya to the north, troubled relations with the breakaway region of Abkhazia and the autonomous republic of Ajara, uneasy relations with Russia (particularly over Chechnya and energy), and perhaps most importantly, a failure to implement economic reforms, are all taking their toll. In November, a breach of press freedom was the spark that fomented protestors' calls for changes in key government positions after a decade of corruption and political ineptitude under unpopular president Edvard Shevardnadze. In the following pages, Kelli Hash discusses life in Tbilisi, the recent political unrest in Georgia, the ongoing foreign and domestic problems, and the nation's energy crisis. Jim McKinney reflects on why US financial assistance aimed at building democracy could prove ineffective without real commitment from Georgia's government.

A Report from the Far Side: Tbilisi, Georgia

BY KELLI HASH

*Gamopkhizlebuli! Vkhvdebodi! Khizilala!*¹ Words like these are keeping me busy here in Tbilisi, Georgia, where I am studying the country and its language on a Fulbright fellowship. Unfortunately, I have also been busy trying to keep up with the confusing and mostly negative political developments. In the two months since I arrived, much has changed in America and the rest of the world, and Georgia is no exception. The country has had its share of recent trouble: neighboring wars, civil wars, and tense relations with Russia. In the past months, protests against the unpopular Shevardnadze government were reignited over the raid of a popular television station by state security forces, leading to the resignation of Shevardnadze's entire cabinet. Protests in November called for Shevardnadze's resignation. Keeping up with events is difficult for me because of the still-significant language barrier, and because things are changing very quickly. All the same, I will try to share my impressions of recent events and life in Tbilisi.

The Good

At the top of this list come the people. The legendary Georgian hospitality has survived a decade of economic decay. Even if some of my friends can feed me only rice and parsley with tea, they still want me to be their guest. I know people who cannot afford the nickel it takes to ride the bus, and this in what used to be a very affluent part of the Soviet Union. But in other ways things seem better than I anticipated. People are well dressed, and the stores are full of relatively affordable



Market life in Tbilisi, Georgia

products. There is also a good amount of renovation underway, with new hotels under construction — albeit in one of the more affluent neighborhoods of the capital. Other neighborhoods are more decrepit, and it goes without saying that conditions in most of the rest of the country are much worse. The economic “middle class” remains extremely small.

Georgian food is mouth-watering, and shopping for produce at the open markets is a feast for the eyes and ears as well as the stomach. The produce is exquisite and inexpensive. I know that my foreign appearance and accent cost me money, but even when I suspect I'm being overcharged, it feels like I'm

stealing. For instance, a pound of wonderful green tangerines costs about 25 cents. Shopping is also a good linguistic exercise, so I sometimes go to the market simply to hear the background noise. I can negotiate somewhat in Georgian and know enough to get myself in trouble; if I ask a question in Georgian instead of Russian, I sometimes get a more extensive Georgian answer than I bargained for. I also seem to amuse the people working in the market (“You're not even Russian, are you girl? Hey—where are you from?”)

Even from a purely linguistic point of view, this language is fascinating, and the words are as delicious as the cuisine.

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Thanks to the Fulbright fellowship, I am studying at Tbilisi State University's Centre for Kartvelian Studies, headed by Dr. Elguja Khintibidze. Here I have about 10 or 11 hours of private lessons each week, during which time we try to pack as much Georgian into my head as possible. Not an Indo-European language, Georgian differs in many significant ways from English and its closer cousins. In particular, the verbs are like nothing I've seen in any other language. They can be painfully specific, which grieves a foreign student, but can also encapsulate an entire English sentence in one word, such as "she helped me do it" (*gamaketebina*).

The Bad

Besides the economic trouble, there are also serious problems with the basic utilities in Georgia. When it was a Soviet republic, Georgia's energy needs were taken care of by Moscow. But this generosity naturally disappeared along with the USSR. Independence has cost Georgians their centrally supplied hot water and toasty radiators. Now the government cannot guarantee its people running water or electricity — not even in the capital — and there has been no hot running water for nearly a decade. People used to come from all over the Soviet Union to spend vacations here, where the winter is much milder. Now I sometimes hear Georgians speak wistfully of moving to Moscow, where there are jobs and warm apartments.

Now that fall is disappearing, the numerous dire warnings of Georgian winter are becoming all too real for me. Luckily, my apartment comes with a *baki*, or personal water heater. Unfortunately, it depends on electricity, which itself is not entirely dependable. AES, an important American-based supplier of electricity, recently threatened to pull out of Georgia because of the corrupt business environment. Fortunately, the company postponed its departure and will stay for the near future. All the same, there is sometimes no electricity. I have been warned repeatedly that this winter I can expect to have electricity for a few hours each day, in the morning and evening. Maybe I will have more, but I am stocking up on candles just in case.

The energy problem is not simply a question of resources or economics. Georgia's energy crisis is directly affected by its relations with Russia, which have recently grown even worse. Leaders in Tbilisi have been making noises about Georgia pulling out of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Putin acknowledged this possibility in a recent speech, affirming that the two countries could maintain a relationship even outside the CIS. And while he did not wish for Georgia to leave the CIS, he noted that its exit would relieve Russia's own economic burden. Moscow has been exporting energy to CIS countries at reduced rates. According to Putin, Georgia has been receiving gas at about a 50% discount. I shudder to think what would happen here if the price of natural gas doubled or the supply decreased. As it is, my gas heater works about half the time; during times of higher demand, the gas pressure is too low for the heater to ignite, and the teakettle takes forever to boil. The fact that gas and electricity are metered could help the economy in the long run, if the money goes to the right place. In the meantime, though, this does not help the people who cannot afford to pay.

A more dangerous negative here are the drivers. Not even the sidewalk is safe. You cannot assume a red light will stop a car, nor can you assume that drivers will obey lane markings, or even that they will stay on the right side of the road. This danger is compounded by the scarcity of crosswalks, so pedestrians must be extremely careful. Crossing the street is sometimes fatal; close acquaintances lost a family member this spring in just such an incident.

The Ugly

This category would have to include growing political problems both within Georgia and between Georgia and its northern neighbor, the Russian Federation. I have been trying to keep abreast of events, but what follows is not intended as a definitive political commentary, due to the fluid nature of the constantly changing political situation, which most native Georgians have difficulty keeping track of themselves,



Typical housing and hills around Tbilisi

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and because my rudimentary Georgian makes my comprehension limited and reading newspapers a slow task. I am observing events as if through a keyhole; what I can report is a combination of my perceptions and others' opinions.

Corruption is still crippling Georgia. For some, corruption is not just a weakness in the current political and economic system — it is the system. From this point of view, there is no point in the United States or the international community giving Georgia more economic aid until its government begins to work differently. One acquaintance suggested that many Georgian politicians are wary of Russian dominance not because this would impinge on the Georgian people's freedom, but because Putin would reign in the politicians themselves. Their access to public funds would then be limited. No one I've spoken with has much hope that Shevardnadze will be able to change anything; it is by now too late for him to root out corruption, a task which would have been difficult when he first came to power years ago.

This political impotence and corruption are part of the current crisis, set off by an event at a very popular news station, *Rustavi 2*, which has been known for its unabashed criticism of the leadership. One of the station's leading journalists, Giorgi Sanaia, had been murdered in the summer of 2001. On October 30, officials tried to enter the station to examine its tax records — allegedly by power of a court order, but they were prevented from doing so initially by the station's management and then by students

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gathered to protest the threat to free speech. The crowd called for the resignations of Kakha Targamadze, Minister of Internal Affairs, and Gia Meparishvili, the Prosecutor-General. President Shevardnadze announced that parliament would decide their fates, but that if they were removed from office he would follow. The next day Targamadze and Meparishvili were removed, but the



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Residential buildings in downtown Tbilisi

president decided to stay. Two others, the head of the security forces and the head of state broadcasting, resigned. Crowds burned Shevardnadze in effigy in the streets and demanded his resignation. The parliament chose a new speaker, a new cabinet is being formed, and new parliamentary elections will likely be held.

Relations with Russia and the breakaway region of Abkhazia are another serious problem for Georgia. The latest Russian-Chechen war has naturally affected Georgia, which shares a border with the Caucasian republic. Chechen refugees have for some time lived in Georgia's Pankisi gorge, near the Chechen border, but recently a number of Chechens mysteriously turned up in the more distant Kodori gorge, which separates Georgia and Abkhazia. It is hard to

imagine how this could have happened without official knowledge or assistance, or so Russian news reports have implied. Moscow's professed willingness to pull its troops out of Abkhazia has met with mixed reaction here. Some claim Russia's aim is to destabilize the region. Then Moscow would be justified in returning to clean things up. For others, Moscow's acquiescence is a sign that Russian policy toward Georgia is truly changing.

A few weeks ago I watched a discussion of Russian-Georgian relations on the Russian program *Svoboda slova* (*Freedom of Speech*), which is probably comparable to Bill Maher's *Politically Incorrect*. The participants included the former Soviet ambassador to the US, Vladimir Lukin, and Irina Khakamada, a member of the Russian Duma. I was encouraged by their moderation. They blamed both countries for the current frost, and suggested that Shevardnadze and Putin meet as soon as possible to discuss Chechnya, Abkhazia, and mutual relations. In contrast, I have seen Russian news reporters treat Georgian matters with disrespect.

Russia is apparently capitalizing on the US war against terrorism by equating the supposed Georgian sheltering of Chechen "terrorists" with the Taliban's assistance to Osama Bin Laden. In an *Argumenti i fakti* article, Russian Duma member Alexander Shokin suggested that NATO could help root out terrorism by bombing Chechnya.² Russian news channels reporting on events in Chechnya routinely refer to actions taken by the rebels as 'terrorist acts'. Russia has also apparently taken advantage of Tbilisi's current political crisis to bomb the Kodori gorge in Georgian territory.

Another uncertainty about Georgia's future involves the autonomous republic of Ajara in the southwest, adjacent to

Turkey. Ajara's President Abashidze has done a great deal for the republic, I am told. It is apparently cleaner and safer than much of the rest of Georgia, but armed guards are ubiquitous, and the money used to make these improvements is of dubious origin. The region's distinct nature, along with its largely Muslim population, makes many Orthodox Georgians uneasy. Toasts at yet another Georgian *supra* (feast or formal dinner) in honor of a newly defended dissertation provided me a glimpse of this anxiety. Most of those in attendance were professors or colleagues of the lucky man, and many of them happened to be from Batumi, Ajara's capital. After toasts to the man's future and family and Georgian literature in general, many toasts were offered for Georgia itself. Over and over the men felt compelled to emphasize that Ajara is just another part of Georgia, that 'we are all one country.' Their uneasiness is well founded, given recent Georgian history. The civil war in South Ossetia (in northern Georgia) is long since over, but the issues have not really been resolved. The 1993-94 civil war in Abkhazia was also never really resolved and is threatening to reignite.

I am studying in Tbilisi against a turbulent and uncertain backdrop, but despite the challenges, I feel fortunate to be here. I would encourage others to study the language and country, to make the effort to travel to this 'far side of the world', and to apply for Fulbright or similar fellowships. For me the reward is being able to do what I have wanted to do for so long: to study Georgia and its language, and to eat plenty of *khachapuri*. ♦

Kelli Hash is currently a Fulbright scholar at the Centre for Kartvelian Studies in Tbilisi, Georgia. A former REECAS Newsletter editor, she completed an M.A. in REECAS at the UW in June 2001. For further information on the Centre for Kartvelian Studies, send a message by E-mail to khash@onebox.com or kartvcentre@hotmail.com.

¹ Translations of these words into English: *gamopkhizlebuli*: alert; *vkhvdebodi*: I was meeting; *khizilala*: caviar.

² *Argumenti i fakti*, No. 38, Sept. 2001, p. 4.

Assistance to a Troubled State: Lessons from Georgia

BY JIM MCKINNEY

In January 2000, I was assigned as the first Security Assistance Officer at the US Embassy in Tbilisi, Georgia. As an Army officer, training to be a political-military specialist in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, and having studied the region and being involved in one form or another for many years, I was excited. This was a plum job, in an exotic place, and, oh yes, carrying \$72 dollars a day per-diem. My mission was to open the Office of Defense Cooperation and deliver over \$20 million in US assistance that for numerous reasons had failed to reach the country in the previous two years. I would work with senior Georgian Government ministers, parliamentarians, and security officials, and I would direct US Department of Defense Security Assistance policy in the country for Washington and the US Ambassador. I must make clear that while I am an official US government representative,

these observations, experiences, and views of Georgia are entirely my own, and do not represent the position of the US government.

At the Defense Language Institute in Monterey, California, my beloved Russian instructors (all recent immigrants or defectors in the Cold War) had often raved about the beauty and mystique of Tbilisi, Sukhumi, and the Black Sea coast. The country was considered a paradise in the former Eastern block, the vacation spot people would save their entire lives to visit for two weeks. Georgia produced the Soviet Union's fruits and vegetables in its moderate climate in the valleys and along the coast. The Soviet Ski Team training facilities and resorts were located in the towering Caucasus mountains. Georgia also had a reputation of having the best beaches available in the vast and otherwise largely cold terrain of

the Soviet Union. My teachers spoke of the deep culture, the language, the beautiful historical architecture, the restaurants, and of course, the Georgian wine. The men were said to be suave and the women beautiful. People owned cars and houses, had savings accounts and you could buy things! This was the place to go in days gone by, and now I was going. Yes, I was excited.

After a few weeks in the United States for specialized training, I arrived at 3:30 am on a Thursday morning in mid-February. There were no controls at the airport, no security, as one would expect, and no visible city lights. The Border Guards would take a cigarette from a taxi driver, let him into the security area, and then turn to talk to a friend or relative. I had been in airports in Africa, the Middle East, and other former Soviet Republics, and all were more securely managed.

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GEORGIA: AUTONOMOUS REPUBLICS AND ADMINISTRATIVE CENTERS



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Driver pays a bribe on Georgian highway

This was a bad start, but a good forewarning. As I departed the airport I noticed only a few very small sections of the city had lights, which did not bode well for 20 to 30 degree weather in a city with a population of more than 750,000. The next winter the city went with only a few hours of electricity each day from October until March, and in some cities and rural parts of the country, no power all year.

The hotel “Sharimi” was a quaint little place managed by very nice people, in the historical section of town “Old Tbilisi.” The management woke at 4:30 am to open the doors and carry my luggage, offered food and bottled water. I woke a few hours later to walk to the embassy. As I stepped outside into the light I was stunned. Yes, the architecture was beautiful, but most of it was falling down or losing its façades, and the roads had not been patched or filled for years. As I turned a corner I saw children playing in and around a house propped with poles into the streets to keep the brick from collapsing. The scene reminded me of Beirut or Somalia.

I walked toward the main road, Pushkin Street, along which stood well-dressed, and well-armed, security forces about every 100 feet. All of a sudden sirens

blared, and the unruly and uncontrolled traffic cleared almost instantly. The security men along the road fell into position and brought out their weapons and radios as a motorcade screamed down the street at nearly 80 miles per hour, led by ancient Soviet-style police cars, then SUVs full of armed men, a black suburban, and a black Mercedes. This was the West’s beloved Georgian president Edvard Shevardnadze, who helped bring about the end of the Cold War and brought stability to a civil war-torn Georgia in the early 1990s.

Shevardnadze was a former Internal Affairs Officer, a regional Communist leader turned Georgian nationalist, then Soviet Foreign Minister, and again a Georgian nationalist. I learned later the presidential motorcade drives as it does to avoid assassination attempts, such as one a year before only a half-mile from my guest house (the third such attempt since Shevardnadze came to power.)

Against the otherwise unruly traffic, the motorcade actually had little impact. “Rule of law” on Georgian roads is questionable at best, so I don’t think Shevardnadze’s 99% disapproval rating (based on US Embassy-sponsored polls this year) is due to motorcades. It might be related to the fact that Georgia still contains four separatist regions,

Abkhazia, Ajara, Javekheti and South Ossetia, and has a war spilling across its border with Chechnya (60 miles from the capital). Or it might be that while an 80% majority reelected Shevardnadze to office, it is estimated that far less than 50% of registered voters cast ballots in the election (as an election observer for the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe — OSCE — in the troubled Abkhaz border town of Zugdidi, I personally reported over three thousand votes unaccounted for in the presidential elections). But most likely, the dissatisfaction comes from a nearly 50% unemployment rate, monthly income for those who do have jobs at about \$50 to \$100, and an infrastructure that has only disintegrated further since the civil war.

As time passed, I learned more about the deeply rooted troubles of this beautiful country, which has so much potential. I watched the corrupt dealings of the police on the street daily. I saw how government officials could not overcome personal relationships in order to make hard decisions to better the country. I experienced how hard it was to cut through the entrenched bureaucracies left over from the Soviet era. I took note that more than 80 western business people and aid workers were beaten, some nearly to death, in an eight month period last year, totaling perhaps 15% of the expatriate community. Kidnappings became a regular occurrence; an acquaintance of mine was only just released after being held hooded in a basement in Tbilisi for three months. US Embassy vehicles were stolen at gunpoint; embassy employees were held up in their homes at gunpoint. The foundations of faith in government do not exist in Georgia. There is no trust in the law or the authorities to solve these problems.

Georgia once aspired to achieve parity with the West, and almost had it. People once lived at a nearly European standard, at least as good as any in the former East block, but the corruption that permeates the government today is destroying faith in any institutions. Cronyism and self-interest at the highest government levels are destroying the society, the economy, and the people. Georgia is moving backwards.

Given the decline of the state, it may seem surprising that the United States has spent nearly a billion dollars in less than a decade on assistance to Georgia. The US showcases Georgia as one of the most progressive democracies in the Newly Independent States, and, for the most part, Americans are liked there — in a region where we need friends. But what are we doing to actually help? We take the talent from the private sector to manage US programs; we subsidize small businesses and institutions that should be self-sufficient. Tax and customs revenues have declined in the last three years, in the same programs the US supports and subsidizes the most, totaling nearly \$90 million since 1997. And then the US

rewards this failing system with more commitments for assistance. Georgia is a deeply troubled state, despite the US' best efforts and intentions, which may in fact be contributing to its demise.

I was successful in my mission, stayed far longer than expected, and gained a great appreciation of the generous people and customs of Georgia. I deeply appreciate the culture, the food, the history, and even the wine, and I have gained friends and memories that will last my lifetime. I am also glad that I was able to contribute to the Georgians' own attempt to attain greater security. But I learned a lesson about US assistance that will shape my future government service when I return to the region. Without trust and

faith in government, a modern society can fall, and Georgia is on such a precipice. Our nation must ensure that host governments address these issues before we commit so heavily, if we expect our policies to be successful in the long term. ♦

Major Jim McKinney (US Army) is currently studying for the REECAS MA through the Foreign Area Officer program.

CALL FOR PAPERS

THE EIGHTH ANNUAL NORTHWEST REGIONAL CONFERENCE FOR RUSSIAN, EAST EUROPEAN, AND CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES WILL TAKE PLACE ON SATURDAY, APRIL 27, 2002, AT THE UNIVERSITY OF OREGON, EUGENE.

We are currently soliciting papers, panels, or roundtable presentations for this one-day interdisciplinary conference. Proposals from faculty, graduate students, and members of the general public are all welcome, and the topic is open.

Small travel stipends may be available to graduate students travelling from outside the Eugene area, and carpooling may be arranged from Seattle and other cities.

Contributions are encouraged on literature, the fine arts, the environment, post-Soviet foreign policy, historical research, economics, national identity or any other relevant subject. Papers related to the theme "Ten Years after the Soviet Union" are especially welcome.

If you would like to join the program, please reply by Friday, January 18, 2002 with your name and details, a title, and brief abstract to:

Jacob Kaltenbach, Assistant Director and Outreach Coordinator
 REECAS Center, The Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies
 Box 353650, Thomson Hall, University of Washington
 Seattle, Washington 98195, USA
 Tel: 206-685-3113
 E-mail: jak@u.washington.edu

REECAS 2001

M.A. GRADUATES AND THESIS TITLES

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| Steven K. Grosse | <i>Remembered History in Baltic National Consciousness: How It Shapes Baltic Security Perspectives</i> |
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GATEWAY TO THE SILK ROAD

An Introductory Workshop for Educators

**SATURDAY, JANUARY 12, 2002, 8:30 A.M. – 4:30 P.M.
THOMSON HALL ROOM 101, UW SEATTLE**

This all-day workshop on the Silk Road is designed to serve as a gateway to the series of exhibitions, concerts, and lectures planned for the spring of 2002 with the cooperation of the Seattle Symphony, the Seattle Art Museum, the Seattle Silk Road Foundation, and the University of Washington. Scheduled before the opening of the spring series, the workshop will preview major activities, and provide information on accessing these opportunities for best use in the classroom setting. Eight Washington State clock hours issued at no additional charge.

PRESENTATIONS INCLUDE:

- Introducing the Silk Road
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Cosponsored by the East Asia Center, the Middle East Center, the Russian, East European & Central Asian Studies Center, and the South Asian Center in the Jackson School of International Studies; the Simpson Center for the Humanities, University of Washington; and the World Affairs Council of Seattle.

TO REGISTER: send a \$40.00 check payable to "University of Washington", to: REECAS, Box 353650, University of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195-3650. Checks only please; no purchase orders. No refunds. (Program fee includes a Central Asian lunch catered by Kabul Restaurant.)

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East European Directors Making American Movies: The Problems of Identity Politics

BY GORDANA P. CRNKOVIC

One of the more potent insights those East European film directors who have worked in the West could offer to contemporary cultural studies theories — if anyone bothered to listen — would be to challenge the prevailing dogmas of identity politics. These dogmas can be summarized, in short, by the principle that a member of one ethnic or social or whatever group can never “really understand”, and therefore have anything to say, about the members of another such group. Thus, Americans can never really understand the Balkans, men can never really understand women, white women can never understand minority women, and vice versa in all the above cases. A by-product of social and educational multiculturalism, this attitude — “speak for yourself and not for the others” — has become a commonly accepted truism in American academic humanities, widely reproduced in more reader-friendly popular book reviews and literary criticism, such as those published in *The New York Times Book Review* or *The New York Review of Books*.

One example of this attitude appears in a recent review of American writer Paul Bowles (1910-1999), an expatriate who lived most of his life in Tangier, Morocco, and whose extensive writing included stories concerning Muslim fictional characters. The reviewer claims that this poetics is inherently wrong because “an American” cannot understand “a Muslim.”¹ Repercussions for the current war against terrorism notwithstanding, this kind of claim, now very common, would implicate a dominant portion of world literature — *all fiction* to be precise — as “wrong.” For if we expand this principle to encompass not only ethnicity and the few other currently dominant categories such as race, class, and gender, how can for example a sane man understand an insane one (Cervantes’ character Don Quixote), a man a woman (Tolstoy’s *Anna Karenina* or Flaubert’s *Madame Bovary* should be immediately discounted on those grounds alone), or



Scene from Agnieszka Holland’s *Washington Square*

any writer his/her fictional characters and situations which are not — and should not be — purely autobiographical? In short, how can anyone *identify with* (a term proscribed in contemporary literary criticism), imagine, create or write about anything else other than oneself, if we can simply never understand “the other”?

My goal here is not to exhaustively discuss and rebut the main tenant of identity politics (“one can only talk about oneself”), but to point out that the work of those East European film directors who moved to the West proves in practice the falsehood of this exclusionary principle. The directors we study in my “East European Film” course show by their example how crucial and possible it is to speak about and for others; how a foreigner can sometimes say things about insiders that an insider never can. These directors did not only create films with American characters and American themes; they created some of the most enduring American classics. A Czech, Milos Forman, directed *One Flew over the Cuckoo’s Nest* (1975), an American classic starring Jack Nicholson and based on the cult novel by Ken Kesey; a Pole, Roman Polanski, directed *Chinatown* (1974), an

American masterpiece, as well as the classic horror film *Rosemary’s Baby* (1968), and both directors (despite Polanski’s exile from the US) have continued to make films that are in one way or another “American”; Forman’s recent *People vs. Larry Flint*, for example, addressed the first amendment and its bearing on pornography.

One of the most interesting East European directors to recently make “American” movies is the Polish-born director Agnieszka Holland. A protégé and a collaborator of the bard of the Polish cinema Andrzej Wajda and a student of the Prague Film Academy, Holland left Poland in 1980 and has since worked in Germany, France, Great Britain, and the USA. Her American movies include *Washington Square* (1997) with Jennifer Jason Leigh, Albert Finney, and Ben Chaplin, and *The Third Miracle* (1999), starring Ed Harris and Anne Heche. These two films are great examples of how foreign, East European directors can make truly *American* movies. *Washington Square* is based on Henry James’ famous novel of the same title. Holland herself explained her take on this novel and its themes: “James sounds very modern today... speaks about the society which is nineteenth century, capitalistic; it’s about money and relationships. And today again everything is about money. You can adopt him to the modern story without problems.”²

Most importantly, Holland stresses that “in some ways [she] may understand James better than some American directors . . . I am a reader and certainly know him better and have a deeper connection to him than many American directors.”³ She establishes a relation between a good reader (herself, a Polish director) and a good writer (the American Henry James), which is much more important than that established between James and any director who shares with him only “being American”. Holland thus emphasizes that the spaces and interactions of identities are much too subtle to

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be drawn merely by national borders. And she makes in some ways a better adaptation of an American classic, and a better American movie, than William Wyler's adaptation of the same novel in 1949's *The Heiress*. Holland's last American movie to date, *The Third Miracle*, is to my mind even more enchanting, as an amazingly subtle and insightful examination of faith, religion, skepticism, and love, as they are played out in the very American environment of the Catholic church in Boston. The

light touch which graces this movie, free of prefabricated answers and full of genuine inquisitiveness, was perhaps more easily achieved by a foreigner, by someone who is both intimately familiar with the power of religion and yet also sufficiently removed from its specific American context to see it and express it clearly. ♦

Gordana P. Crnkovic, Associate Professor of Slavic Languages and Literatures and Adjunct Associate Professor of Comparative Literature, is teaching East European Film (C LIT 497/

SLAV 423) in Winter Quarter 2002. She is also teaching a course on "Literature and Love East and West" (SLAV 490).

- 1 "What right has a Western author (even one qualified by long residence) to expropriate, as a literary possession, the Arab-Muslim mind?" John Sutherland, "The Stories of Paul Bowles: Distant Episodes," in *The New York Times* Internet edition, October 21, 2001.
- 2 Gordana P. Crnkovic, "Interview with Agnieszka Holland," *Film Quarterly* 52-2, Winter 1998-99, 4.
- 3 *ibid.*, 4.

Veritable Pursuits: Three Visiting Scholars

BY MEGAN HARRIS

Swiss Scholar Examines Slavic Politics

Josette Baer, currently at the UW on a three-year Swiss National Foundation grant, developed a passion for Slavic politics while studying Czech at the University of Zurich. Czech political



Josette Baer

thought became the subject of her dissertation, a search for Václav Havel's political and career influences in the political conceptions of the country's first president, Thomáš G.

Masaryk. Her fascination with Eastern Europe goes further back to childhood, partly inspired by stories of relatives who left Switzerland to fight in the Russian Revolution, and has now grown to encompass not only Czech politics, but also democratization and the political culture of the Slavic East European region and the Balkans.

The biggest barrier to a true understanding of this region is the lack of a full chronological history, Baer says, particularly in intellectual history and philosophy. She cites her own forthcoming review of Mark Biondich's *Stjepan Radić: The Croat Peasant Party and the Politics of Mass Mobilization, 1904-1928*, the first English-Language biography of the Croatian politician who led the Croatian

Agrarian Party in the early 20th century, as an example of recently uncovered details entering current discourse. A lack of intellectual exchange has limited our knowledge of countries further east, particularly during the Communist period.

Attitudes toward the region also need to change. Baer says that the West tends to gloss over problems of democratization in the "successful" countries bordering the European Union. The Czech "silent" Grand Coalition, or *Koaliciní Smlouva*, for example, has soured opinions toward the government. Formed between the ideologically opposed left ČSSD (Social Democrats) and right ODS (Civic Democratic Party) in 1998 as an expedient move, it allowed the Social Democrats led by Miloš Zeman to form a minority government under the influence of the ODS in lieu of a viable coalition. The ČSSD had risen in popularity after the 1997 fall of Václav Klaus' ODS amid the country's growing economic difficulties, and won elections for the first time since the Velvet Revolution. Though stable, the coalition is seen as a power play by politicians, with the message for Czechs that their votes don't matter; as a result, many either don't vote or vote for extremists.

Even still, border countries such as the Czech Republic are more democratic and "reformed" than those further east. Baer finds Samuel Huntington's cultural hypothesis of a "clash of civilizations" an

incomplete approach to explaining this phenomenon. She agrees that religion is a factor, and that Orthodox cultures tend to democratize less, but she gives precedence to other factors — most importantly a culture's specific notion of politics, molded by features such as foreign domination and national revival; an example would be the Balkan political culture rooted in 19th century nationalism.

Addressing another barrier, Baer acquisition of seven Slavic languages (eight counting Old Church Slavonic) — at least to the reading level — bears testimony to her belief that in order to properly analyze a culture's political thought, you must read in its original language.

Baer will teach an introductory course in Slavic Political Thought in Spring 2002, and her research at UW will culminate in a book on the political thought of six Slavic thinkers, due for completion in 2004.

Romanian Scholar Confronts Grim Stereotypes

Marina Cap-Bun, a visiting Fulbright Scholar at the UW this year, hopes to challenge the misconceptions of those who think Romania is the land only of Dracula and homeless children. Exploration of the country's monasteries and mosques dating from the 14th-18th centuries, or its literature and arts, would provide a starkly different view. Romania

is going through difficult times, Cap-Bun says, and she is using language as a hook to introduce her students to the Romanians' better side.

Cap-Bun is surprised that the students in her beginning Romanian course at UW, even those of Romanian descent, have never heard of important Romanian cultural figures. Her research in the Romanian absurdist movement in litera-



Marina Cap-Bun

ture and the arts has focused on several world-famous Romanians, such as Eugen Ionescu, known as the "father of the theater of the absurd", which he founded alongside Samuel Beckett. Another is Constantin Brâncuși, considered one of the greatest abstract sculptors of the century, who at one point turned down a job offer from Rodin. Several U.S. museums, including the Guggenheim Museum in New York, house his works.

The absurdist element in Romanian arts and literature is also reflected in its culture and politics — notable to foreigners, perhaps, in Ceausescu's penchant for monolithic construction projects. But Romanian absurdism ultimately has its roots in comic drama, which, Cap-Bun assures us, is not that dark. Cap-Bun's academic career has been focused on the topic, including her Ph.D. in literary studies from the University of Bucharest (1998), and the courses she has taught in Romanian Language and Literature at the University of Constanța on Romania's Black Sea coast since 1992.

18 students enrolled in Cap-Bun's Romanian 401 course this fall, taking advantage of an infrequent chance to study Romanian at the UW. Some students were motivated to study the language by their own ethnic roots. Others have had first-hand exposure to the country, including one who spent the

summer at an orphanage in Cluj, and still others are learning the language to better communicate with Romanian spouses.

Language is Cap-Bun's tool for transmitting Romanian culture and civilization, using a text written by the UW's Professor James Augerot, and emphasizing *realia*: experiences with Romanian music, food, and civilization. Students planned a trip to the Maryhill Museum in Goldendale, Washington, to see Romanian royal artifacts donated by Queen Mary, and hosted a talk on Romania on Romania's National Day (December 1), featuring Romanian Christmas traditions. And as students' Romanian improves, Cap-Bun hopes their misconceptions about the country will also be dispelled.

Russian Scholar Studies Nature and Nurture of Desire

Human sexuality is a popular topic in Russian popular culture, but Angela Maltseva, a Russian visiting scholar at the UW in Autumn 2001, says her research into the nature of sexual desire, particularly homosexuality and bisexuality, is not well accepted by Russian scientists. While they find it provocative, her Russian colleagues do not take the topic seriously, and many consider it immoral and even dangerous.

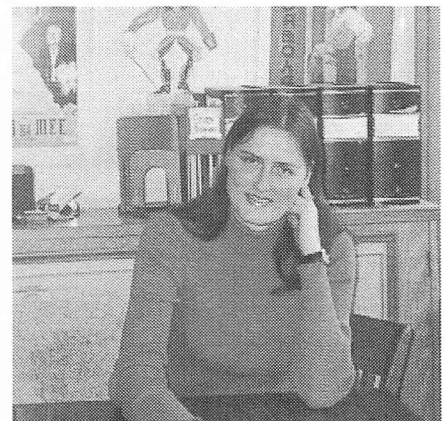
Maltseva would like to show Russian scientists that desire is a serious and important topic for philosophy, not only to counter discrimination toward open homosexuality or bisexuality, but also because we must investigate our desires and be responsible for them if we want real freedom. The sexual revolution has left Russians struggling to understand sexual desires, and led to a proliferation of pornography and promiscuity. Maltseva says Russians should understand that democracy is not an opportunity to do *anything* one wants, but requires a high level of responsibility, even in the realm of sexual freedom.

Her own country's transition experience has inspired Maltseva's research. Another inspiration was her introduction to the work of UW Professor of Sociology Pepper Schwartz, whose many books devoted to problems of human sexuality Maltseva first encountered during an advanced course on sociological methods offered by the Open Society Institute in

Moscow in 1999. Schwartz's work impressed Maltseva for its openness; she grew up amid a sweeping prohibition on the discussion of sexual issues, imposed by Soviet ideology and the values of the Russian Orthodox Church.

Maltseva's current research, entitled "Homo/bisexuality as the objects of sociological investigations", will lead to a book summarizing for a Russian audience how contemporary American science and sociology has investigated the topic of homosexual and bisexual desire and agency. She also aims to explore how different cultures classify 'normal' and 'abnormal' desires, and to consider how to best educate children on the subject of sexual desire.

Maltseva is one of eight Russian scholars visiting the U.S. this year with the support of a grant from the American Councils. She earned her Ph.D. in Philosophy from Moscow Pedagogical University in 1998, and now teaches philosophy and ethics at the Ulyanovsk Pedagogical University. Maltseva fears she may become an outcast among her academic peers, as her research is trespassing on erstwhile forbidden — and provocative — ground, and her exploration of sexual issues is uncomfortable for many. However her work is received in Russia, Maltseva says she will treasure the opportunity she had to work with Pepper Schwartz, and will return with an expanded understanding of the strong link between political life and attitudes toward sexuality, particularly in academic environments. ♦



Angela Maltseva

Intensive Intermediate Uzbek

BY ILSE CIRTAUTAS



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David Hunsicker (left) and Hilary Chan (right) in a scene from *Padarkush*

As in previous summers, the Central Asian Studies Program in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilization received generous funding from the Social Science Research Council to support students taking its Summer 2001 Intensive Intermediate Uzbek Language class. Seven students enrolled, including three from other universities (Stanford, Brown, Oregon). The students constituted one of the more remarkable groups assembled at the UW campus for our Central Asian Language and Culture Programs, offered every summer since 1989. All but one student had already established strong ties in Central Asia. Four had been Peace Corps volunteers in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan. One other student had conducted research in the region and another, a high school senior from a Uighur family that immigrated to Seattle, came to the program in search of her cultural heritage. All students placed high demands on themselves as well as on the instructors.

In addition to four hours of daily language instruction, essentially conducted

in Uzbek, a cultural program was held in the early afternoons. Both elements of the program benefited greatly from the presence of the renowned Uzbek poet, writer, and historian Muhammad-Ali Akhmedov, better known in Uzbekistan under his pen name Muhammad-Ali. As in previous summers, he shared new Uzbek documentaries and movies with program participants. One of his own stories "Non" (The Bread) was recently made into a short television movie. Our students were delighted to see the film after they had read and discussed the story with its author. To round out the cultural program, Professor Ilse Cirtautas taught a month-long lecture course on the culture of the Turkic peoples of Central Asia. Starting with the traditional cultures of the nomadic and sedentary Turks, the course highlighted cultural changes under the impact of Russian and Soviet colonialism, leading to a central question: what do the Turkic peoples of Central Asia consider the main aspects of their cultural identity after ten years of independence? Dr. Akhmedov shed some light on this in his class discussions and

in a lecture entitled "Uzbekistan: Ten Years of Independence", to which our teaching assistant David Hunsicker, who had just returned from a two-year stay in Uzbekistan, responded with his own observations and thoughts.

In another lecture Dr. Akhmedov offered a detailed overview of "Uzbek Literature since Independence". This topic tied in with class readings of the autobiographies of contemporary Uzbek writers and videotaped interviews conducted in Seattle with the poet Erkin Vohidov, the writers and poets Shukrullo, Muhammad-Ali, and Primkul Qodirov. Of special interest were Muhammad-Ali's readings from his recent book *Men Ko'rgan Amerika*. Finally, the students themselves contributed to the Uzbek Cultural Program: with the assistance of Muhammad-Ali, they staged a shortened version of the first Uzbek tragedy, *Padarkush* (The Patricide), written in 1911 by the reformer Mahmud Xo'ja Behbudiy (1874-1919) before an invited audience in Denny Hall.

After nine weeks of intensive studies, surely all students deserved some kind of recognition. In the end, Pamela Jeffcoat (a first-year REECAS graduate student) was recognized as the best student of the Uzbek Summer Program 2001 and received the Seattle-Tashkent Sister City Prize at a farewell gathering on August 17, 2001. ♦

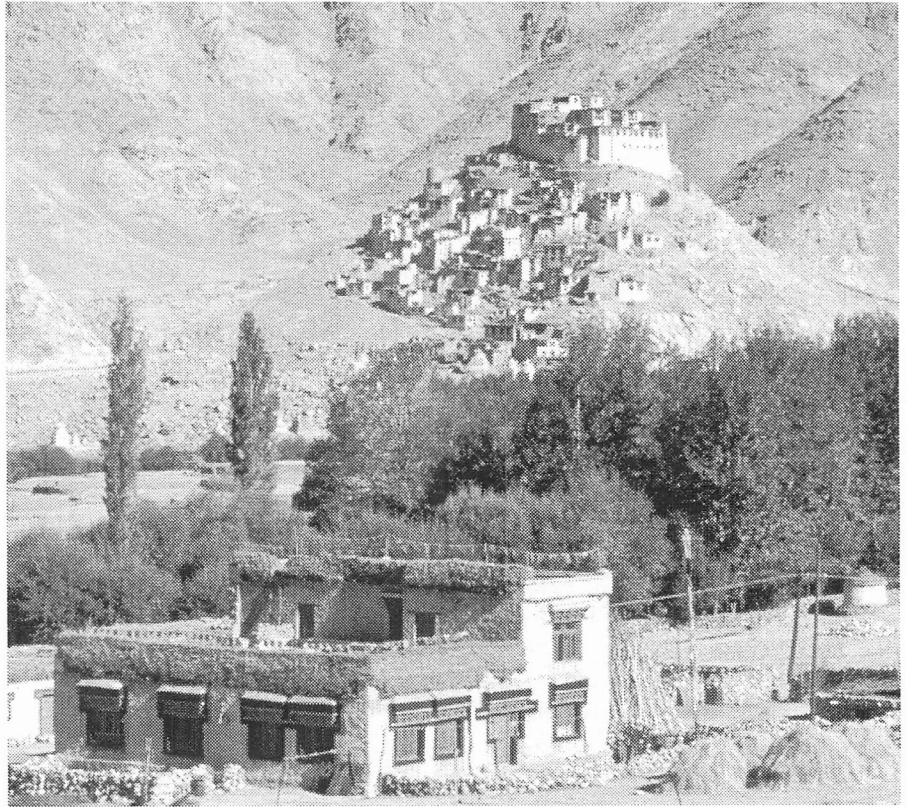
Ilse D. Cirtautas is Professor of Near Eastern Languages and Civilization at the UW. Students interested in attending the Advanced Intensive Uzbek course at UW in Summer 2002, which will again be taught by distinguished Uzbek poet and writer Muhammad-Ali Akhmedov, should contact Professor Cirtautas at icirt@u.washington.edu or 206-543-9963 for application and fellowship information. Further details on the program will follow in the Spring 2002 newsletter and on the REECAS website.

Exploring the Byways of the Silk Road

BY DANIEL C. WAUGH

Between mid-August and mid-September 2001, my wife and I had the privilege of visiting northern India. The trip, labeled the "Pundits Expedition," was organized by Palanquin Travel and supported locally by Rimo Expeditions. Its leader, Paul Harris, is a noted British photographer who has offered presentations here at the UW twice in recent years, including one on his trek in Ladakh right up to the Karakorum Pass on the old trade route to Xinjiang.

Our goal was to follow along some of the routes in Ladakh which had long been used for trade between Kashmir and Tibet, first documented by the British-trained Indian "pundits," who traveled incognito while carrying out surveying and other intelligence work in the nineteenth century. In 2001, our Pundits Expedition traveled in part by jeep and in part in a horse caravan over mountain paths. We reached the western end of Lake Pangong, whose cobalt blue salt waters extend more than 100 km between Ladakh and Tibet. Ladakh is sometimes known as "Little Tibet," and is Tibetan Buddhist in its culture. Along our route and in other areas around the Ladakhi capital, Leh, we visited several Buddhist



Chemde Monastery, Ladakh

monasteries. On one such trip we visited the monastery at Alchi on the Indus River, where there are remarkable wall paintings fusing Buddhist iconography and Kashmiri painting from around the 12th century. We were in remote villages during the harvest season, and enjoyed some of the harvest festival events held every year in mid-September.

Ladakh is high country; flying into Leh at 11,500 feet leaves one gasping for breath. As we acclimatized, we drove over the highest drivable roads in the world, one pass being over 18,000 feet. In the last few days of our stay in Ladakh, we trekked to 20,000 foot Stok Kangri, a peak to the south of Leh; I was fortunate enough to climb it. It was at about 19,000 feet on the mountain that I first heard the news of September 11, several days after the tragic events. Two days after our descent, the mountain, which had been nearly bare of snow, was buried under a blanket of snow from an intense thunderstorm, heralding the approach of winter.

Finally, we had a brief introduction to Delhi and the nearby sites of some of the most famous Mughal architecture (Agra, with the Taj Mahal, and Fatepur Sikhri). I spent my last two days in Delhi in the National Museum photographing objects that connect with the various Silk Road projects being undertaken this year at the UW. Some of the material will be posted on the Silk Road Seattle web site (www.uwch.org/silkroad) and will eventually become part of the UW's digital library collections. Check the REECAS website for a possible slide show on Ladakh and Mughal India in Winter Quarter 2002. ♦

Daniel Waugh, Acting Chair of REECAS in Autumn 2001, has traveled extensively along the historic Silk Road, and is the coordinator of "Silk Road Seattle." He will be teaching a non-credit "Wednesday University" course on the Silk Road during Winter 2002, and in Spring 2002 his regular course on the subject (HIST/SIS 225).



Market scene, Leh, Ladakh

REECAS NEWS

GORDANA CRNKOVIC has been promoted to Associate Professor with tenure in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures effective September 2001. She received a Research Fellowship for the 2001-2002 academic year from the Walter Chapin Simpson Center for the Humanities and is currently a member of the Center's Society of Scholars. She also recently published "The Culture of Anti-Nationalism in the Nationalist Era" in *Nationalism, Culture, and Religion in Croatia since 1990*, a special issue (No. 32) of *The Donald W. Treadgold Papers*.

GALYA DIMENT, Professor and Acting Chair of Slavic Languages and Literatures, will teach a new course, *Literature of the Stalinist Purges* (RUSS 420/526), in Winter Quarter 2002. The course will focus on writings by those who perished in Stalin's camps, such as Osip Mandelstam, Isaac Babel and Daniil Kharmis, as well as camp literature written by the few survivors (writers like Varlaam Shalamov, Evgeniia Ginsburg, Alexander Solzhenitsyn) and literary memoirs and "requiems" created by those whose loved ones were taken away from them, including Anna Akhmatova, Nadezhda Mandelstam, and Andrei Platonov. The course will also feature documentary and archival materials from the era, such as the award-winning documentary *Kolyma*, diaries of and interviews with the few camp survivors or family members of those who perished, feature films created at the time, contemporaneous music, and pictorial art. Taught in English, the course is suitable for both undergraduates and graduate students and can serve as an appropriate sequel to Professor Glennys Young's Fall 2001 course *Stalin and Stalinist Society*.

UW Press author **LARRY GOODSON**, Associate Professor of International Studies at Bentley College, presented his book *Afghanistan's Endless War: State Failure, Regional Politics, and the Rise of the Taliban* on October 20, 2001 at the UW. The long Afghan war has reaped destruction across the country's many

dividing lines, killing over two million and replacing the economy with a drug mono-agriculture. Yet, as a vital crossroads, Afghanistan's political stability will shape the Central Asian region. Reflecting Afghanistan's geographical role as a crossroads between regions, the event was cosponsored by REECAS, the Middle East Center, and the South Asia Center (all in the Jackson School of International Studies), as well as the UW Press and the UW Bookstore.

STEPHEN E. HANSON, REECAS Director and Associate Professor of Political Science, was a Visiting Professor of Government at Harvard University for the Fall semester of 2001, teaching undergraduate and graduate courses on Russian and post-communist politics. His essay "The Dilemmas of Russia's Anti-Revolutionary Revolution" was published in *Current History*, October 2001, and his co-authored book (with Richard Anderson, Jr., M. Steven Fish, and Philip Roeder), *Postcommunism and the Theory of Democracy*, was recently published by Princeton University Press.

REECAS graduate **KELLI HASH** (M.A., 2001) received a Fulbright Fellowship to study the Georgian language in Tbilisi, Georgia. She is enrolled at Tbilisi State University's Centre for Kartvelian Studies, headed by Dr. Elguja Khintibidze.

The Seattle Conference on NATO Enlargement in the Baltic States, held November 29-30 at the UW, brought together diplomats and scholars from the Baltics, Russia, Sweden and the US, including the Lithuanian and Latvian ambassadors to the United States, to discuss prospects for NATO expansion in the Baltics in light of emerging U.S.-Russian cooperation, and potential effects on the changing security balance in Eurasia. The conference was coordinated and chaired by **CHRISTOPHER JONES**, Director of the Institute for Global and Regional Security Studies and Associate Professor of International Studies. Moscow seems to be softening its stance toward NATO admission of the three

Baltic states since September 11, 2001 and may even be open to the possibility of an eventual Russian application to NATO. US conservatives and liberals are divided on the issue of Baltic expansion, but the Bush administration seems to be in favor of a second round of enlargement, slated for Slovenia, Slovakia, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Ivan Safranchuk, Director of the U.S. Center for Defense Information in Moscow, argued that the war against terrorism has necessitated a redefinition of NATO either as a Eurasian political organization with a different mission from that contained in its historic charter or as an effective military structure capable of tackling new global threats. Participants further questioned whether NATO's Article 5, guaranteeing protection of democratization and thus NATO expansion to the Baltic states, is a weightier consideration than security concerns raised by the Baltics' unique border position with Russia, historical relations with the Romanov and Soviet empires, and the potential end to U.S.-Russian cooperation on existing arms control agreements at the strategic and European levels. The NATO option also may be unnecessary if an alliance with neighboring Finland and Sweden, each strongly democratic and having security and economic interests in the Baltics, could provide Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania with an alternative solution to their security needs.

CHRISTOPHER JONES recently co-authored (with Natalie Mychajlyszyn) "Civil-Military Relations in Central and Eastern Europe: Ten Years after Communism", an introductory article to a special issue of *Armed Forces and Society*, Spring/Summer 2002, containing articles by six other contributors from Europe, US and Canada. Other upcoming articles include "Politics and Technology in the Arsenal of the Warsaw Pact" in a volume forthcoming in 2002 on the diffusion of military technologies, edited by Emily Goldman and published by Stanford University Press, and "Intervention and Enlargement: NATO's 'Brezhnev' Doctrine and the Transformation of the Atlantic Alliance" in a forthcoming issue

of *The Donald W. Treadgold Papers*. Jones also served as Director and board member of the Institute for Global and Regional Security Studies (IGRSS), which completed its first year of operation in August 2001. IGRSS has received a total of \$100,000 funding for the 2002-2003 academic year from Pacific Northwest National Laboratory, and a \$3,000 grant from the Abe Keller Peace Education Fund of Seattle.

Professor of Education **STEPHEN T. KERR** traveled to Russia in October and November 2001, stopping in Moscow, Tyumen, and Samara to present and collect information as part of an ongoing project on the relationship between children's health and the current state of the education system.

SARAH ABREVAYA STEIN, Assistant Professor of History and International Studies, will serve as a University of Washington Royalty Research Fellow and as a member of the Walter Chapin Simpson Center for the Humanities' Society of Scholars during the 2001-2002 academic year. Recent articles appeared in *Jewish Journal* and *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Studies* and her book, *Making Jews Modern: Yiddish and Ladino Newspaper Cultures in the Russian and Ottoman Empires* is forthcoming. During the past academic year, Stein co-sponsored a lecture series on campus (with Professors Resat Kasaba and Selim Kuru) entitled "Envisioning the Ottoman Empire." She also sponsored an international scholarly symposium on the subject of "Ladino in Print" at the University of Washington last Spring. In March, Stein and Resat Kasaba served as co-directors of a workshop on "The Ethnic Break-Up of the Ottoman Empire" at the Second Mediterranean Social and Political Research Meeting of the European University Institute, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies in Florence, Italy.

REECAS graduate **PAMELA STRONG** (M.A., 2001) has assumed a position as Deputy Director of Project Harmony in

Yerevan, Armenia, where she is implementing the Armenia Connectivity 2000 program (AC2K) begun in 2000. The program will provide over 60 schools with Internet access by December 2001 and 100 more by the end of 2002. Connectivity packages range from "full", including school remodeling, computer installation and training, to basic Internet access or training. AC2K is a \$3.5 million project of the U.S. Department of State and the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, implemented by Project Harmony. See the website for more information: www.projectharmony.org or www.projectharmony.am.

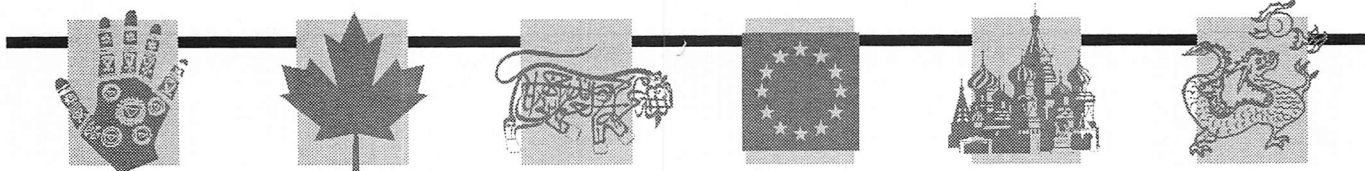
Economics Professor **JUDITH THORNTON** returned to Moscow in December 2001 for the second session of research mentoring for economists. She traveled to Moscow in summer 2001 for the first session with Economics Professor Stephen Turnovsky. Their efforts are part of an ongoing project for the Eurasian Foundation's Economics Education and Research Consortium (EERC), which has provided methodological training to over 250 young Russian economists and produced working papers presented to national policymakers at workshops and conferences since 1996. The project has created a permanent cadre of "resource persons" and academic links between UW graduate students and Russian and European researchers, who can provide crucial data. Support for the EERC comes from the World Bank, the Open Society Institute and the Ford, Pew, and Starr Foundations.

REECAS graduate **JAMES M. WARD** (M.A., 2001) received a five-year fellowship for further graduate study at Stanford University, where he has begun work towards a Ph.D. in History.

Those interested in the history and the culture of Eurasia as a background to current events should keep in mind the 2001-2002 programs of **SILK ROAD SEATTLE**, a collaborative public education project using the "Silk Road" theme to explore cultural interaction across

Eurasia from the beginning of the Common Era (A.D.) to the Sixteenth Century. Sponsored primarily by the Simpson Center for the Humanities at the University of Washington and directed by **DANIEL C. WAUGH**, Joel Walker and Cynthia Bogel, the project will include public lectures and seminars, a virtual art exhibit, photographic and textile exhibits, a general education course as well as professional development seminars and workshops for educators, and a web site containing additional materials. Silk Road Seattle programs have been developed in conjunction with the Silk Road Project, Inc., whose concerts will be hosted by the Seattle Symphony in May 2002. Yo-Yo Ma is the Artistic Director of the Silk Road Project, Inc. Co-sponsors of Silk Road Seattle programs include the Seattle Symphony, the Seattle Art Museum, the Silkroad Foundation, Seattle Arts & Lectures, and the following units of the University of Washington: the School of Art's Program in Art History and Jacob Lawrence Gallery; the Departments of Asian Languages and Literature, Near Eastern Languages and Civilization, and History; the various outreach programs and the Comparative Religion program of the Jackson School of International Studies; the Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture; and the Henry Art Gallery. The calendar of events and the web resources which are being created during the year may be found at: www.uhch.org/silkroad. Address any questions to Daniel Waugh at dwaugh@u.washington.edu.

GLENNYS YOUNG, Associate Professor of History and International Studies and Associate Director of the Jackson School of International Studies, will present "The Aesthetics of Violence in Soviet Public Culture: Terror in *Pravda* During the 'Great Terror'" at the Fifth Maryland Workshop on New Approaches to Russian and Soviet History, May 3-4, 2002, at the University of Maryland, College Park. Young has also recently taken over from Sabrina Ramet as Editor of *The Donald W. Treadgold Papers*. ♦



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WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 30

International Business

Ethics in International Business: Utopian Illusion or an Idea Whose Time Has Come?

Andy Wicks, Associate Professor of Business Ethics

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 13

East Asia

Minorities in China: Conflict or Integration?

Stevan Harrell, Professor of Anthropology; Curator of Asian Ethnology, Burke Museum

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 27

Middle East

Middle East Oil and Globalization: Cause and Cure

Ellis Goldberg, Director, Middle East Center

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 13

Western Europe

Meeting the Challenge of Global Climate Change: The European Approach

Maria Marotta, European Union Fellow

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20

Southeast Asia

The Politics of Cultural Difference in Vietnam and Thailand

Charles F. Keyes, Professor of Anthropology and International Studies

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 10

South Asia

Kashmir between India and Pakistan

Keith Snodgrass, Associate Director, South Asia Center

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 17

International Studies

The Political Economy of Ethnic-Religious Conflict

Murat Somer, Sawyer-Mellon Postdoctoral Fellow, Center for Ethnic Conflict and Conflict Resolution

WEDNESDAY, MAY 8

Canada

Quebec and Canada: Nation-Building in the North

Marc Boucher, Director, Quebec Government Office, Los Angeles

WEDNESDAY, MAY 22

Russia, Eastern Europe, and Central Asia

Eastern Europe: Human Rights and Public Policy in Emerging Democracies

Bruce Kochis, Director, Policy Studies Program, UW Bothell; Director, Human Rights Education and Research Network

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

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

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Please mark the dates for which you are registering:

- Wednesday, January 30: International Business (Wicks)
- Wednesday, February 13: East Asia (Harrell)
- Wednesday, February 27: Middle East (Goldberg)
- Wednesday, March 13: Western Europe (Marotta)
- Wednesday, March 20: Southeast Asia (Keyes)
- Wednesday, April 10: South Asia (Snodgrass)
- Wednesday, April 17: International Studies (Somer)
- Wednesday, May 8: Canada (Boucher)
- Wednesday, May 22: Russia, Eastern Europe, and Central Asia (Kochis)

UPCOMING REECAS-RELATED EVENTS

January 9 – March 6: **WEDNESDAY UNIVERSITY**

“The Silk Road Observed and Imagined”, Daniel C. Waugh, History/International Studies, UW, Henry Art Gallery Auditorium, Wednesdays, 7:30 – 9:00 p.m.

January 12: **GATEWAY TO THE SILK ROAD**

An introductory workshop for educators. 8:30 a.m.-4:30 p.m., Thomson Hall 101. See p. 18 for more information.

January 18-31: **ALEKSANDR PTUSHKO FILM FESTIVAL**

Films include *The Stone Flower*, *Sadko*, *Viy*, and *The New Gulliver*. 7:00 and 9:00 p.m., Grand Illusion Cinema, 1403 NE 50th, Seattle.

February 21: **SAWYER SEMINAR SERIES ON EMPIRES AND ETHNIC CONFLICT**

“Problems in the Study of Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide”, Norman Naimark, Stanford University. Parrington Hall Forum (Room 309), 3:30-5:30 p.m.

February 21: **SERBIA SINCE 1989**

A roundtable discussion. Speakers include Eric Gordy, Clark University. Parrington Hall Forum (Room 309), 6:30-9:00 p.m.

February 28: **SAWYER SEMINAR SERIES ON EMPIRES AND ETHNIC CONFLICT**

“The Soviet Intelligentsia and the Jews”, Yuri Slezkine, University of California, Berkeley. Parrington Hall Forum (Room 309), 3:30-5:30 p.m.

March 5 – April 6: **SILK ROAD SEATTLE EXHIBITION**

“Images of the Silk Road: Photographs by Wu Jian and Gary Tepfer”, Jacob Lawrence Gallery of the University of Washington School of Art and the Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture.

March 28 – June 6: **SILK ROAD SEATTLE LECTURE SERIES**

“Art and Religion on the Silk Road”, Thursdays, 7:00 p.m., Seattle Asian Art Museum Auditorium.

April 27: **REECAS-NW CONFERENCE IN EUGENE, OREGON**

See p. 17 for more information.

April 29: **THE DONALD W. TREADGOLD MEMORIAL LECTURE**

“Back to the Front: Russian Interests in the New Eastern Europe”, Janusz Bugajski, Center for Strategic and International Studies. Details to follow.

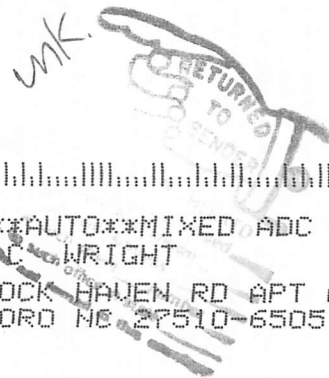
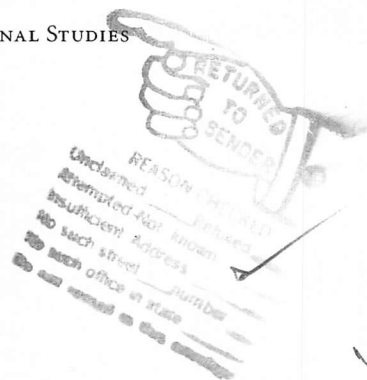
May 22: **INTERNATIONAL UPDATE DINNER-LECTURE**

“Eastern Europe: Human Rights and Public Policy in Emerging Democracies”, Bruce Kochis, Policy Studies, UW Bothell. Walker-Ames Room, Kane Hall, 5:30 – 8:00 p.m. See pp. 26-27 for more information.

REECAS NEWSLETTER

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