

REECAS NEWSLETTER

RUSSIAN, EAST EUROPEAN AND CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES CENTER

JACKSON SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON SUMMER 2000

From the Director...

JAMES WEST

As we wind up the academic year in the University of Washington's REECAS Center, a round of thanks is in order to everybody who has worked to make the Center's activities a success—including both the staff and the team of work-study students, without whose contribution much less would have been accomplished: Jacob Kaltenbach, Assistant Director and Outreach Coordinator, who has helped keep REECAS running through a period of transition; Sarah Egelman, who worked as Outreach Assistant and cheerfully staffed our Saturday events even when they took place outside Seattle; Anna Berdick, the Program Secretary, who in a Jackson School staff reorganization has just moved to a position in the Student Services office, where her work will assist all programs, including REECAS; Vjeran Pavlakovic, since Fall 1999 a doctoral student in the History Department, who has been Managing Editor of *The Donald W. Treadgold Papers* for the last twelve issues, and will be continuing to help in various capacities through the autumn as his successor, James Ward, takes over; James Brewczynski, who has ably maintained the REECAS website for the last year, and will be a State Department intern in the Economics Section of the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv/Kiev this summer; and most particularly Lisa Thompson, who is departing after editing this newsletter for the past three years—Lisa's energy, skills, and hard work will make her a difficult act to follow, and we wish her every success in her career on the modern dance stage.

My term as Center Director is ending, and Professor Stephen Hanson of the Department of Political Science will be taking over this summer. Many in the field know Steve for his publications (in 1998 he was the winner of the Wayne S. Vucinich Book Prize of the American Association for the Advancement of



Incoming REECAS Director Stephen Hanson spoke on "Russia Between Elections" at the March 8 International Update

Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies at Harvard University. Steve is a key member of the REECAS faculty, has been Graduate Program Coordinator in Political Science for the past year, and brings a wealth of knowledge and experience to the task. We all wish him good luck in the coming four years of chairing the REECAS Program, overseeing its many outreach and public activities, and, most importantly, presiding over what will be a period of significant change in both the definition of our area of study, and the way in which it is funded.

Indeed, the serious business of the next few years will be on three fronts: adapting to the new "political geography" of area studies, enhancing our place within the curriculum, both graduate and undergraduate, and ensuring stable support for what we do from both internal and external funding sources. The activities of REECAS faculty, whose research and teaching interests have become broader over the last decade as geopolitical barriers have fallen, and many of whom already play a role in more than one program, have led to cooperative projects with areas as diverse as China, Western Europe and Latin America. We are well positioned for whatever realignments might be needed to strengthen our position in the coming years. On the curricular front, we are working to streamline

Slavic Studies) and his energetic presence at many conferences large and small. He was a Research Scholar at the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies in Washington, DC in 1996-97, and spent 1998-99 in residence at the

our offerings and integrate them better with those of both other area studies programs and the professional schools. Our outreach is taking us increasingly into the K-12 system, where recent immigration from the whole of the REECAS region is making many teachers feel a greater need for knowledge of the area, both to include it in their curricula and to help them understand the cultures and the special needs of these new populations. Lastly, we are completing a long-range plan for the REECAS Program that integrates our academic objectives and staffing needs with the University's development plans, and we will be working with the College of Arts and Sciences Development Office, our Program alumni, present and past faculty and heritage communities in Washington State to build a solid base of financial support for the future.

James West is the Director of the REECAS Center and Associate Professor of Slavic Languages and Literatures.

INSIDE THIS ISSUE

Jewish Print Culture in Two Empires	2
Southeastern Europe in the UW Libraries	4
CEIR Project Update	6
Czech-Roma Relations Since 1989	7
Nicholas Poppe Symposium	8
Post-Conflict Tajikistan	10
Marine Policy in Northwest Russia	12
Costs of Russian Bureaucracy	15
A Career in Eurasia Policy Studies	17
Summer Outreach Report	18
Summer Teachers Seminar 2000: The Family Across Time and Cultures	22
More REECAS News	24

Jewish Print Culture in Two Empires:

Sarah Abrevaya Stein Introduces Her Work



Sarah Abrevaya Stein

In Autumn 1999, I joined the Department of History and the Jackson School of International Studies as Assistant Professor in Modern Jewish History; I came to the University of Washington from

Stanford University, from which I received a Ph.D. in History in Spring 1999.

My research contrasts the emergence and impact of the first Yiddish and Judeo-Spanish dailies to be published respectively in the Russian and Ottoman Empires: the St. Petersburg-based *Der Fraynd* (1903-1914) and the Constantinople-based *El Tiempo* (1872-1930). I am interested in these newspapers because they allow us to compare Ottoman and Russian Jewries' experiences under the rule of multi-ethnic empires, to historicize Russian and Ottoman Jewish identity of the turn of the century, and to explore the influence of popular daily newspapers in Yiddish and Judeo-Spanish in shaping Jewish culture.

Thirty years separated the publication of *Der Fraynd* and *El Tiempo*: a temporal discrepancy, I would argue, that reflects the very different cultural and juridical place of Russian and Ottoman Jewries within their empires. In the Ottoman context, few obstacles were placed in the path of would-be editors of Judeo-Spanish periodicals, although (until the Young Turk Revolt of 1908) censorship would always limit their expression. As a result, the first popular periodicals in Judeo-Spanish emerged simultaneously with the first popular periodicals in

Greek, Armenian, and Turkish. This was possible because cultural difference was accepted as a social and legal norm in the Ottoman Empire long before the notion of citizenship or equality was granted by the Tanzimat Reforms of the mid nineteenth century. In the Russian Empire, by contrast, imperial legislation attempted to subdue multi-nationalism, a system which allowed officials in Russia's Ministry of Interior to deny dozens of requests for the publication of daily newspapers in Yiddish lodged by Russian Jewish intellectuals since the 1880s. As a result, *Der Fraynd* would begin publication some three decades after the first dailies in Russian and Polish.

Despite the temporal and circumstantial divide that separated *Der Fraynd* and *El Tiempo*, these newspapers resembled one another in numerous ways. Both were written in the languages spoken by the vast majority of Russian and Ottoman Jews, one of the reasons that *Der Fraynd* and *El Tiempo* both proved influential. Already in its first years of circulation, *Der Fraynd* acquired a circulation much larger than any pre-existing periodical designed for Russian Jewish readers, demonstrating in the process the viability of a Yiddish daily. *El Tiempo*, though it could not boast as impressive a circulation as *Der Fraynd*, was nonetheless among the most durable of Ottoman Jewish secular cultural institutions. Both served as forums for debate about language-choice, nationalist alternatives, self- and group-identification, relationships to empire, region, and metropol. And both shared the didactic goal of extending to readers an education in modernity; to this end, they offered

articles on literature, the economy, history, the day's news, and the thorny question of what it meant to be modern and Jewish.

And yet while both newspapers were modern, while both were Jewish, *Der Fraynd* and *El Tiempo* were modern and Jewish in different ways. *Der Fraynd* was Zionist in leaning (though inconsistent in the fervor with which it defended this platform), advocated a moderate form of cultural nationalism, and encouraged readers' to develop a fluency in the Russian cultural milieu. *El Tiempo*, in contrast, was fiercely anti-nationalist, supported by and a supporter of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, an organization founded by French Jews in 1860 with the goal of educating and thus "civilizing" the Jews of the Levant in the image of the highly acculturated Franco-Jewish elite. With lesser intensity, the editors of *El Tiempo* encouraged readers to become fluent in Turkish and conversant with Ottoman history, literature, and culture, thereby becoming productive Ottomans. As this suggests, if *Der Fraynd* and *El Tiempo* had very different visions of what it meant to be modern and Jewish, it was in part because these terms interacted with assumptions about what it meant to be Russian or Ottoman. It is clear from reading *El Tiempo* and *Der Fraynd* that these identities were always inter-dependent and mutually-influential; these papers' interest in cultivating readers' Jewish identity, indeed, often had an inverse relationship to their interest in inculcating Russian or Ottoman senses of self. All the while, within these papers, the Jewish reader and Jewishness was always neatly

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essentialized, though not always logically or without contradiction.

During my time at the University of Washington, I have been introducing some of these historical and theoretical issues into the classroom. This year, I taught a seminar on Russian Jewish History and a two-quarter lecture sequence on Early Modern and Modern European Jewish History. The latter courses are unique among surveys of European History in that they travel to and from Western, Central, and Eastern Europe, the Ottoman Empire, North Africa, and the Americas. The teaching of Jewish history mandates such a peripatetic approach; it also enables students to foreground internal diversity as well as similitude.

In the coming academic year, I will teach a survey of East European Jewish History, a seminar on inter-war Polish Jewry, a History of the Sephardic Diaspora, and a graduate seminar ("Empires and Cultures") that will compare experiences of and historiography on multi-nationalism in the Russian and Ottoman Empires in the late imperial period. The latter seminar is part of a collaborative research project ("Envisioning the Ottoman Empire") that I am undertaking with Professors Resat Kasaba and Selim Kuru, sponsored by the Center for the Humanities; during the 2000-2001 academic year, we will teach a series of courses on Ottoman history and culture and organize a lecture series on the topic. My hope is to transform this course into an undergraduate lecture that will be taught in the 2001-2002 academic year.


This is one of a number of exciting projects I have been involved in since joining the UW's faculty. In the past months, I have also been helping to imagine an ambitious Program in Sephardic Studies that would be situated within the Jewish Studies Program; to my great delight, I have been joined by faculty members from over six departments and programs in the University who share a commitment to the teaching and research of Sephardic culture. To inaugurate Sephardic Studies at the University of Washington, I helped to

organize the University of Washington's First Sephardic/Mizrahi Film Series. Between January and March 2000, the University of Washington Jewish Studies Program hosted monthly film screenings, all free and open to the public. The festival was an incredible success, with each film gathering an audience of more than 250 people and the series as a whole bringing together more than 1,000 members of the greater University community. Next year, I will host an international scholarly symposium on the theme

"Ladino in Print," which is also being sponsored by a grant from the Center for the Humanities.

Meanwhile, I continue to conduct scholarly research; this summer, three of my scholarly articles will be published in *Jewish History*, *AJS Review*, and *Shofar*. In addition, I am currently working on preparing my monograph, *The Creation of Yiddish and Ladino Newspaper Cultures in the Russian and Ottoman Empires*, for publication.

YIDDISH IN AMERICA



Tickets: 206.543.4680 www.summerfest.uw.edu
 July 21, 8pm
 Jazz artist
 John Zorn & Masada

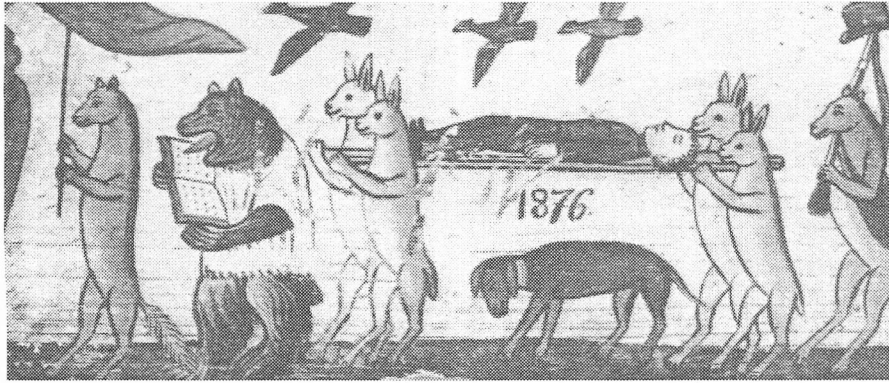
THE JEWISH STUDIES PROGRAM INVITES YOU TO THIS SUMMER'S FREE YIDDISH CULTURAL EVENTS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

JUNE 21	Klezmer in America Michael Horowitz, UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON
JUNE 28	A History of Yiddish Puppet Theatre Eddie Portnoy, JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF AMERICA
JULY 5	Inventing Yiddish News Sarah Abrevaya Stein, UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON
JULY 12	Yiddish in America: Forging the Mainstream of Jewish History , Rakhmiel Peltz, DREXEL UNIVERSITY (Reception to follow, music and dancing led by Wendy Marcus)

All events will be held at the SeaFirst Executive Education Center on the UW campus at 7:30pm. For more information call (206) 543-4243.

Southeastern Europe in the UW Libraries' Collections

BY MICHAEL BIGGINS



Reproduced from *Etnografski muzej u Beogradu*, 1901-1976. Beograd : Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1976.

Materials from the countries of the Balkan Peninsula have been an important facet of the UW Libraries' Slavic and East European collections for more than forty years. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s the Balkans figured in the UW curriculum, primarily from the standpoint of history, although faculty in other disciplines—Slavic languages, geography, political science, and Near Eastern civilizations—also actively pursued South Slavic and Balkan interests. While the library collection that grew from the 1960s to 1980s to support this range of faculty interests was strong in many disciplines, it developed exceptional depth in Balkan history.

The single greatest event in the evolution of the Southeast European collections was the Libraries' involvement in the PL-480 plan for Yugoslavia, a Congress-sponsored program which liquidated a part of Yugoslavia's debt to the U.S. government by acquiring currently published books and journals for a select number of American university libraries. Each participating library in the PL-480 Yugoslav program (UW was one of twelve) received every book and periodical, and many newspapers published in every republic of the country from 1967 through 1972—by lucky coincidence, one of the most liberal and fruitful periods for publishing in post-war Yugoslavia's history.

UW's outstanding Balkan collections have continued to grow and diversify to the present day. Currently, the collection for all of Southeastern Europe numbers some 64,000 volumes, or about 18% of the

Libraries' total holdings for Slavic and East European studies. Materials pertaining to Serbia-Montenegro, Croatia and Bosnia, or to unified Yugoslavia, constitute nearly one-half of that total, or around 30,000 volumes. The Bulgarian and Romanian collections come next, at about 13,000 volumes each. The bantam-weight collections of Slovene and Macedonian materials number respectively about 4,000 and 2,700 volumes.

Academic programs undergo transformations over time, and from the 1980s to 1990s UW's primary focus in the Balkans shifted to contemporary history, political science, sociology, literature, and modern-day culture studies. Naturally, the Library has adjusted collecting priorities so as to provide a basis of documentation for these interests.

In the decade following the death of President Josip Broz Tito in 1980, Yugoslavia rearticulated its status as the pivotal—and most volatile—country in the Balkans. From an early date, its emerging political and social tensions were closely documented by a press that had greater freedom than counterparts in neighboring Balkan countries. Beginning on the country's northwestern periphery—in Slovenia—news magazines, periodicals and newspapers repeatedly challenged political authority in ways that courted closure, confiscation and arrest. UW has extensive holdings of many of these history-making publications, from the early cultural monthly *Nova revija* from Ljubljana, to the weekly news magazines *Danas* (Zagreb) and *NIN* (Belgrade).

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, UW has also subscribed to the region's leading daily newspapers, both independent and government-sponsored: *Delo* from Ljubljana; *Vjesnik* from Zagreb; *Naša borba*, *Borba*, and *Politika* from Belgrade; *Nova Makedonija* from Skopje; *Demokratiia*, *Duma*, and *24 chasa* from Sofia; and *România liberă* and *Adevărul* from Bucharest. In some instances, microfilm backfiles of these and other papers going back several decades are maintained to support historical research.

Since Yugoslavia's collapse in 1991, the challenges of acquiring research materials from the area have been considerable. While Bosnia has been devastated by war, Serbia has been subjected to periodic international sanctions that have flattened its economy and at times made foreign trade impossible. Landlocked Macedonia's neighbors have periodically refused it easy access to vital seaports, and at one time or another, the economies of both Bulgaria and Albania have collapsed. In 1990-1991 a subverted attempt at economic reform in Yugoslavia led to annual inflation rates of 500%, with no compensatory exchange rate adjustments—causing a typical journal subscription price to inflate from \$60 to \$400 or more within a matter of months. The supply of books and periodicals to U.S. customers has been interrupted throughout the decade.

Some acquisitions mishaps have been self-inflicted. Until 1991, the periodicals departments of many U.S. libraries ordered their Yugoslav periodicals and newspapers from one of two main suppliers in Croatia and Serbia indiscriminately, with no regard to where a given periodical was actually published. Croatian periodicals were often ordered from Serbia, and Serbian titles from Croatia, in blissful disregard of Yugoslavia's worsening political situation. With the onset of war in 1991, these fatefully misplaced subscriptions instantly collapsed, leaving a disarray that in

some libraries was not set straight until recently.

Almost as significant as the dilemma of *how* to get materials has been the question of *what* to get. Aside from Slovenia in the far northwest corner of the region and Macedonia at its southern extreme, most of the Yugoslav successor states society have been held hostage to

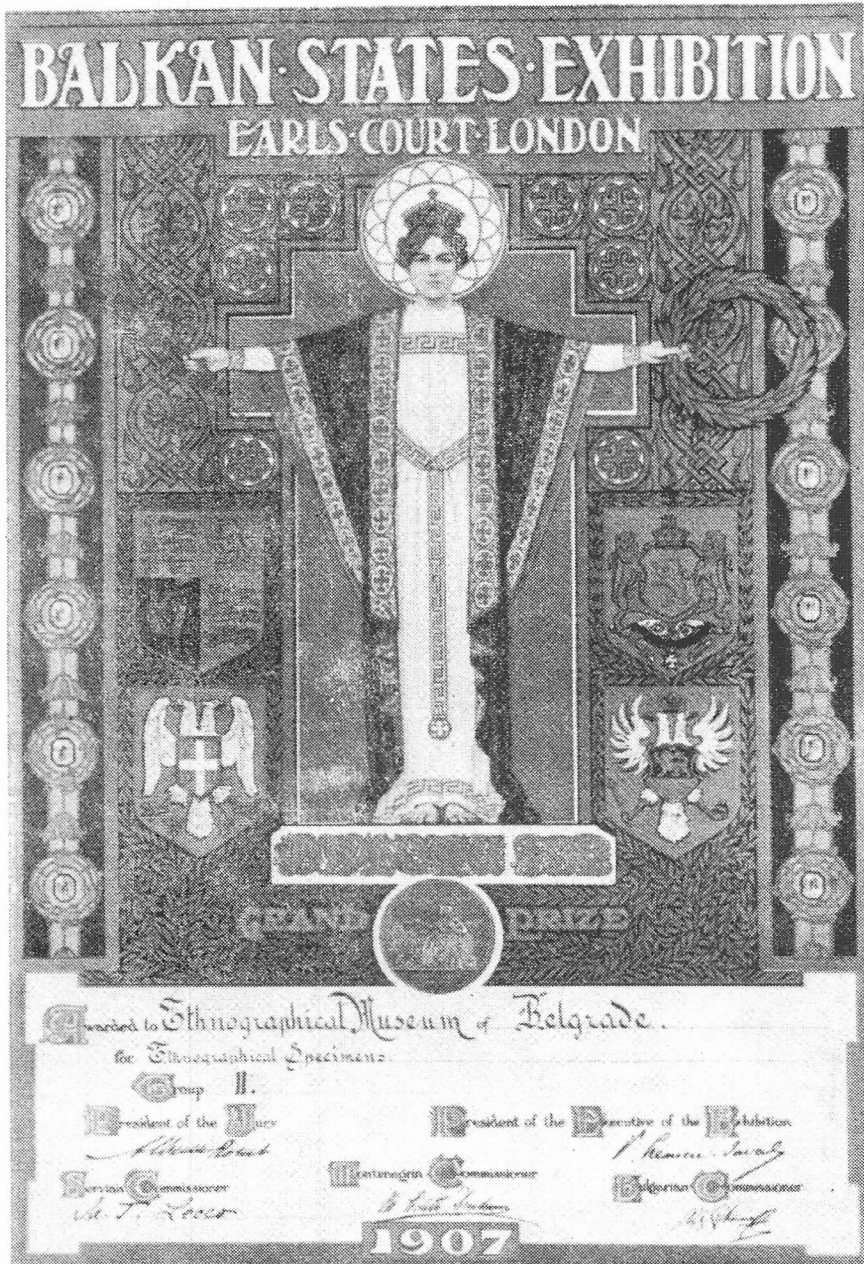
authoritarian regimes which dread an independent press and publishing industry. In Serbia and Croatia particularly, mainstream publishers of poetry and fiction have favored works of *Blut und Boden* emotionalism. Much work in contemporary history still clings to an ethnic grievance theory of historical causation, and it may be some time before

historiography in the region progresses to the level of objectivity now common, for instance, in East Central Europe. Still, in the course of the past decade important new publishers in all countries have emerged as champions of independent or oppositionist writing. Vernacular book acquisition efforts at UW have focused on titles by these publishers.

In Croatia, some of the most notable new publishers include Durieux, Ceres, Naklada MD, and Meandar (for contemporary *belles lettres*), Feral Tribune and Erasmus Naklada (for political commentary), Golden Marketing and Novi Liber (for recent Croatian history), and Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada (for academic work on a wide range of subjects). Long-established and prolific publishers which have continued to thrive in post-1991 Croatia include institutions such as Matica hrvatska, the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (HAZU), various departments and institutes of the University of Zagreb, the Catholic-sponsored Kršćanska sadašnjost, and private firms such as Globus and Znanje.

In Serbia the range of new, quality publishers has been more limited. An early standout was Vreme knjiga, which originated as a division of the defiantly independent weekly news magazine *Vreme*; in 1996, this publishing house reorganized as Stubovi kulture, and in the course of the four years since then has served as the flagship of independent publishing in Serbia. Another independent imprint since the mid-1990s has been Radio B92, sponsored by Belgrade's leading independent radio station. Established publishers that have continued issuing some worthy titles in all subject areas include Dereta, Narodna knjiga—Alfa, Filip Višnjić, BIGZ (Beogradski izdavačko-grafički zavod), Srpska književna zadruga, and Prosveta; as well as institutional publishers such as the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SANU) and various research institutes.

In both Serbia and Croatia the independent press has been a perpetually



The Huntsman's Funeral, traditional scene from a Slovenian beehive panel. Reproduced from *Slikarstvo na panjskih končnicah*. Ljubljana: Slovenski etnografski muzej, 1967.

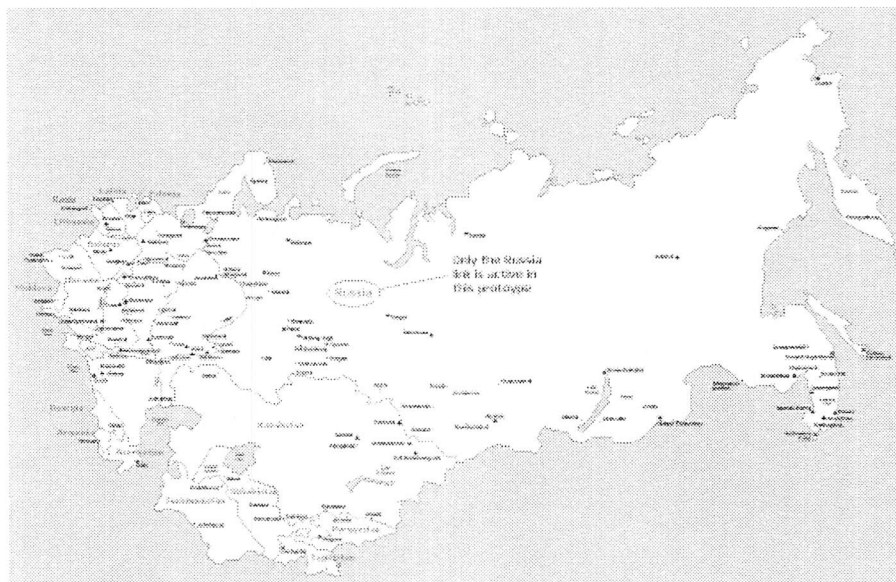
continued on page 21

CEIR Project Update

During the past academic year the Central Eurasian Information Resource project (CEIR) has established itself on the UW main campus. With funding for three years—through 2002—from a new U.S. Department of Education program for Technological Innovation and Cooperation in Foreign Information Access, the project now has a location of its own (264A Suzzallo Library, in the Slavic and East European Section's suite of offices), three staff members, student assistants, and a busy agenda. The project is co-sponsored by the UW Libraries (Michael Biggins; mbiggins@u.washington.edu) and the UW REECAS Center (Professor James West; jwest@u.washington.edu)

The Central Eurasian Information Resource began as a small-scale project in the REECAS Center, funded by our National Resource Center grant, aimed at making outreach materials, particularly visual images, available through the World Wide Web to students and teachers who could not easily make use of the our resources on campus. Two pilot projects were developed in 1997-1999, one a presentation of Russian statistical data on an interactive map, the other a site devoted to Russian art. The new Title VI TICFIA grant program announced in January 1999 provided an ideal opportunity to develop this kind of resource on a large scale in the context of the University Libraries, making available a great deal of detailed information about the Russian and Central Asian provinces that is difficult to access in any format, printed or online. A group of faculty and librarians at UW and two partner institutions—The Evergreen State College and South Seattle Community College—wrote a proposal for an extended CEIR project, based in the libraries of the three institutions, to bring a wide range of region-specific information together in a versatile, Web-based educational resource using geography as its organizing structure.

When completed, the CEIR's main Web site for Russia will invite users to enter information on their level and type of interest and knowledge of area languages, and will proceed from there to a map of



the entire country on which specific regions can be selected. Users will then be invited to select subjects or types of information of interest to them, such as history, news, current socio-economic statistics, bibliographies and indexes, or images—the latter to include contemporary scenes, historic photographs, and regionally significant art works. A simplified prototype, viewable at <http://depts.washington.edu/reecas/atlas/ceir-1.htm>, gives a basic idea of how the CEIR gateway will eventually function.

Project staff are already processing Russian socio-economic statistical data for the years 1996 through 1999, and will soon produce uniquely detailed interactive maps based on these data, using Geographic Information Systems software. A database of region-specific digital images is also being developed, using a UW-proprietary image database management program. Regional libraries in Russia are being invited to contribute images, documents, and other information from their unique and rare holdings. We are also exploring the display of rare publications as readable images rather than text, a process that will make manuscripts and older illustrated publications available to students and researchers.

The first public unveiling of the CEIR will take place this fall, when a small-

scale, but extensively developed prototype will be presented to groups of faculty and students at the three participating institutions. An ongoing series of discussion sessions with those groups, beginning this spring, will allow project staff to refine the CEIR's overall contents and design to better meet research and instructional needs.

We encourage faculty, students and members of the public who have region-specific collections of photos or slides they would be willing to contribute, or who have questions about the project, to contact CEIR project staff by e-mail at slavininfo@u.washington.edu or by phone at (206) 543-5588, or to stop by Suzzallo Library, room 264, weekdays between 8:00 a.m. and 5:00 p.m.

Czech-Roma Relations Since 1989

BY JULIE M. BROOME

The Czech Republic's application to join the European Union has focused attention on questions of human rights. One issue that keeps resurfacing, to the frustration of many Czechs, is the status of the Roma, an ethnic minority constituting 300,000 of the republic's 10 million people. The efforts of many Czech Roma to win asylum abroad, especially in Canada and Britain, drew the attention of human rights organizations and foreign governments. Why are so many Roma attempting to leave the Czech Republic?

After 1989, the more open political and social atmosphere led to both positive and negative developments for the Roma. On the one hand, they were able to organize themselves politically for the first time, creating several Romany parties. On the other hand, an open venue was created for free expressions of prejudice and racial hatred toward the Roma. Between 1989 and 1993, there were 26 racially motivated deaths in Czechoslovakia.¹ 1,205 racially or ideologically motivated cases of violence against the Roma were recorded by the Movement of Civil Solidarity and Tolerance (HOST) between 1990 and the end of 1997, fifteen of which resulted in fatalities.² In 1997 alone, 159 cases of racially motivated crimes were reported, compared with only 9 in 1990.³

In anticipation of the 1993 breakup of the Czechoslovakia, many Roma in Slovakia moved to the Czech Republic, where the political and social climate was believed to be more favorable, but fearing the results of such an influx, the Czech government instituted a discriminatory citizenship law. According to this law, only those residents who had held internal Czech citizenship in Czechoslovakia (a designation which had previously held no significance) were entitled to citizenship in the Czech Republic. As most Roma held internal Slovak citizenship, although many had lived in the Czech lands their entire lives, they were considered foreigners in the Czech Republic after 1993. In order to apply for Czech citizenship, one had to have had a clean criminal record for the preceding five years. Without citizenship, Roma were subject to expulsion from the

country for committing any intentional crime, regardless of its severity. In one especially notorious case a young Rom was expelled for stealing 385 pounds of sugar beets valued at 140 crowns, or approximately \$4.50. The citizenship law was finally amended in July 1999 to provide citizenship to any Czechoslovak citizen who was on the territory on December 31, 1992; however, the amendment provides that those who went abroad to seek asylum or were expelled are not eligible, nor is any compensation provided to those who were denied citizenship for more than six years.

Discrimination in education and employment also remains a great problem for the Roma. Romany children are regularly shunted into schools for the mentally handicapped because they enter school with a minimal Czech vocabulary. They are often incorrectly diagnosed as mentally deficient. Teachers have reportedly pressured Romany families to transfer their children to remedial schools even when the child is performing well. It has been estimated that 62.5% of all Romany students in the Czech Republic are in special schools.⁴ Provided with only a remedial school education, they are barred from higher education and are therefore only qualified for manual labor positions. Such under-qualification contributes to the high Romany unemployment rate, which reached as high as 80% in 1997.⁵

Tensions in Usti nad Labem, a north Bohemian town, came to a head last year when the town council announced plans to build a 1.8-meter high, 63-meter long wall to separate the Romany residents of one neighborhood from the Czechs. The 11 Czech residents had complained that the 150 Roma in the tenement block across the street were too loud and created too much of a mess. The wall drew criticism from human rights organizations, and the European Union indicated that the wall would impede Czech accession. The wall actually stood for only a few weeks, but the precedent it set for Czech-Roma relations was dangerous. The wall was eventually removed as part of an agreement under which the national government pur-

chased the homes of Czech residents, allowing them to move. Hailed as a success, the agreement maintains the homogeneous communities created by the wall.

The exodus of Czech Roma to Canada was inspired by an August 1997 documentary depicting the good treatment accorded Roma in Canada. By the end of 1997 the Canadian government had received over 1000 official pleas for asylum, up from 186 in all of 1996.⁶ In response, Canada was forced to impose a visa requirement on all Czech citizens. 1998-99 saw another exodus of Roma, this time to Britain. At the end of 1998, 50 to 100 families were migrating each month.⁷ The British government responded by tightening its asylum laws and threatening to also impose visa requirements on Czech citizens. Of course, such new requirements only exacerbate tension between Roma and Czechs.

Fearing further waves of Roma asylum-seekers, western governments have pressured the Czechs to improve conditions faced by the Roma at home. Although the Czech response has at times been reluctant, the government is beginning to explore real solutions. It is clear that further integration into the West, and eventual complete acceptance into the ranks of western intergovernmental organizations, depends on the government's handling of Czech-Roma ethnic tensions.

Julie Broome is completing an MA in the REECAS program this quarter, and wrote her thesis on the Roma in the Czech Republic. She is also the Website Manager for the Center for Civil Society International.

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- Czech Radio*, "Czech official says British minister's understanding of Romany issue better," *BBC Monitoring International Reports*, 13 January 1999, on Global NewsBank.

Nicholas Poppe and the 12th Poppe Symposium on Central/Inner Asian Studies (May 13, 2000)

BY ILSE CIRTAUTAS



From left to right: Aigul Khuseinova, Dr. Jack Khuseinov, Sarah Trent (student)

In May 1989 a group of graduate students interested in Central/Inner Asian Studies gathered for the first Nicholas Poppe Symposium. In their midst was Nicholas Poppe himself, who greatly appreciated the students' efforts and the honor they had bestowed by naming the symposium after him. The second meeting, a year later, also benefited from his presence. He enjoyed the company of the students, many of whom had taken classes from him in previous years and were looking forward to future meetings. Unfortunately, this was not to be. The third meeting, in May 1991, was held without its honored guest. A few weeks later, in June 1991, Nicholas Poppe passed away, at the age of ninety-four.

He had lived a remarkable but also turbulent and often dangerous life. Born on August 8, 1897 in China, where his father was stationed as a consular officer in the Tsarist diplomatic service, he experienced the Boxer Rebellion as a child. Back in Russia, Poppe's boyhood and teenage years were marked by wars: the Russo-Japanese War, the First World War, followed by the Civil War and the establishment of the Soviet regime. He

lived through the atrocities of the Stalin years, fearing for his life and that of his family throughout the purges and mass executions of the 1930s. He experienced the Second World War in the Soviet Union as well as in Germany, where he had fled with his family from German-occupied territory in the Caucasus. Poppe had no choice: to stay behind after the Germans had left would have meant death at the hand of the Soviets. But neither was he safe in Germany. Immediately after the war had ended on May 9, 1945, he was hunted by the Soviets, who had at Yalta been granted the right to forcefully return any Soviet citizen to the Soviet Union. Nicholas Poppe was high on their list. Fortunately, he was able to hide among the German population until January 1949, when he fled to the United States, following an invitation by the University of Washington to join the faculty of the Far East and Russian Institute. The Institute was headed at that time by George E. Taylor, who laid the groundwork for the subsequent expansion of the institute, now known as the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies. Thus, in 1949 Nicholas Poppe, then fifty-two years old, started a new

career in a new country, anxious to make up for the long years of academic restrictions and forced inactivity during the war and post-war years.

Nicholas Poppe came to the University of Washington with an already well-established international reputation as a Mongolist and Altaist. In the Soviet Union his scholarly accomplishments had been recognized as early as 1932, when he became, at the age of twenty-eight, one of the youngest corresponding members of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. He availed himself of every opportunity to live and learn among the Mongols, Turks and Tungus. From 1925 to 1941 he traveled every year to Outer Mongolia, Central Asia or the Caucasus. Poppe was an Altaicist with a warm heart for the Altaic people. Personal contacts with them were essential for him. Needless to say, he felt especially close to "his" Mongols. He spoke their languages fluently and was acquainted as no one else with the Mongolian oral literature, of which he had collected a substantial body of materials, particularly epic songs.

It is interesting to note that Nicholas Poppe's love for the Mongols and their epics had actually been set in motion by his high regard for the oral creativity of another people, the Finns. Before the revolution, the Poppe family used to spend summer vacations in Finland. Nicholas Poppe learned to speak Finnish like a Finn. One day, as he describes in his *Reminiscences* (Western Washington Press, 1983, pp. 21-22), he listened to two Karelian folksingers singing songs from the Kalevala, the epic song of the Finns. He was so impressed by their performance that he sat down and read the whole text of the Kalevala in Finnish. From that day on Poppe became intensely interested in the history of the Finns and other Finno-Ugric peoples, whom many scholars—among them the Finnish scholar Castren—regarded as linguistically related to the Altaic peoples. In looking back at his life, Poppe attributed his devotion to the study of the languages and folklore of the Finno-

Ugric/Altaic peoples to the two unknown singers from Karelia.

It was a special tribute to Nicholas Poppe that at the recent 12th Nicholas Poppe Symposium the connection between the Finns and the Altaic peoples was taken up by Elmira Kochumkulova, an exchange student from Kirghizstan, who compared the "Images of the Bride/Daughter-in-law in Finnish and Kirghiz Wedding Poetry of the 19th Century." In both societies wedding songs had once been part of a ritual designed to give advice to the young bride. Despite the differences in their lifestyles, the Finns being agriculturists and the Kirghiz nomadic cattle breeders, the similes and metaphors used in the songs were strikingly similar.

Another paper presented in the same section, "Culture and Society", dealt with "Issues of Public Health in Central Asia". Christine Szabo, an undergraduate student in industrial design at the UW, had chosen this topic to add a social dimension to her field of specialization. In the course of her research she soon learned that official statistics are not reliable; therefore she cross-referenced the published data with facts and observations gleaned from interviews with health care providers and Peace Corps volunteers who had worked in the Central Asian Republics of Kazakhstan, Kirghizstan and Uzbekistan. She concluded that the already dismal state of the Soviet health services had further deteriorated in these republics after the break-up of the Soviet Union. Very little is being done in terms of health education. High occurrences of alcoholism and drug use are major health problems in all three Central Asian republics. A glimmer of hope remains for local non-governmental women's groups, which specifically assist mothers as the primary family health care providers.

In the section on "Contemporary Issues: Politics and Economics", two papers addressed the prospects for developing Caspian Sea oil and gas resources. Dr. Gerard Filitti, New York University,

argued that the exploitation of oil and gas in the Caspian Sea basin is economically uncertain. Expenditures for extracting the oil and transporting it through yet to be built pipelines are too high to assure a profitable export-based development of these resources within the next twenty-five years. The Central Asian economies will have to look elsewhere for sources of income. The best prospect is to have the oil and gas resources used domestically for heating, electricity and gasoline, while at the same time providing secure energy sources for local enterprises. The second speaker, Dr. Zhakshylyk Khuseinov, who until recently served as an advisor on economics to the President and Parliament of Kazakhstan, confirmed Dr. Filitti's assessment in his own paper on "The Economic and Political Situation of the Caspian Sea Region". His outlook was even more pessimistic. He based his examples of the "disappearance" of oil revenues in Kazakhstan and a government run like a "President's company" on insights, sources and statistics unavailable to most western scholars and observers.

The third paper in the section was given by Talgat Imangaliyev, who commented on his oral history project, "Stalin's Purges in Kazakhstan: Real Faces, Tragic Stories". In the summer of 1999, Talgat, who comes from Atyrau, Kazakhstan, and is a graduate student in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilization, began a project to videotape accounts of victims who had survived years of imprisonment during the Stalin years, and the family members' recollections of those who had perished. He intends to continue this project, and even plans to involve Kazakh students in Atyrau and other localities in Kazakhstan in the recording of the tragic stories of their elders, so that their experiences would not be lost as lessons for the future.

In a special historical section, Mark Reese, a graduate student in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilization, talked about "Alexander the Great in Central Asia", focusing on the

myths surrounding Alexander's birth. Aaron Fields, a Mongolist trained at Western Washington University, discussed the "Mongol Military Tactics During Chinghiz Khan's Empire," and Professor Ilse Cirtautas (UW) commented on Nicholas Poppe's unpublished "Account of the Linguistic Conference in Samarkand, May 1929."

The papers presented at the 12th Nicholas Poppe Symposium make noteworthy contributions to the field of Central Asian studies, and serve as a fitting tribute to the memory of Nicholas Poppe.



Nicholas Poppe and Kurt Engelmann in 1990

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

Post-Conflict Tajikistan: Problems and Democratic Prospects

BY YOKUBJON ABDUKHOLIKOV

The democratic movement in Tajikistan is in an embryonic stage, not having yet become a social ideal for the whole population. With great difficulty, but with some success, Tajikistan is undertaking democratic reforms. The task now is to ensure that democracy does not remain an unrealizable dream.

Tajikistan has declared itself a democratic, legal, and secular republic, and the current government of national reconciliation has professed its intention to follow this chosen path. Democratic principles of governance, the supreme power of law, protection of human rights, political pluralism, a market economy, and development of civil society institutions must be introduced into the fundamental basis of society. The political leadership and a majority of the people want to build a democratic society. But in doing so, they face many difficulties caused by the civil war, as well as structural problems inherited from the former Soviet Union.

Being a part of the USSR, Tajikistan had of course been forced into its social, economic and political mold. The republic was not prepared for the sudden dissolution of the Soviet Union, the first result of which was the destruction of the social and economic infrastructure. In just six to twelve months, material production in Tajikistan came to a halt. Unemployment and poverty became widespread. The political leadership lost its orientation and couldn't control the situation. The ruling elite couldn't articulate goals. They weren't accustomed to making independent decisions.

Groups surrounding procommunist and religious orientations soon entered conflict. With the "help" of insolvent former leaders and "newly" appeared leaders and self-styled prophets, Tajikistan was drawn into a national and public tragedy – the civil war – which led to economic crises resulting from production cutbacks, moral degradation, and fatalities. In short, the country endured political, economic and social crises, the organs of government were paralyzed, and the state itself nearly collapsed and disappeared.

It became clear that the survival and rescue of Tajik society rested upon achieving both a high level of national integrity and public agreement between all political forces and movements in the country. For the salvation of Tajik society and the maintenance of its statehood, and for the sake of the future of Tajikistan, a general agreement on maintaining peace and national harmony in Tajikistan was achieved. After great effort, the agreement was signed in Moscow by the government of Tajikistan and the United Tajik Opposition on June 27, 1997, under the aegis of the United Nations. Both sides understood, at last, their joint responsibility for the fate of the Tajik nation, Tajikistan as an independent, sovereign, democratic state. Both sides understood that this was not the time for ultimatums, thoughtless action, dividing people or regions. As a result, they managed to keep the country from breaking up, to stop armed opposition, and to bring most refugees home.

Restoration and consolidation of political institutions began. Stability at all levels of government was shored up, and most importantly, political and economic reforms were started simultaneously. A national referendum was conducted on the new constitution of the Republic of Tajikistan. Furthermore, national multi-party parliamentary elections and a presidential election were held. To hasten the political cohesion of a new independent Tajikistan, judiciary bodies and executive organs of power were formed.

In the present post-conflict period in the republic, an atmosphere of mutual trust between political forces and social groups is gradually being formed. The readiness of all sides to cooperate in order to achieve political peace and stability in society is an important factor. The Commission on National Reconciliation, which has been functioning for three years, helped the opposing sides begin discussion of common problems, listen to each other's opinions in a quiet working atmosphere, better understand existing divergences and points of agreement, and suggest acceptable solutions. This positive

experience focuses the hopes of the Tajik people for a peaceful resolution, and provides a possible model of stabilization, in all spheres of public life, for other Central Asian countries.

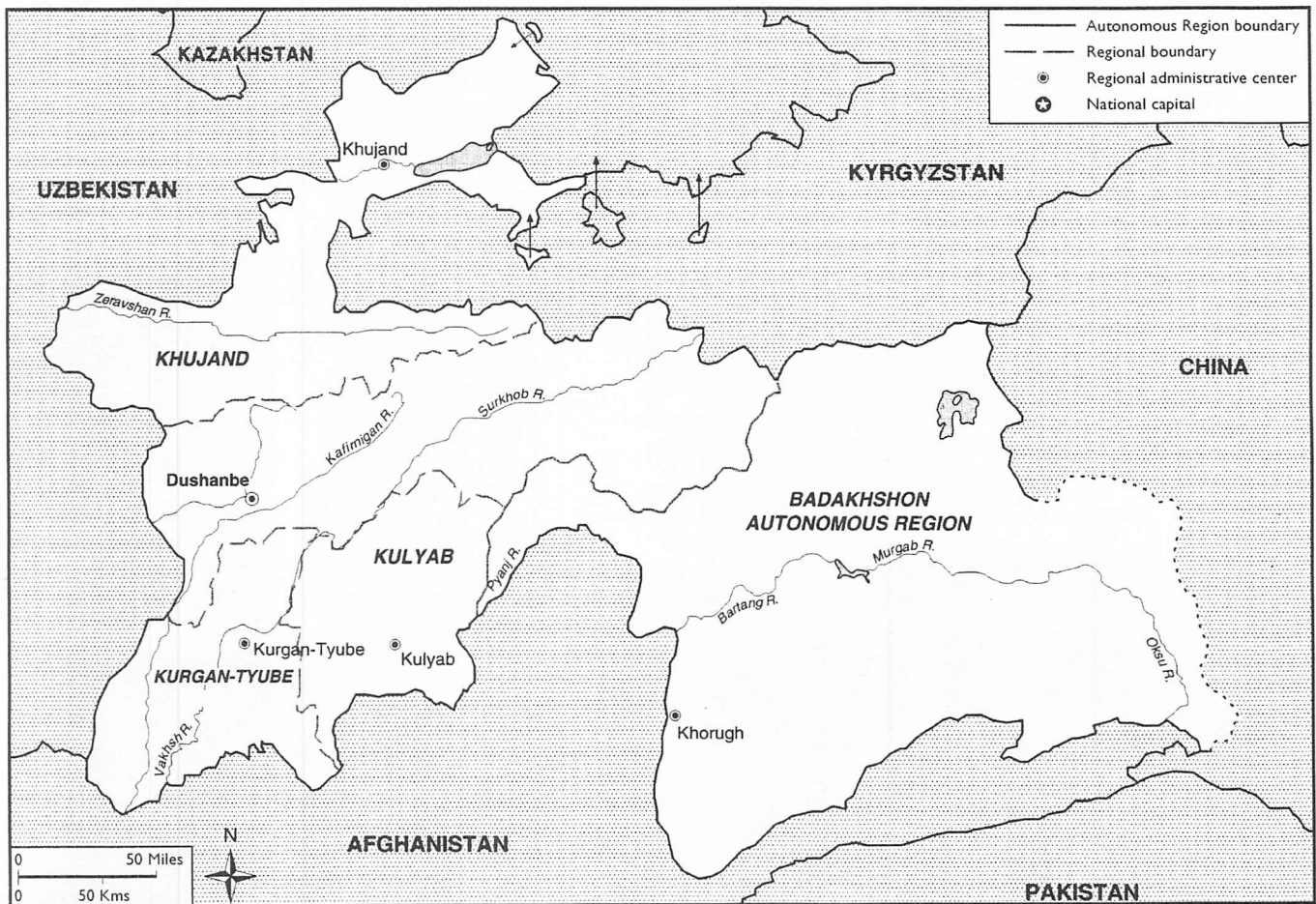
Three years of creative work by the Commission has resulted in:

- The creation of suitable conditions for the development of political pluralism in the society;
- A national referendum on amendments and changes to the constitution of the Republic of Tajikistan;
- Successful preparation for the presidential and parliamentary elections of November 1999 and February–March 2000.

The heritage of the Soviet period has darkened the prospects of democracy in Tajikistan. It is difficult to change the population's social psychology and outlook, developed over more than 70 years. This is why the transformation to a market economy and the attempts to realize democratic reforms face not only difficult social, economic and political conditions, but also moral and psychological obstacles. Some groups have doubts about the democratic model as the basis of the development of the society. In its efforts at transformation, Tajikistan faces not only its post-Soviet character, but also the effects of a destructive civil war. So there are problems here. One must take into account the roots of the real economic situation and the complicated arrangement of social conditions, political forces, and psychological aspects. Which questions then deserve special attention before attempting to widen the base of democracy in Tajikistan?

First, we must overcome the negative public reaction to democratic reforms, although this isn't easy given the difficult social and economic conditions. The price the people must pay for democratic freedom has proven high in comparison with the so-called "Soviet achievements". Under Soviet rule, peace and stability were assured for the bulk of the population. The chaos of the current period

Tajikistan: Regional Boundaries and Administrative Centers



makes the public look back with fondness on their old lifestyle, and question the price they have to pay for a so-called democratic system. The more or less satisfactory way of life in large cities is in fact deceptive. The bulk of the people, who live in rural areas, are absorbed with maintaining their families. All this prevents people from seeing their lives in the context of historical transformation. Most are too preoccupied with survival to think about public policy. It is difficult for them to reorient themselves to socially important tasks, because they don't have any real alternatives.

Second, we must change the relationship between the majority of the people and the governing body, or more precisely, the government officials who embody the reform activity of the state. As the government must perform general tasks in the public interest, it must listen to public opinion and analyze public perceptions; there must be feedback. Otherwise power becomes an end in

itself, and its positive character can be lost. Public officials may lose the people's trust irrespective of their personal moral qualities. The people lose respect for their government as the result of the actions of individual officials; this is an important element of social justice. When the political-legal space is imperfect and when legality is determined and laws made by corrupt officials, the moral and spiritual atmosphere of the society is spoiled.

It is difficult to change the public perception that officials responsible for public services first serve themselves as a new "political and local elite". The public believes that most officials take advantage of their positions to consolidate their social and economic status. Such corruption undermines the state's authority and promotes the spread of corruption, ambition, selfishness, and cynicism towards life. Such officials cover up their activities by drawing attention to existing problems and by pointing out scapegoats for every failure. Even the

decent representatives of the government come under suspicion.

When the activities of reformers fail to support the poor and the weak, and negatively impact the social stratification of the society, and when all of this can be blamed on "transition", truly democratic values and the advantages of a market economy are lost. For the majority of the people, what they perceive as "democracy" lacks a sense of social justice. The public sees only that a few people are improving their lives, those close to political, legal, economic and financial power. As a consequence, the pace of democratic reforms slows, and the entire reform program risks being sidetracked.

Yokubjon Abdukholikov is Head of the Department of Humanities in the Tajik Institute of Management and Chairman of the Khujand Philosophical Society. While recently a Visiting Scholar of the Central Asia-Caucasus Institute (Johns Hopkins University), he visited Seattle and Tacoma, speaking to the UW Central Asian Studies Group and the REECAS-NW Conference.

Marine Policy in Northwest Russia:

Economic Challenges, Ideological Convenience, and the Risk of Collusion Between State and Private Interests

BY NATHANIEL TRUMBULL



Large numbers of waterfowl migrate through Batareinaya Bay. PHOTO © NATHANIEL TRUMBULL

The Russian government is determined to break its dependence on the Baltic states for port access. With the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Russia lost seven out of eleven Baltic ports. When President Boris Yeltsin visited St. Petersburg in May of 1997 to proclaim it the official cultural capital of Russia, he also signed a decree paving the way for the construction of three new ports on the Gulf of Finland, all within 100 kilometers of St. Petersburg. The basic purpose of Yeltsin's decree was "to safeguard the economic interests and national security of Russia" and secure the "special importance of the [port] construction" for Russia. Unwavering official support for the construction of the ports has raised a number of questions about how large-scale invest-

ments in Russia's ocean policy are made, what forms of commercial interests have emerged in post-Soviet Russia, and the future prospects for Russia's marine infrastructure as concerns the export of natural resources.

The three new Baltic ports will lie on the Gulf of Finland coastal regions of Batareinaia Bay, Primorsk, and Ust'-Luga. They have already seen official groundbreaking ceremonies, land clearing, and active commercial investment. All of the proposed sites are located on largely undeveloped coastal areas of the eastern Baltic Sea. Official discussion of the economic, political, and environmental ramifications of the three proposed ports has been confined to the Russian Federation's perceived necessity

to compensate loss of former ports in the Baltic states with the construction of new ports along Russia's own Baltic Sea coastline. Critics of the port construction projects have argued that the new ports are unlikely to be economically beneficial for Russia, and that only a small handful of private firms stand to benefit from the construction of the new ports. While the economic benefits of the three new ports are questionable, their environmental impacts will be profound.

Undertaking such a project is not just a matter of politics. A substantial share of Russia's cargo continues to travel through the Baltic states. Transit of cargo to and from Russia now constitutes up to 80% of the cargo turnover of these foreign ports. The four Russian ports remaining

on the Baltic Sea are St. Petersburg, Kaliningrad, Vyborg, and Vysotsk. Because St. Petersburg, Kaliningrad, and Vyborg seaports were built in the 19th century, and their surrounding city infrastructure has since enveloped the ports, they are not likely to be significantly expanded.¹ Despite declines in the world price of oil in the late 1990s, oil exports still remain one of the main sources of foreign currency revenue for Russia. Pressure for Russian oil exports can be expected to grow as the price of crude oil rises. According to some estimates, Russian export/import cargo flow demands will increase by 90-100 million tons by the year 2010.

Russian officials have portrayed the use of gateways in the Baltic states as economically disadvantageous for Russia, and have predicted the new ports will save the country a great deal of money. Experts from the Ministry of Transport calculated that in the mid-1990s, Russia paid \$600 million annually in duties to the Baltic States for oil transit and cargo handling.² It is further argued that new ports on the Baltic would give Russia economic leverage in making the Baltic republics lower existing tariffs on oil transportation [now they are twice the tariffs of the Black Sea's Novorossisk port, from the point of view of Russian exporters]. An accompanying goal is to broaden the geography of the domestic sea terminals for oil shipment, and thereby to reduce dependence upon the export and transportation services of single ports. Official estimates of existing economic revenues for the Baltic states reinforce the argument. Latvia is estimated to earn 25% of her state budget revenue from Russian oil transit via the port in Ventspils. Over the course of eight years, Russia has reportedly lost \$11 billion due to the absence of alternative routes to the existing Baltic state ports.³ Those same estimates tend to ignore the fact that the cost of oil transfer in existing Russian seaports is higher than in several foreign ports. The Ministry of Fuel and Energy Resources has stated, in an appeal to the Federal Energy Commission, that the present cost of exploitation of Russian ports is higher than in Ventspils or in Odessa.⁴

Existing ports also have problems with infrastructure. Russian ports are generally insufficiently equipped to provide modern trade-handling services. More

than 30 percent of port cranes, 65 percent of imported loaders, and a large portion of tractors in use are more than 20 years old and need replacement.⁵ No Russian port is equipped with large-capacity cranes.

The three ports planned for sites on the Gulf of Finland are in Leningrad Oblast: they are Batareinaya Bay, for petroleum from Surgutneftegaz's Kirishi refinery (located to the southwest of St. Petersburg); Ust-Luga, for coal, fertilizer, timber and containers; and Primorsk, for crude oil transfer. The Baltic Pipeline System (BPS) represents the pipeline infrastructure for supplying Primorsk with crude oil. The Batareinaya Bay oil terminal is to have a capacity to handle 7.5 million tons of oil per year, and the oil terminal in Primorsk is to have a capacity to handle 45 million tons of oil and 8 million tons of petrochemicals a year. Each port project is already being actively developed by a separate firm: Surgutneftegaz in Batareinaya Bay, Transneft in Primorsk, and Rosterminalugol in Ust-Luga. Each firm has received exclusive development rights, and works closely with government authorities.

The three planned ports have all required preparation of environmental impact assessments. A brief examination of the official documentation for the port project in Primorsk, including a comparison with the viewpoint of non-government environmental specialists, suggests that government-mandated environmental expertise in Russia remains biased and incomplete. The concluding section of the Environmental Impact Statement for the Primorsk section of the Baltic Pipeline System states its full adherence to the environmental laws of Russia. The EIS was conducted, in the words of the report, according to the Russian Federation laws "On the Environment," "On Environmental Expertise," "On Specially Protected Territories," "On the Animal World," "On Natural Resources," "On the Land Code," and "On the Water Code." In the words of the environmental impact statement, the work was based on "an objective evaluation of the possible effect of construction and the effect of the use of those parts of the oil pipeline system BPS on the natural and social environment."

The environmental impact statement summarizes its conclusions: "The

information presented on the environmental risk, the environmental situation, show that, as a whole, the existing state of the environment will not suffer a noticeable difference under the effect of the construction of the BPS." The document nevertheless notes that, "the



Cornerstone from groundbreaking ceremony at Batareinaya Bay. PHOTO © NATHANIEL TRUMBULL

most significant risk for the environment is possible during an accident on the oil pipeline." Yet emphasis in the EIS is not placed on the event of an accident, but instead on the effect of the construction of the terminal and its impact under normal operating conditions. No scenarios of spillage are considered, either in the water or on the land of the territory of the future port. The EIS fulfills the Russian legal requirements for the Primorsk project to proceed, and as such has received little attention in the press. Officials allowed public access to the EIS in the earlier stages of the project, but this has been closed, according to Transneft officials, who explain that the EIS represents information of a "commercial interest" to the company.

As a result, environmental considerations have had no part in planning for any of the three port construction projects. The EIS is ordered and paid for, legal requirements are fulfilled, and the projects are allowed to advance. Such practice is common in Russia, as many other recent projects testify. A particularly visible example is the high-speed rail between Moscow and Petersburg, which passes through Valdai National Park. In the end, it is extremely difficult to distinguish between the interests of government and interests of private firm interests in Russia. Environmental regulation becomes the inevitable victim of that collusion of interests between government and private interests.

continued on page 14

One of the most respected environmental figures in Russia, Alexei Yablokov, has raised his voice in opposition to the port projects. Yablokov once headed a presidential environmental commission under Yeltsin and now directs a new environmental institute he founded. Yablokov estimates that the cost of both the construction and the operation of the port have been severely underestimated. "The spilling of oil products cannot be avoided either theoretically or practically," he writes. One ton of oil is capable of covering 1000 cubic meters, and as a result, 750 tons would be enough to pollute much of the Gulf of Finland, he argues. "Among the foreseeable environmental impacts of oil pollution in the Baltic Sea is a loss of local fishing stocks, loss of future recreational areas, and the destruction of a nature reserve." The last point refers to the fact that part of the Batereinaya Bay site is territory assigned as a Ramsar Waterfowl site and is governed by the Ramsar Convention, to which Russia is a co-signee. An even more frightening event, in Yablokov's view, is the threat to the cooling system of the Leningrad Atomic Electric Station (10 kilometers away) in the event of a spill.

Firms involved in the port construction projects have sought to avoid any open discussion of environmental impact and costs. Transneft's handling of the public hearing requirement is highly illustrative. Transneft's public hearing, concerning the new pipeline required for the Primorsk project, was held in August in 1998. Although the public was invited, the hearing was extremely poorly announced. Only about 30 members of the public and environmental organizations attended, despite a subsequent outcry among local environmental NGOs. Transneft treated the hearing largely as a presentation. The head architect of the project spoke for about 90 minutes, leaving little time for questions. No mechanism for written submission of opinions was announced. About two-thirds of those attending the hearing appeared to be from Transneft itself. The public asked a few questions, but they were permitted no opportunity to challenge the firm's point of view at length. An official memo circulated later by the firm, in response to an inquiry from local environmental activists, stated



Southern shoreline of Batereinaya Bay. PHOTO © NATHANIEL TRUMBULL

that the August 1998 public hearing had given full approval to Transneft's plans.

Russian policy on the ports is being determined by a uniquely Russian blend of ideology, commerce, and political interests. Even before the financial crisis of August 17, 1998, highly-placed politicians had associated themselves with the project. As early as March 1998, Yegor Stroyev, chairman of the Federation Council (the upper chamber of the Russian parliament) became co-chairman of the international supervisory board for the construction of the port in Ust-Luga. As one journalist commented, "Most analysts believe that the participation of a high-ranking Russian official in the board will be a kind of guarantee for investors in the \$1.5-billion project."⁶

In April 1999, then-Prime Minister Yevgeny Primakov urged an acceleration of work at port terminals in Ust-Luga and Primorsk on the Baltic Sea. The issue was reportedly raised at his weekly conference with deputy prime ministers, including then First Deputy Prime Minister Vadim Gustov. Primakov announced that "the government will take to task all those personally responsible for unjustified delays."⁷ Gustov later claimed that Primakov's strong words came after learning Estonia had begun to build a coal terminal on its territory. Primakov also promised to provide government guarantees for a loan of 200 million DM for Ust-Luga and Primorsk. Gustov further reported that highways were being completed to Ust-Luga, upgrading work was being conducted on the premises, and the route of approach deepened.

Minister of Fuel and Energy Victor Kalyuzhny, who had first intended to limit oil exports and quotas, apparently changed his mind after visiting St. Petersburg. New Prime Minister Vladimir Putin had sent Kalyuzhny to study the situation on site. The new governor of Leningrad Oblast, Valery Serdyukov, had told Putin one month earlier about the promising prospects for developing the Baltic. One journalist speculated further that Kalyuzhny paid special attention to the Baltic Pipeline System because S. Vainshtok, the new director of Transneft, had come with Kalyuzhny to St. Petersburg.⁸ The Minister of Fuel and Energy promised to allot 55 million USD before the end of the year to facilitate completion of the Baltic Pipeline System. The minister also suggested that this sum might be doubled.⁹

The degree to which high-ranking officials have intervened in the project is extraordinary by any measure. Yet in a period of transition to a market economy, direct state interventions in investment in the ports, such as those of Stroyev, Primakov and Kalyuzhny, seem largely inevitable. Conflicts of interest are overlooked, competition among firms is non-existent, and the fates of projects depend not on a full calculation of costs, but rather on personal favor. Full consideration of environmental costs and other factors become unrelated externalities for those firms, as they pursue tasks and goals that depend on the decision and influence of a small number of government officials.

Development of a Russian network of ports on the Baltic Sea will likely speed

continued on page 21

COMMENTARY

The Costs of Russian Bureaucracy

BY FRANK RESTIFO

In the spring of 2000 I returned to Moscow to catch up on the social and political mood in the days just prior to the presidential elections. Most striking in my observations and conversations was evidence that Soviet-era habits and attitudes remain menacingly close to the surface of reform. The illusion of democracy, the erosion of urgent state functions, and a powerfully conservative bureaucratic mentality create a cycle delaying real transformation in Russia. Persistent cynicism frustrates constructive community action, obstruction occurs as state and society engage in complicated ways to rob each other of time and resources, and paralysis in turn results as state and society are increasingly disinclined to sponsor community action.

There is progress to celebrate in Russia, including three consecutive Duma elections, and an orderly transfer of executive authority. Also, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's neo-fascist Liberal Democratic Party of Russia has been progressively marginalized since it caused a commotion in 1993, and the Communist Party of the Russian Federation aspires to policies more in step with contemporary problems and embraces capitalist economics. However, the extent to which elections provide the evidence of expanding pluralism depends upon interpretation. One could argue from a minimalist perspective that free elections in themselves constitute democratic conditions, or one could insist on much more stringent criteria. Russian democracy looks remarkably "delegative," following Guillermo O'Donnell's characterization: it is a system that provides for open elections but few mechanisms to check executive power. For a dissatisfied populace, the only recourse is to reject the incumbent when the term expires. Such a scenario has great potential to limit the scope for change, forestall institutional development, and in turn aggravate rather than alleviate the cycle of uncertainty constantly impeding Russia's modernization.

Regarding the progress in Russian reforms since 1991, I would like to discuss some caveats. Vladimir Putin's first-round victory is more a reflection of manipulation of the electorate than democracy at work. Consider the indispensable influence of the oligarchs, Putin's sudden emergence from relative obscurity, and the astounding success of his 'party of power' Unity in December 1999. Moreover, Putin gained a decisive advantage in the presidential campaign through Boris Yeltsin's self-centered decision to resign six months early. Had the election been held in June, would it have proceeded without extra-constitutional measures? Would Yeltsin and his circle have risked a fall in Putin's popularity, given the eventual decline in support for the Chechen war? On economic development, new prosperity has been very poorly redistributed. Official bureaucrats in collusion with banking, media, and natural resource conglomerates maximize profits and

influence at the expense of the state. Russian commercial activity is heedlessly pursued at the expense of society at large in the form of poor treasury receipts and manipulative wage payment schemes. This is incomprehensible and exasperating for Russians who are not oblivious to the sea of cash circulating in the midst of a fantastically neglected social infrastructure.



Moscow. PHOTO © FRANK RESTIFO

The persistence of a bureaucratized culture plays another role in shackling society to the past. Bureaucrats justifiably try to clarify their own futures, but at every level the result is often harassment and obstruction, lack of trust, and the dominance of self-interest. Many Russians are convinced that circumventing formal rules offers the only avenue toward achieving personal and professional goals. Ironically, in this calculation they doom themselves to the uncertain and ominous future of owing favors to corrupt agents of the public or private sectors.

Within the Russian bureaucracy, the assignment of blame appears to take precedence over addressing administrative error. This tendency is caused by a complicated hierarchy of bosses that in reality is flat; responsibility is systematically pushed around. With regard to the public, authority is abused by civil servants in the exercise of relative power. There are strict limits to responsibility within the typically compartmentalized office, creating the common reaction to an inquiry or application: "the person handling that is not here." Delegation of authority, even when those responsible are away for extended periods, is very rare in the typical Russian office. Even less pleasant but common is the reply: "you are not following the rules and I cannot help you," and the subtext, "I choose to uphold the rules at the moment because I am not convinced that making an exception is worth my risk." Also, most Russians appealing to local or federal offices accept the fact that forms, applications, proposals, and the like languish on supervisors' desks for

continued on page 16

continued from page 15

arbitrary periods as a matter of course.

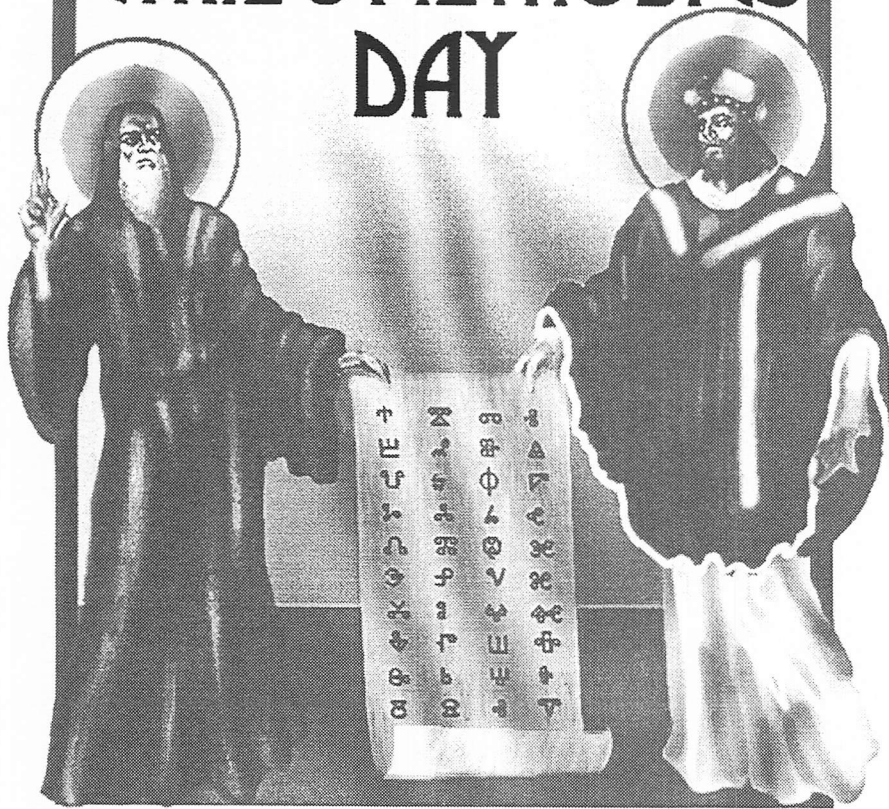
Businesses are still paid routine visits by police, inspectors and other officials from agencies ostensibly overseeing some aspect of the public good. Food and entertainment enterprises are especially vulnerable, because they attract a very wealthy clientele and are at the mercy of these officials to remain in business. Inspectors scrutinize at length permits detailing the conditions of sanitation, storage, waste removal, book-keeping, cost analysis conventions, the health certificates of employees, posted hours of operation, and weights and measures used in bars and kitchens. These are personal rackets conducted in the name of public welfare, which the ownership must regard as a cost of doing business. Thus, the allegedly rule-based society suffers terribly from random enforcement, driven by the need to accumulate and exercise power.

The more things change, the more they stay the same. Russians say that their country is one of dramatic contrasts, and I could hardly agree more. Russian society is

engaged in a perennial struggle to establish predictability, and remnants of the previous system add confusion and paradox, and doom from the outset initiatives beyond the short term. Despite dramatic and meaningful changes in post-communist Russia, certain Soviet-era norms persist. Civil society is fragile, prosperity is restricted by elite conspiracy, and enterprise is squelched by bureaucratic power games. In this environment fear and self-interest prevail and development is suspended. While it is too early to judge the true nature of simultaneous political, economic, and social transformation in Russia, conditions today seem more conducive to authoritarian leadership than to the consolidation of broadly democratic institutions.

After undergraduate study at McGill University and the Pushkin Institute of Russian Language (Moscow), Frank Restifo lived in Moscow for nearly four years between 1992 and 1997, working in the hotel and restaurant business. Currently a REECAS MA student, he is interested in economic and democratic transition in post-Soviet Russia and the former satellite states.

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CHURCH

2100 BOYER AVENUE EAST, SEATTLE

The UW Slavic Department and the Association of Alumni and Friends of the Slavic Department will be celebrating Sts. Cyril & Methodius Day with an evening celebrating the richness and variety of Slavic cultures. The event will feature Slavic dance, music and singing performances, and participatory dancing following the performances. Delicious *a la carte* Slavic food and beverages will be available for purchase. A raffle of art, books and other items will be held to benefit graduate students in the UW Slavic Department. Tickets from \$5; more at the door. To make a reservation, call the UWAA reservation line at (206) 543-3839 or fax (206) 685-0611 by June 20. To contribute items to the raffle, call Shosh Westen at the Slavic Department, (206) 543-6848, or email: slavicll@u.washington.edu.

ALUMNI REPORT:

A Career in Eurasia Policy Studies

BY ERICA JOHNSON

In order to fulfill my undergraduate language requirement, and because I thought it would be a challenge, I decided to study Russian. This was in August of 1991, just as soon-to-be President Boris Yeltsin mounted a tank and foiled the hard-liners' coup attempt. As events unfolded, I became more and more interested in Soviet, and then "former Soviet" affairs.

After graduating from Wake Forest University (North Carolina) with a major in Russian language and international studies, I came to Seattle to begin the REECAS MA program in the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies. Those of my friends starting jobs right out of college accused me of putting off the inevitable "real world." However, not only was the Jackson School well known for the strength of the Russian Studies program, Seattle's proximity to Russia's Pacific Coast and the large Russian-speaking immigrant population made the REECAS program my natural choice.

In fact, attending the Jackson School opened my career as a specialist on the political, economic, and security environments in Russia and the other newly independent states of the former Soviet Union. During my final weeks of school I applied for an internship position at The National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR). I will never forget my excitement when I was offered the position. I was actually going to get paid to work in my field! Needless to say, my parents—who thought maybe I should have studied something slightly more practical—were also overjoyed.

I started working as an intern for the Eurasia Policy Studies program at NBR. At that time, the program was directed by Jackson School Professor Herbert J. Ellison and another REECAS graduate, Bruce Acker. In addition to helping develop and administer research programs examining the relationships between Russia, the other former Soviet republics, Asia and the United States, I also served as an editorial assistant for the organization's policy journals.

For the last year I have held greater responsibility for the day-to-day success of projects examining the interrelationships among politics, economics, and security in the Russian Far East; oil and gas development in the Caspian Sea Basin; social cohesion in Russia; and state-building in Central Asia and the South Caucasus. In June of 1999 I became co-director of Eurasia Policy Studies and managing editor of NBR publications.

The National Bureau of Asian Research is located in the heart of Seattle's University District. A nonprofit, nonpartisan research institution that conducts advanced research on policy-relevant issues in Asia, the idea behind NBR was conceived by Senator Henry M. Jackson. During his visits to China, Senator Jackson realized the tremendous need to bridge the gap in knowledge that had developed between scholars of Asian Studies and government officials who were making policy toward Asia. After Senator Jackson's death, his friends and colleagues remembered his words, and with a five-year endowment from the Jackson Foundation, NBR was founded in 1989.

In the last eleven years, NBR has developed the largest Asia-focused research agenda of any institution in the country outside the U.S. government. In addition to Eurasia Policy Studies, NBR has country and regional studies programs that examine Northeast Asia, Southeast Asia, and South Asia. NBR also leads comprehensive Asia-wide projects on such issues as the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum, the World Trade Organization (WTO), and U.S. policy toward Asia.

Although NBR maintains a small in-house staff of 20, our projects draw upon the world's best Asian scholars. At any given time, NBR has more than 100 specialists working on projects around the world. This model allows NBR to engage specialists with the broadest and deepest range of expertise and to produce timely, carefully researched studies on Asian political, economic, and security trends relevant to decision making.

NBR's studies are tailored for government, corporate, and academic audiences. Projects are integrated into the policy-making process through meetings with policymakers and staff, testimony before congressional committees, outreach to the media, and publications. Published five times a year, our best-known publication is the *NBR Analysis*, with each issue focusing on a particular topic or theme. NBR's other publications include the *Executive Insight*, for business audiences, the *AccessAsia Review*, a state-of-the-field journal that reviews current research in the field of contemporary Asian affairs, and a book series.

NBR activities also include developing and maintaining the AccessAsia database, an online clearinghouse of information on the expertise, publications, and current research of over 3,000 experts on contemporary Asia affairs. In addition, NBR runs the Executive Briefing Program, designed to bring corporate executives together with leading Asia specialists for small roundtable meetings, and NBR collaborates with production and broadcast companies to produce distinguished documentary films.

Through the support of corporate sponsors, the Jackson Foundation, private foundations, and federal contracts, NBR has developed an enormously effective model for keeping overhead costs low while producing first-class commentary on topics of public interest in Asia.

When I made the decision to enter Russian studies, I could not have imagined the challenging and exciting opportunities that would open up for me. My work at NBR provides the opportunity to work with and learn from some of the most knowledgeable specialists in former Soviet affairs, an opportunity I might never have found had it not been for my study at the Jackson School.

Erica Johnson received an MA in Russia Studies in 1997. She is currently co-director of Eurasia Policy Studies and managing editor at The National Bureau of Asian Research. For more information on NBR, please visit <http://www.nbr.org>

Summer Outreach Report

BY JACOB KALTENBACH



Bandura players John Patrick (left) and Alex Krynytzky at the May 13 Ukrainian seminar.

PHOTO © NADINE FABBI SHUSHAN

The diverse population of the Puget Sound region has long been a source of support and a resource for the UW's programs in international and area studies. Recent outreach initiatives in REECAS have begun to address immigrant communities themselves, in the interest of both fostering transcultural awareness and acknowledging that immigrants offer an immediate resource and first stop for educators, students and others with international interests.

Ukrainians in North America, May 13's full-day seminar for educators and the general public, was a success for speakers and participants alike. The learning continued throughout a long day, the Ukrainian luncheon catered by Olga Bajdyuk was superb, and Bandura players Alex Krynytzky and John Patrick provided a welcome musical interlude. But the most interesting development of the day was the common realization that we need to begin to discuss a *fourth wave* of Ukrainian immigrants, a new population of primarily economic refugees, with experiences vastly different from the miners and farmers who migrated respectively to the US and Canada at the end of the 19th Century, from the post-WWII political refugees, and even from the more recent influx of Jewish and Pentecostal Ukrainians, who left for religious reasons in the last years of Soviet rule.

It should come as no surprise that teachers in the public schools are among the first to acknowledge this new grouping. A few seminar participants revealed they had attended out of an interest rooted in their own Ukrainian

heritage, but a larger group were interested in Ukrainian immigration because they had recently-arrived Ukrainian children in their classrooms. The upcoming census results may shed some light on this, and no doubt seminar participants, speakers and the REECAS Center will continue the conversation. Thanks to the Canadian Studies and International Studies Centers for cosponsoring this relevant and stimulating program.

The REECAS Center has also opened discussions on ways to encourage cooperation between ethnic communities, the public schools and higher education. Seattle's Polish Heritage School has applied for a curriculum development award from REECAS to broaden extracurricular classes on Polish history and culture, and to promote these classes among pupils of non-Polish as well as Polish ancestry. In the future we hope to facilitate direct contact between such heritage programs and the public schools, to encourage the schools to see the immigrant and ethnic communities as a logical and valuable first resource for integrating area studies education into the curriculum.

I would like to thank the faculty, students, teachers, members of the business community and general public who attended our other spring events. Our May 5 symposium on Russian Far East security, environmental and economic issues, cosponsored by the National Bureau of Asian Research and Pacific Northwest National Laboratory, offered a focused conversation on the future of the region and competing foreign interests. For those of you who couldn't make it, most of the symposium papers have been posted to the REECAS website (<http://depts.washington.edu/reecas/speakers>). The April 15 program on "Roma in Cinema", part of the Margaret Mead Film Festival, made for a fascinating Saturday. Thanks again to James Felak, Julie Broome and Carol Hermer for their contributions.

April 22's REECAS-NW regional conference in Tacoma was a particular success, both in terms of numbers attending and

quality of panels. This was made possible not least by our capable and gracious hosts at UW Tacoma. Next year's conference is scheduled tentatively for Olympia. We will accept proposals for papers, presentations, panels and roundtables as early as the start of the autumn quarter; keep in mind that non-academic presentations are also welcome. And for those of you who missed this conference, some of the papers are also available on the REECAS website (<http://depts.washington.edu/reecas/events/conf2000/regconf00.htm>).

A reminder: the Jackson School outreach team collectively sponsors this year's Summer Seminar for teachers, scheduled for June 28-29 on the subject of *The Family across Time and Cultures*. REECAS presentations include Elmira Kochumkulova speaking on Central Asian family traditions and Kirghiz wedding rituals. Ms. Kochumkulova will also perform Kirghiz music. Further information and a registration form can be found on the last pages of this newsletter.

Finally, the bad news: the US Department of Education has decided not to renew our funding for the next three-year grant cycle. While this should not significantly affect our academic program — on the contrary, as many as 20 new MA students are slated to start in Autumn 2000 — the outreach program, library support, conferences and related work of the REECAS Center will no doubt be curtailed. We are currently exploring funding alternatives, and it is possible a solution may be found. Watch this page.

Jacob Kaltenbach is Assistant Director and Outreach Coordinator of REECAS.

THE DONALD W. TREADGOLD PAPERS

IN RUSSIAN, EAST EUROPEAN, AND CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES

- NO. 1: **Law in Russia** – Theodore Taranovski, Peter B. Maggs, Kathryn Hendley, and Steven A. Crown
- NO. 2: **Religion in Imperial Russia** – Robert L. Nichols and Henry R. Huttenbach
- NO. 3: **The Fate of Russian Orthodox Monasteries and Convents Since 1917** – Charles Timberlake
- NO. 4: **The Mennonites and the Russian State Duma, 1905-1914** – Terry Martin
- NO. 5: **Corporate Russia: Privatization and Prospects in the Oil and Gas Sector** – Leslie Dienes
- NO. 6: **Post-Communist Transitions: The Rise of the Multi-Party Systems in Poland and Ukraine**
– Andrii Deshchytsia (PAPER NUMBERS 1-7 ARE \$5.25 EACH)
- NO. 7: **Russian Banking: An Overview and Assessment** – Kent F. Moors
- NO. 8: **Nationalism and Religion in the Balkans Since the 19th Century** – Peter F. Sugar
- NO. 9: **Modes of Communist Rule, Democratic Transition, and Party System Formation in Four East European Countries (2nd printing)** – Grigorii Golosov (\$7.50)
- NO. 10: **The Politics of the Domestic Sphere: The Zhenotdely, Women's Liberation, and the Search for a *Novyi Byt* in Early Soviet Russia** – Michelle V. Fuqua
- NO. 11: **Ethnic Bipolarism in Slovakia, 1989-1995** – David Lucas
- NO. 12: **Literacy and Reading in 19th Century Bulgaria** – Krassimira Daskalova (\$5.25)
- NO. 13: **Critical Theory and the War in Croatia and Bosnia** – Thomas Cushman
- NO. 14: **Nation, State and Economy in Central Asia: Does Ataturk Provide a Model?** – Paul Kubicek
- NO. 15: **The Labor Market, Wages, Income, and Expenditures of the Population of the Republic of Uzbekistan**
– Dilnara Isamiddinova, Editor
- NO. 16: **German-Bashing and the Breakup of Yugoslavia** – Daniele Conversi
- NO. 17: **Romanian-Hungarian Economic Cooperation and Joint Ventures in Post-Ceausescu Romania** – Erica Agiewich
- NO. 18: **Energy and Mineral Exports from the Former USSR: Philosopher's Stone or Fool's Gold** – Leslie Dienes
- NO. 19: **Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe** – Norman Naimark
- NO. 20: **Nationalism, Populism, and Other Threats to Liberal Democracy in Post-Communist Europe**
– Vladimir Tismaneanu
- NO. 21: **The Formation of Post-Soviet International Politics of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan**
– Rafis Abazov
- NO. 22: **The Serb Lobby in the U.K.** – Carole Hodge
- NO. 23: **The Security Services and the Decline of Democracy in Russia: 1996-1999** – Amy Knight
- NO. 24: **The Repluralization of Slovenia in the 1980's: New Revelations from Archival Records**
– Leopoldina Plut-Pregelj, et al. (\$7.50)
- NO. 25: **Ethnic Conflict and European Affairs Revisited: The Serb-Croat Quarrel and French Diplomacy, 1929-1935**
– Brigit Farley (*forthcoming*)
- NO. 26: **Poland and Germany, 1989-1991: The Role of Economic Factors in Foreign Policy**
– Randall E. Newnham (*forthcoming*)
- NO. 27: **Eastern Europe and the Natural Law Tradition** – Sabrina P. Ramet (\$7.50) (*forthcoming*)
- NO. 28: **Local Self-Government and the State in Modern Russia** – Thomas E. Porter and John F. Young
(\$7.50) (*forthcoming*)
- NO. 29: **Catholic Power and Catholicism as a Component of Modern Polish National Identity, 1863-1918**
– Konrad Sadkowski (\$7.50) (*forthcoming*)

All papers are \$6.50 each unless otherwise noted (add \$1.00 for international orders, 8.6% for WA state residents.) A ten-issue subscription is available for \$55, a twenty-issue subscription for \$110. Orders and subscriptions should be directed to Vjeran Pavlakovic, Managing Editor, at the following address: The Donald W. Treadgold Papers in Russian, East European, and Central Asian Studies, Jackson School of International Studies, Box 353650, University of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195-3650.

Tel: (206) 543-4852, Fax: (206) 685-0668, E-mail: treadgld@u.washington.edu

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

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

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

INTENSIVE LANGUAGE PROGRAMS



JUNE 19 - AUGUST 18

Earn one year of foreign language credit in nine weeks — an excellent way to learn a new language. Summer quarter courses offered by the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures include:

Croatian/Serbian

Intensive first year

Russian

Intensive first through fourth year

Ukrainian

Intensive first year

Applications later than June 1 are accepted in person only (UW Admissions Office, Schmitz Hall). No transcripts or letters of recommendation are necessary to apply.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:

Slavic Languages & Literatures

University of Washington Box 353580
Seattle, WA 98195-3580

PHONE: (206) 543-6848

EMAIL: slavicll@u.washington.edu

WEB: <http://depts.washington.edu/slavweb/slav-sum.htm>

continued from page 5

moving target. In regular cycles, independent newspapers have come into existence (founded, typically, by dissenting journalists from some recently nationalized newspaper) have run their rocky course, and then ultimately been co-opted or shut down by the authorities. In this way, amid the turmoil of the past decade, several generations of authoritative independent news sources have come into and passed out of existence in both countries.

In order to acquire books and periodicals amid these difficulties, throughout the 1990s the Libraries' Slavic and East European Section has maintained and nurtured both traditional and new contacts in the region—whether with the national libraries and academies of science from Bucharest to Skopje, or with the new book export companies that have very occasionally emerged in the region to stake what claims they can in an unavoidably limited market.

Not all acquisitions from Southeastern Europe have been beleaguered by political and economic crises. Without interruption, UW has continued to develop one of the four most comprehensive collections for Slovene studies in North America; and the collections for both Romania and Bulgaria have also continued to grow at a steady rate.

The Library is undertaking some immediate and long-term tasks to update the Southeast European collections to meet the needs of the REECAS program in a new, post-Balkan war context. These include new subscriptions to selected independent newspapers from throughout the region, as well as microfilm backfiles of those newspapers important for historical research; and reestablishing working acquisitions lines for materials from Bosnia, which have been disrupted since the outbreak of war there in 1992. The Libraries' staff have used recent, annotated bibliographies, such as Noel

Malcolm's *Books on Bosnia: a critical bibliography of works relating to Bosnia-Herzegovina published since 1990 in West European languages*, and the same author's *Kosovo: a short history* to gauge the strength of our holdings in contemporary history, and to ensure that UW acquires all worthy books and journals on subjects of key importance. Finally, to make the Libraries' coverage of Southeastern Europe north of Greece truly complete, over the coming year we will be establishing contacts with book and periodical suppliers in the Albanian-speaking regions, with an eye to developing in-depth collections for contemporary Albania and Kosovo that will build on the basic coverage currently available to the Libraries' users.

Michael Biggins is the Librarian for the Slavic and East European sections of the University of Washington Libraries.

continued from page 14

up in the coming months and years. One obvious reason is the recent increase in oil prices (up almost 50 percent over the last twelve months) and the substantial boost in revenues to be generated by Russian exports. Another reason is that the Baltic Pipeline System has been expanded to include a much larger, strategically important geographic region. In May 1999 the Russian government said that it would support the Baltic Pipeline System, to the extent that the BPS will also help transport oil from Siberia and other northern areas to Russian ports on the Baltic Sea. The larger BPS project is to be financed with a special oil export duty, which was set at 1.37 USD per ton of oil exported, effective as of May 1, 1999.

Experts remain widely divided on the real economic benefit of the new ports, with many believing that it is economically more sound for Russia to continue to ship through the Baltic states, where market demand and routes are well-established, than to risk opening new ports which may or may not attract clients. According to Alexei Yablokov, "a renewed investment in the Baltic state ports, and especially Ventspils, would be

much more far-sighted than construction of the St. Petersburg ports. Expenses for vast improvements would cost several times less than construction of new ports near St. Petersburg. The Russian population in Latvia would gain additionally from Russian support in this way, and Russia would gain valuable experience in working cooperatively in the Baltic States."¹⁰ Intense traffic or demand for Western imports through Russian ports simply may not develop. St. Petersburg's port, for example, has been on the verge of bankruptcy for more than three years and shows little sign of rejuvenation.

The continuing government support and investment in port construction on the Gulf of Finland illustrates how extensively non-competitive business ventures continue to operate under the guise of Western-style capitalism in Russia. For the foreseeable future, bureaucratic capitalism will likely remain the prevailing economic framework in Russia, by which such large-scale investment projects will be planned, financed, and supervised. The Russian state is either unwilling or unable to define its new national interests without the use of those ideological and bureaucratic tools

of its recent past. Close cooperation—if not collusion—between state officials and commercially interested parties remains a fundamental mode of operation in Russia. Russia's marine policy is no exception.

Nathaniel Trumbull is Co-Director of the Transboundary Environmental Information Agency. He is a post-masters student in the Department of Geography at the University of Washington. He worked in St. Petersburg from 1995 to 1998.

- 1 *International Marketing Insight Reports*, February 10, 1999.
- 2 "Russia Accelerates Construction of the Northern Oil Export Route," *Russia Journal*, Vol. 2, No 15, May 9-16, 1999.
- 3 *CIS Oil & Gas Report*, August 20, 1999.
- 4 Prime-TASS News Wire Source, July 27, 1999.
- 5 U.S. Department of Commerce - Industry Sector Analysis Reports, June 01, 1999.
- 6 *Rusky Telegraf*, March 4, 1998, p. 4.
- 7 Prime-TASS, April 12, 1999.
- 8 "Kalyuzhny promises to increase export of oil," *Kommersant-Daily*, October 21, 1999, p. 4.
- 9 *Vremya MN*, October 21, 1999.
- 10 *Russian Conservation News*, No. 19, Spring 1999.



THE FAMILY

Across Time and Cultures

A SEMINAR FOR EDUCATORS OF GRADES 7-12

June 28-29, 2000

University of Washington, Seattle

SUMMER TEACHERS SEMINAR 2000

The Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies
Outreach Program, University of Washington

العائلة
GIA ĐÌNH

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ครอบครัว

семья



Program

This two-day seminar will introduce participants to the topic of the family as it has evolved over time and in different cultures around the world. Participants will begin with an overview of the concept of the family and will learn tools and techniques for considering the topic, which they will bring into play as the seminar moves into more specific areas of exploration.

Presentations will include among others:

- Myths and Changing Realities of the Family
- Medieval European Families
- The Middle Eastern Family Unit
- Central Asian Family Traditions
- The Korean Family Unit
- Ramifications of China's One-Child Policy
- Vietnamese Family Tradition
- Family Structure of Indigenous Peoples of the Pacific Northwest

In addition to lecture presentations, the seminar will also include:

- live performance of Central Asian wedding music and rituals
- guided tour of the Burke Museum focusing on family life of Pacific Northwest native peoples
- presentation during the noon hour of videotapes suitable for classroom use on families around the world

Presenters

The presenters are faculty and advanced graduate students of the universities of Washington and Oregon, including:*

ANN ANAGNOST

Associate Professor, Anthropology (China)

PAM CREASY, PH.C.

Socio-Cultural Anthropology (Pacific Northwest First Nations)

STEVAN HARRELL

Curator, Burke Museum; Professor, Anthropology (Overview)

PAULA HOLMES-EVER

Visiting Scholar, Anthropology (Middle East)

ELMIRA KOCHUMKULOVA, PH.C.

Near Eastern Languages & Civilization (Central Asia)

HARRIET PHINNEY, PH.C.

Anthropology (Southeast Asia)

CLARK SORENSEN

Associate Professor, International Studies (Korea)

ROBERT STACEY

Professor, History (Europe and the medieval world)

ANITA WEISS

International Studies, University of Oregon (The South Asian Family Unit)

*Please note this list is subject to minor changes.

GENERAL SEMINAR INFORMATION

The seminar will be held in the Walker-Ames Room, Kane Hall on the University of Washington campus, Seattle from 8:30 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. each day. Participants will walk to the Burke Museum—a short distance from Kane Hall—on the second day of the seminar. Pre-registrants will receive in advance a packet containing the final program and campus map.

REGISTRATION INFORMATION

Registration Deadline: June 19, 2000

Registration Fee: \$60.00 (checks payable to the University of Washington)

Clock Hours: 16 clock hours at no additional charge (must attend the entire seminar to be received)

Space Limitations: Seminar is limited to the first 50 registrants

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

Downloadable forms: <http://jsis.artsci.washington.edu/programs/mideast/events> (see listing under June 28-29)

NAME _____

MAILING ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

DAY PHONE _____ FAX _____

EMAIL _____

SCHOOL _____ GRADE LEVEL _____

I wish to receive clock hours

Mail Registration forms to: Felicia Hecker, Middle East Center, Box 353650, University of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195-3650

Questions: Contact Felicia Hecker at 206-543-4227, email: fhecker@u.washington.edu

More REECAS News...

Two REECAS-affiliated faculty have been awarded fellowships for 2000-2001. Glennys Young will be a Senior Fellow at the Rutgers Center for Historical Analysis, working on her book-length study of extralegal violence in Soviet political culture (1917-1991). Sabrina Ramet will spend the academic year in Washington, D.C., as a Woodrow Wilson Fellow. Sabrina has also been awarded a grant under the IREX Individual Advanced Research Opportunities (IARO) program; her work on "The Failure of State-Building Among the South Slavs, from 1918 to the Present" will take her to Zagreb, Croatia and Ljubljana, Slovenia, over the summer of 2001. Kurt Engelmann is leaving the University of Washington to become Administrative Director of the National Institute of Direct Instruction in Eugene, Oregon, where he will help coordinate a national campaign to transform "failure" schools.

REECAS (REEU) alumnus Rob Smurr (MA, 1992), now a doctoral student in History, has been awarded a dissertation write-up fellowship from the American Council for Learned Societies (ACLS) for one year beginning December 2000. His dissertation, "Perceptions of Nature, Expressions of Nation: An Environmental History of Estonia", will link Estonian national and environmental concerns, from the mid-19th century up to 1991.

The film *Yeltsin*, for which Professor Herb Ellison served as



From Yeltsin (Chief consultant and executive director Herb Ellison)

both chief consultant and executive director, is scheduled for broadcast on PBS in August. *Yeltsin* is based on wide-ranging interviews with government leaders, both before and during the Yeltsin years. The program provides original insights into the key turning points of 1991, 1993 and 1996, and a fresh perspective on the rule of Yeltsin. The full 90-minute documentary premiered in a screening at the University of Washington on May 31. A shorter version was aired last year on British Channel 4.

REECAS NEWSLETTER

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