

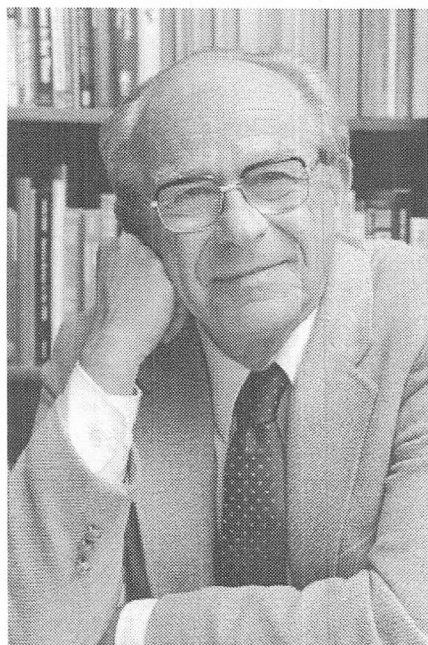
# REECAS NEWSLETTER

RUSSIAN, EAST EUROPEAN AND CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES CENTER

JACKSON SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON SPRING 2000

## Remembering Peter Sugar

BY JAMES FELAK



Peter Sugar

It is with profound regret that we note the passing away, this past December, of Professor Peter Sugar, one of the foremost figures in East European Studies in the United States. Peter was born and raised in Budapest, Hungary, which he left for Turkey and the Middle East just before the Second World War. He arrived in the United States in 1946, settling in New York City, and receiving his Ph.D. from Princeton University in 1959. He had been a member of the University of Washington Department of History since 1959, where he taught until his retirement in 1989.

Professor Sugar spent his career diligently promoting Russian and East European Studies locally, nationally, and internationally. He was instrumental in building the Russian and East European Studies Program at the University of Washington, and served as its chairman. He also helped found the East European Program at the Woodrow Wilson Center in

Washington, DC, and was an early member of a number of other prestigious and important organizations and institutions specializing in the study of Eastern Europe.

Aside from his administrative contributions, Peter helped enhance the prestige of the University of Washington's REECAS program through his teaching and research. He was one of the most distinguished teachers in the history of this university. He instilled in his students a love for East European history, and always held them to the most exacting of standards. His lectures, punctuated with unforgettable anecdotes drawn from a fascinating life that included service in the Hungarian cavalry and counter-intelligence work for the Allies in Turkey during World War II, conveyed a strong suspicion of political and nationalist dogmas. Professor Sugar also wrote or edited a number of the classics in the East European and Balkan fields, including a study of the Balkans under the Ottomans, two collections on nationalism, and the history of Hungary. Perhaps most significantly, he co-edited, along with his friend and colleague Donald Treadgold, the series *A History of East Central Europe* (published by the University of Washington Press).

Peter Sugar was especially conscientious throughout his career in promoting the careers of young scholars in the U.S. and abroad, and in fostering ties between scholars in the U.S. and Eastern Europe. For a lifetime of service, he was honored by the mayor of Seattle in 1989, who proclaimed March 9th as Peter Sugar Day, and by the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, who in 1994 gave him its top honor, the Award for Distinguished Contributions to Slavic Studies. Peter is dearly loved by colleagues and former students here and all over the world, and is greatly missed.

## Peter Sugar's Last Book

BY SABRINA P. RAMET

Within a matter of weeks of his death on 5 December 1999, Peter F. Sugar's final book, *East European Nationalism, Politics and Religion*, was published by Variorum Press. The book is a fitting capstone for a scholar who did as much as any and more than most to shape the field of East European history.

As with other books in the Variorum series, *East European Nationalism* consists of reprints of previously published essays and articles. This particular collection includes two theoretical discussions of ethnicity and nationalism, three chapters dealing with nationalism in nineteenth-century Eastern Europe, two chapters on fascism in the interwar era, and four which explore the relationship between religion and nationalism. Most of the chapters have a broad regional focus, though one deals specifically with multinational Austria-Hungary, another with Austria-Hungary's role in the Balkan crisis of the 1870s, and a third

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## From the Director...

JAMES WEST

Sadly, the event most immediately on everybody's mind as this issue of the REECAS Newsletter goes to print is the death in December of Peter Sugar, Emeritus Professor of History and International Studies at the University of Washington, a past Director of the REECAS Program and one of its most distinguished faculty. Peter will be missed not just by his friends and colleagues here, but throughout the world of East European studies.

There is never a shortage of reminders that we are in the business of trying to understand a region with more than its share of conflicts and crises. This quarter's REECAS events reflect that geopolitical reality, and also underscore the role that the REECAS Center plays, with its unusual range of resources, in providing educators and the general public in the Pacific Northwest with in-depth background and commentary on the region's current events. Winter seminars have included topical presentations by both local and visiting experts, including Julie Mertus, author of several books on Kosovo, poet and travel-writer Christopher Merrill, who made ten journeys to the Balkans between 1992 and 1996, Dr. Arkady Moshes of the Moscow Institute of Foreign Affairs speaking on Russia's often contentious relations with newly independent neighbors, and the particularly valuable insights of Yegor Gaidar, Russia's prime minister from June to December 1992, and former Latvian president Guntis Ulmanis. In this context it is encouraging to note that the next generation of graduate students is already grappling with the complexities of the area we study. In their Thesis Seminar this Winter, the students graduating from the Master's Program this June are writing on topics as varied as the Macedonian independence struggle over the last 100 years, the plight of the Roma in the present-day Czech Republic, the politics and economics of Sakhalin oil exploitation, the anomalies of Russia's Baltic enclave at Kaliningrad, the post-Soviet heirs of the KGB, and the concept of civil society in the legal practice of communist East Germany. Spring events include a visit from Dr. Martin Eggers of Munich University, whose talk touches on another kind of regional crisis — the impact made on the writing of Eastern Europe's history by the late Imre Boba, another distinguished member of the REECAS faculty, whose view of the roots of the Great Moravian Empire played havoc with national mythologies and reshaped the early history of Czech and Slovak lands.

The annual REECAS Regional Conference, to be held this year on April 22nd at the University of Washington at Tacoma, brings together faculty, graduate students and independent scholars throughout the Pacific Northwest to share their current work in a crowded one-day meeting. Details can be found in this issue, and we look forward to seeing old and new faces at what promises to be a stimulating conference, with this year's Treadgold Lecturer, Professor Ellen Mickiewicz of Duke University, participating in a panel on media and politics.

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

## EVENTS

### AMERICAN POLICY IN THE NEW CENTURY

*A lecture series*

SPONSORED BY THE JACKSON SCHOOL OF  
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES AND THE WORLD  
AFFAIRS COUNCIL

Information: 206/543-4842

*March 9*

#### US Policy in the New Century: The US and Europe in the New Century

Dr. Josef Joffe, Editor and Publisher,  
Die Zeit, Hamburg.

7:30 PM, KANE HALL 130

*April 5*

#### US Policy in the New Century: The US and Asia

Michael Armacost, President of the  
Brookings Institution and former US  
Ambassador to Japan.

7:30 PM, KANE HALL 130

*April 18*

#### US Policy in the New Century: US Security Challenges

Robert M. Gates, Former Director,  
Central Intelligence Agency.

7:30 PM, KANE HALL 130

*May 3*

#### US Policy in the New Century: America in the Twenty-First Century

Paul B. Johnson, British scholar,  
author, lecturer.

7:30 PM, KANE HALL 130

*May 24*

#### US Policy in the New Century: The US and the Global Economy

George Russell, Chairman, Frank Russell  
Company.

7:30 PM, KANE HALL 130

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REECAS on the World Wide Web: <http://depts.washington.edu/reecas/>

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with Balkan dynamics in the nineteenth century.

Peter well understood the potency of nationalism, though he suggests in Chapter One that there is a global process of reversion from “acquired” loyalties (acquired through nationalist agendas) to “natural” loyalties (p. I, 69). In Eastern Europe, as Peter shows, language and religion have been the two issues around which “national” identities have been built. His chapter on “Government and Minorities in Austria-Hungary”, for example, shows how language differences were at the root of escalating quarrels and controversies in both halves of the empire, even though each half was operating on the basis of a different formula: Austria became steadily more democratic, its ministers searching for consensus among the disparate national groups in the Austrian half of the empire, while Hungary grew steadily more

autocratic, pushing a program of Magyarization and, in the years 1875—1911, actually reducing the number of Slovak elementary schools, for example, from 1,921 to 440. Yet for all that, Peter writes, “the nationalism of the various people in Austria-Hungary was first of all local-historical and [the country’s inhabitants] would have been satisfied with home rule in a federatively organized state” (p. IV, 7). This is vintage Peter – advancing a proposition running against conventional wisdom, but doing so with such documentation and convincing argumentation as to leave little doubt of the correctness of his analysis.

The scope of Peter Sugar’s interests was considerable. Among his many books one may mention his 1977 *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, 1354—1804*, which changed the way historians think about the subject, and his 1994 *A History*

*of Hungary*, which was adopted as a History Book Club selection. In addition to his own publications, Peter also joined with his friend and colleague Donald W. Treadgold in editing an 11-volume set on East European history, several volumes of which have come to be seen as the “standard” texts on their respective subjects.

Peter was as generous as he was wise, and many of us are deeply indebted to him for his painstaking comments on early drafts of manuscripts, and of course for the inspiration he gave us all.

**Prof. Sabrina P. Ramet is a co-editor, with James R. Felak and Herbert J. Ellison, of the forthcoming volume *Nations and Nationalisms in East-Central Europe, 1806—1948: A Festschrift for Peter F. Sugar*, to be published by Slavica in spring 2000.**

## The Baltic Collections at the University of Washington Libraries

BY MICHAEL BIGGINS

*This is the first in a series of articles highlighting the history and current directions of the UW Libraries’ resources for Russian, East European and Central Asian studies. Subsequent articles appearing in the REECAS Newsletter, this year and next, will focus consecutively on UW’s collections for Southeastern Europe, Russia, East-Central Europe and Central Asia.*

The youngest facet of UW’s Russian and East European collections, the Baltic countries first entered the Library’s profile in a systematic way in the early 1970s, when the Slavic & East European Section established book and periodical exchange agreements in all three of what were then Soviet republics. These exchanges were with the Academy of Science libraries in Vilnius and Tallinn, and with the State Library (now National Library) in Riga, and became part of a larger network of some 80 (now over 100) exchange agreements between UW and major institutions throughout

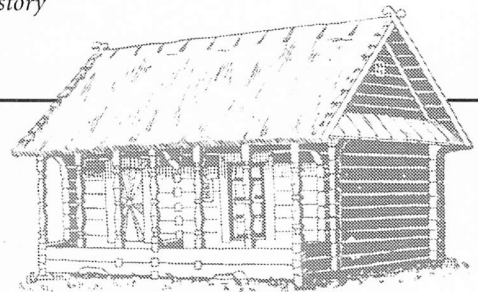
Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, which continue to provide UW with important area publications in return for U.S. books and journals. In the 1980s a fourth Baltic exchange was established, with Tartu University Library.

The early scope of Baltic acquisitions at UW was closely circumscribed. Through the exchanges, the Library began acquiring the Latvian and Estonian national bibliographies and indexes, three or four periodicals, the main statistical yearbooks from each of the three countries, and the leading Russian-language daily newspapers published in Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius. Even for books acquired through these exchanges, UW’s focus was on Russian-language imprints—typically, translations of Baltic *belles lettres*, and Russian-language studies in the social sciences and humanities. A few major multi-volume reference works were acquired in the vernaculars, such as the Soviet Baltic encyclopedias published in

the 1970s—each complete in about twelve volumes—and the authoritative Academy-produced dictionaries for all three languages. At the same time, the Library acquired Western-language trade and academic press publications having to do with all aspects of the Baltic countries.

By 1994 UW’s limited Baltic collections numbered some 700 volumes in linguistics and literature, and no more than 300 volumes in history. Total holdings for Baltic studies at the time numbered a mere 2,000 volumes, including bibliographies, encyclopedias and other reference works, and books on the art, architecture, folklore and ethnology, religion, educational systems, economies and social issues of the Baltic Region. In the six years since then, the Library’s cataloged holdings for Baltic studies have grown more than fourfold, to over 8,000 volumes.

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The impetus for this dramatic growth was, of course, the establishment in the mid-1990s of a new Baltic Studies Program under joint auspices of UW's REECAS Program and Scandinavian Department. The Baltic Studies Program's unusual strength in all three languages, cultures and societies has posed a unique challenge to the Library. Where other university libraries have developed extensive holdings for a single Baltic country (such as Estonian at Indiana, or Lithuanian at Wisconsin and at Illinois/Chicago), the UW Library has stepped up to the challenge of developing a comprehensive Baltic studies collection with strengths in all three countries. At present, the only comprehensive Baltic collections in North America are at New York Public Library and the Library of Congress.

To support increased demand for books and journals, beginning in 1995 the Library greatly intensified its Baltic acquisitions efforts. Existing exchange agreements were expanded to include a larger number of new publications on a broader range of subjects, and two important new exchanges were established—with the Mazvydas National Library in Vilnius and with the National Library in Tallinn. Nurturing and maintaining exchange relationships requires a great deal of communication passing in both directions, building toward the establishment of mutual trust. In order to strengthen the Library's working ties with the Baltics, over the past five years UW faculty and students traveling to the region for research and study have volunteered to pay visits to the administrators and exchange staff of the various National and Academy libraries. For our exchange partners, these visits have lent a human face to what would otherwise be only an abstract notion of UW's Baltic program and Library.

In 1996 the UW Baltic Studies Program and the Library jointly negotiated the transfer to UW of the entire collection of the Latvian Studies Center Library (Kalamazoo, Michigan), which for financial reasons was obliged to find a new home for its collection. This collection of some 12,000 books, serial volumes, and microfilm reels is one of the outstanding Latvian collections in North America, and, combined with intensive

collection of current materials, has helped transform UW into a major national resource for Latvian studies.

Even though intensive development of UW's Baltic collections did not begin until the 1990s, in an important sense it could not have begun at a better time. With the independence that the Baltic countries gained in 1991 came a freedom of expression they had not experienced since 1940. As elsewhere in Eastern Europe, in the 1990s there has been an upsurge in publishing in the Baltics, despite the economic constraints that all three countries have undergone in their transition from centralized to market economies. Much valuable, previously suppressed information about the difficult history of the Baltics from 1940 to 1991 is now finally going to press, the beginning of a process of national self-reassessment that can be expected to continue for some years to come.

Currently, acquisition of Baltic materials at the University of Washington remains vigorous, with approximately 250 new books per year arriving from Latvia, 250 from Lithuania, some 100 books from Estonia, and about 150 current periodical subscriptions from all three Baltic countries combined. During 2000 we expect to receive a number of new periodical subscriptions, including the Lithuanian monthly literary journal *Baltos lankos* (Vilnius), *Jerusalem of Lithuania* (a monthly about Vilnius's Jewish community), *Ekologija* (also from Vilnius), *Linguistica lettica* (Riga), and new semiotics and linguistics periodicals published by Tartu University. These acquisitions of current materials are regularly supplemented with purchases of important older publications, such as the weekly literary magazines from all three countries (the Baltic equivalents of the Russian *Literaturnaya gazeta*), which UW now holds from 1955 through 1991 on microfilm; and newspaper backfiles on microfilm, such as the Lithuanian daily *Lietuvos rytas* from 1990 to 1996.

As UW's Baltic Studies Program and the Library's Baltic collections have grown appreciably throughout the 1990s, numerous individuals both in the Seattle/Puget Sound Region and nationwide — have generously chosen to donate their personal collections of Baltic books and

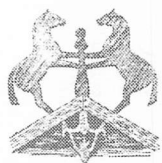
journals to UW. Many of these donations have been quite extensive, each numbering from 100 to 500 books. Typically, the contents of these gifts have been closely focused on the donor's particular Baltic interests. In this way the Library has rapidly gained good—in some cases even outstanding—retrospective strengths in Estonian émigré literature, Latvian and Lithuanian history (particularly as written by émigré historians), and Lithuanian art, folklore and ethnography.

Yet, unavoidably there remain significant retrospective lacunae in the Baltic collections. Lithuanian and Latvian folk songs and tales, and the Estonian folk epic, the Kalevipoeg, are still underrepresented in English translations; and even some important annotated, critical editions of these works in the original languages are absent from the collection. Also lacking is *Lietuviškoji enciklopedija*, the incomplete, 7-volume encyclopedia published from 1933 to 1939, providing a wealth of information about Lithuania unavailable elsewhere. The Library also hopes eventually to locate solid backfiles of important monthly and quarterly periodicals, such as the Lithuanian *Metai*, or the Estonian *Keel ja kirjandus* and *Looming*.

The most frequent users of the Baltic Studies collection are graduate students and faculty in the Program. Graduate students' interests have included ecological issues, Baltic-Russian trade and diplomatic relations, ethnic relations and issues of nationality, European integration, tourism, and contemporary Baltic literatures. Faculty specialize in language, literature and folklore; but, by virtue of the Program's small size, they must also keep current as Baltic studies generalists in all fields. In addition, members of the Baltic communities in the Seattle and Puget Sound area make frequent use of the Library's collection. The Library also regularly sends Baltic materials on interlibrary loan to users affiliated with university and public libraries throughout North America.

As ever, we encourage suggestions and requests from the Library's users for any titles not currently received. While the Library may not be able, for budgetary reasons, to act immediately on every request, the information that these

recommendations provide about users' priorities and research interests is invaluable, and often leads to adjustments in our acquisitions profile.



There have been challenges and these will doubtless continue. Throughout the 1990's, acquisitions of library materials from

Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union have often proven to be problematic. Occasionally our library partners undergo significant staff turnover or face funding crises which unavoidably interrupt supply lines to UW. Many postal systems in Eastern Europe have

not yet established lower-cost sea mail options or reduced rates for libraries and other non-profit organizations, such as exist in the U.S., and this forces suppliers to send books and journals at costly airmail rates. Finally, with the Baltic countries' eventual accession to the European Union and the likely convergence of Baltic economies with those of Western Europe, the cost of books and journals can be expected to increase beyond a level that the Library's current acquisitions budget can support.

The Library will continue actively developing its Baltic studies collection, which in the space of a busy decade has emerged from relative obscurity to

become one of the UW Libraries' distinguishing features. Acknowledging the synergy of a dynamic Baltic studies program and strong library holdings, Slavic and East European Section staff continue to nurture and support productive book and serial exchanges with partner libraries in the Baltics, to solicit gifts of retrospective materials from donors in North America, and to pursue the grant and donor funding opportunities that will make continued growth possible in the long term.

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

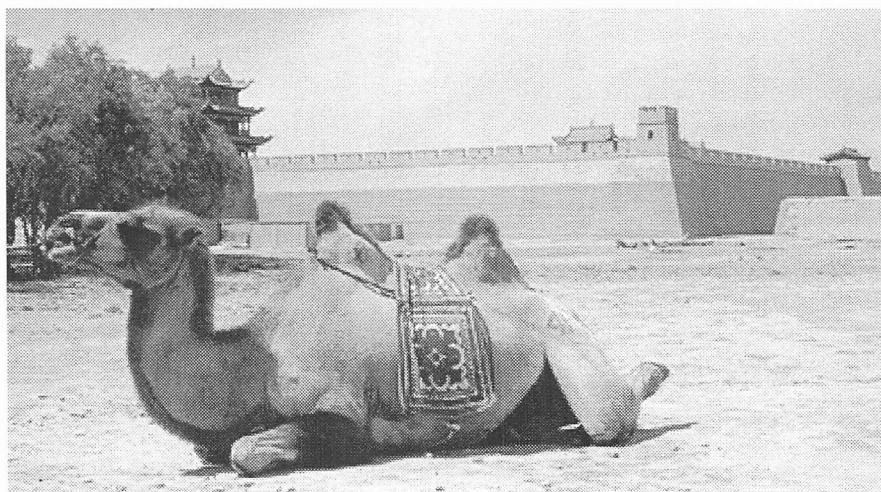
**Special thanks to Jake White for his assistance in providing the images used in this article.**

## The Challenges of Learning About the Silk Road: A Review Article

BY DANIEL C. WAUGH

A year ago, I offered for the first time an introductory-level survey on the "Silk Road." The scope was ambitious—some two thousand years of cultural and economic exchange across all of Eurasia. As might be expected, the results were mixed. The sections of the material I thought I knew least well may have been the more successful, precisely because the hardest preparatory work went into them. With book order time having arrived for the second incarnation of this course, I have been reviewing some recent publications, all of which should be of great interest to those who would teach or wish to learn about the Silk Road. Reading these books reminds one of the fascination of the subject but also the challenges of how to present it accessibly.

Perhaps the closest in spirit to what my course attempts is the ambitious survey by Richard C. Foltz, *Religions of the Silk Road: Overland Trade and Cultural Exchange from Antiquity to the Fifteenth Century* (New York: St. Martin's, 1999; 186 pp.). A specialist on Muslim culture, and in particular the cultural interactions between Central Asia and Mughal India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Foltz has read widely in the best



*A bactrian camel against the backdrop of the Ming fort at Jiayuguan, which controlled the Silk Road through the Gansu Corridor in western China. PHOTO © 1998 DANIEL C. WAUGH.*

secondary literature regarding other religious traditions and their spread in Asia. Foltz's response to the challenges of organizing so large a topic is to devote a chapter to each of the major religious traditions and to try to tie the material together by an introductory overview of the interaction between economic and cultural exchange, and then a concluding section on the ways in which the Mongols provided conditions that invited various

religions to compete. This approach has the advantage of offering a focused overview of the individual faiths. Its disadvantage is a certain amount of unavoidable repetition in order to provide a sequential account of historical development.

The attempt to compress the narrative into 144 pages of text forced the author to make some difficult choices regarding

*continued on page 6*

detail. My own choices would have been somewhat different. It seems to me that too many accounts of religion on the Silk Road devote undue space to faiths such

Buddhist art in locations such as Dunhuang and the azure-tiled glories of Timurid Samarqand. Without that visual material, I doubt that we can turn our

tance of Sufi religious leaders, the cultural role of Persian literature, and much more. While it would take some careful setting of the historical context for neophytes to this material (Foltz's helpful introduction and notes would need to be expanded), this text could well serve as an entrée for students to learn some of the really important issues of cultural and religious exchange in Inner Asia.

For those interested specifically in the early history of Christianity in Asia, Ian Gillman and Hans-Joachim Klimkeit's *Christians in Asia Before 1500* (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1999; 391 pp.) will be an invaluable resource. They have provided an up-to-date and scholarly survey, organized geographically, starting with the Holy Land and Christian origins, and then moving east. This approach has the additional advantage of allowing for an approximately chronological exposition.

Co-authored books can be uneven, however, and this is no exception. As the native English speaker, Prof. Gillman assumed overall editorial responsibilities, as well as writing the chapters dealing with all of the areas aside from Central Asia and China. Yet it is precisely these last chapters, by the late Prof. Klimkeit, which are the most successful. Gillman, especially, does what I continually remind my students to avoid—quoting copiously from summary statements by secondary authorities rather than figuring out how to say the same thing in his own words. The density and complexity of information for the history he is relating for the western parts of Asia seems to have defeated him; in the interest of making sure everything is mentioned, he ends up reducing some of it to little more than a rather dull catalogue. In some ways, Klimkeit's task is easier, since the thinness of the source base for the areas of his responsibility almost forces him to operate on a broader level of generalization. While he has contributed perhaps more than any other recent scholar to deepening our understanding of Christianity in Central Asia, here he has been able to stand back enough from the material to summarize it effectively. His use of primary source quotations is especially helpful.



The cloth market in the famous Silk Road city of Kashgar. PHOTO © 1995 DANIEL C. WAUGH

as Christianity and Manichaeism. Foltz's book is no exception, even though he himself admits that Christianity "left strangely little mark" after a millenium along the Silk Road (p. 137). One can argue, of course, that the kind of religious syncretism which can be illustrated by those examples serves very well to help us understand the complex cultural interactions in Eurasia. Yet this comes at the expense, in the given instance, of what I would consider to be an adequate treatment of Buddhism. In particular, the impact of Mahayana Buddhism is understated. Similarly, the importance of the Sufi orders in the expansion of Islam deserves more attention.

Foltz's book is accessible enough, but its compressed exposition too often reduces important topics to rather dry "sound-bites." While there are some illustrations, one laments their scarcity and quality. The ideal survey of religions on the Silk Road needs an accompanying CD-ROM (or Web site) containing a selection of primary source texts and abundant illustrations of the visual culture inspired by those faiths, ranging from the Bactrian cultural synthesis, so influenced by Classical traditions of the Mediterranean, to the stunning unbroken centuries of

students on to the subject, and make it really come alive.

While some might argue (wrongly, in my opinion) that their material falls outside the chronological scope of a "Silk Road" course, Foltz's other recent books in many ways provide a more stimulating contribution. *Mughal India and Central Asia* (Karachi, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1998; 190 pp.) develops a wide-ranging and persuasive picture of the importance of Central Asia for the Mughals, whose dynasty in India was founded in the sixteenth century by Babur, a native of Ferghana in present-day Uzbekistan. Particularly interesting are issues of Mughal identity, in which their Central Asian roots were invoked, and the continuing cultural interactions between the two regions.

Foltz has provided an especially valuable primary source attesting to that cultural exchange in his translation, *Conversations with Emperor Jahangir* by "Mutribi" *al-Asamm* of Samarqand (Costa Mesa, Ca.: Mesa Publishers, 1998; 98 pp.). Mutribi, an aging poet and scholar from Samarqand, visited the Mughal emperor in 1627; their conversations reveal Jahangir's intense interest in his Timurid ancestors and their shrines in Samarqand. The text offers insights into the impor-

For those interested in the processes by which peoples adopt a faith and the ways in which it may interact with pre-existing or competing beliefs and cultural practices, the book by Gillman and Klimkeit may come across as rather too "traditional." In part, of course, the explanation lies in their focus primarily on a single faith, but at times they seem simply to assume that evidence of its presence translates into its widespread acceptance. In contrast, Foltz's more ambitious purview almost forces him to be sensitive to the issues of syncretism and reflects some of the insights of cultural anthropology. In this regard, one can learn a great deal from the approach of Devin DeWeese in his dense and stimulating study, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde* (State College, Pa.: Penn. State Univ. Press, 1995; 638 pp.), a book which Foltz cites although curiously underutilizes.

For those who would wish to acquire a sense of the culture along the Silk Road, perhaps the most successful of the books under review is Susan Whitfield's *Life Along the Silk Road* (London: John Murray, 1999; 242 pp.). By confining her subject to the period 750-1000 CE and to the eastern part of the Silk Road, she is able to provide the kind of unity of focus so difficult to achieve in broader surveys. Religion is only part of her story; she is also very much interested in developing a picture of the social and economic context of people's daily lives. A specialist on Chinese History and the director of



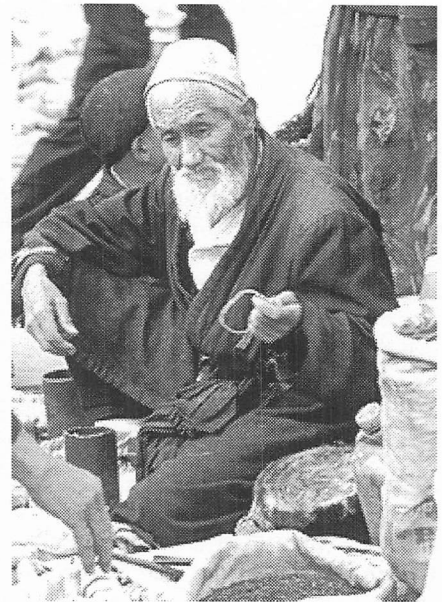
The famous French Sinologist, Paul Pelliot, reading by candle-light old manuscripts in the "library cave" no. 17, Mogao Caves, Dunhuang, China. This collection of manuscripts is a rich store of information for the history and culture of the Silk Road. Most are now in London and Paris, taken there by Aurel Stein and Paul Pelliot. Photo 1908 by Charles Nouette.

the International Dunhuang Project at the British Library (its URL is <http://idp.bl.uk/IDP/idp1.html>), she builds her narrative upon an extraordinary command of the archaeological, written and visual sources, and first-hand acquaintance with the natural environment of the region. Yet this is an un-footnoted text intended for the general reader, one in which she organizes her portraits of different Silk Road "types" around composite, semi-fictionalized individuals—a merchant, a princess, a military man, a nun, etc. A decent selection of illustrations, half of them striking color plates, enhances the narrative. To have this book in an inexpensive paperback (perhaps the forthcoming American edition by University of California Press?) would be a real boon for teachers.

Whitfield's biographies overlap to some degree, providing a chronological progression to the narrative, but at the same time contextual explanations force the author to do a fair amount of backtracking. It is possible that simply presenting thematic chapters as straight history would have been more effective. The fictionalized parts of the story often add little to our understanding, or simply lead to a dead-end. My sense is that while Whitfield is a good historian, her fictional constructs come across as somewhat artificial.

In many ways however, Whitfield's book reminds me of another successful popularization, Sally Hovey Wriggins's *Xuanzang: A Buddhist Pilgrim on the Silk Road* (Boulder, Co.: Westview, 1996). Wriggins re-tells the famous seventh-century Chinese monk's extraordinary pilgrimage to India, illustrating her narrative not only by quotations from him and his contemporary biographer but also with a series of excellent maps and well-chosen photographs and diagrams. While she stays comfortably within the limits of what the sources permit, she imaginatively describes the physical and cultural environment in ways that really draw us into the world of the "Silk Road." Perhaps her book's appeal is in part a reflection of the fact she is not herself a professional scholar.

Wriggins's book was one of the more successful readings I assigned my students a year ago. Contributing to that



A spice merchant in Kashgar.

PHOTO © 1996 DANIEL C. WAUGH

success is its unity of focus. It is likely that the only way to make such a huge subject as the Silk Road accessible to our students is to select relatively narrowly focused examples, around which we can build the larger themes. Where we run into problems is in trying to be too comprehensive, especially if that means compressing too much into what ends up being a dry catalogue of names. As Whitfield and Wriggins clearly understand, the cultural history of the Silk Road has a fascination and drama that should appeal to a very broad audience. While we need a variety of detailed scholarly studies in order to be able to write with confidence about the larger topic, we need to be equally concerned with cultivating the inquisitive learner. I can think of no better subject than the Silk Road to break down conceptual barriers to an understanding of the meaning human cultural interaction.

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# Living and Working in Kazakhstan

BY ZULFIYA LAFI

In June of 1993 I took a leave of absence from my graduate studies at REECAS, accepting what was to be a one-year assignment as the IREX representative in Almaty, Kazakhstan. It turned into six years of work, life and travel throughout the CIS, and a collection of memorable experiences — sometimes exciting, often bizarre, but always colorful.

IREX (International Research and Exchanges Board) is a non-profit organization, funded partially by the US government and partially by private sources, which specializes in providing grants to US scholars to do field research in Eastern Europe or the former Soviet Union. It also administers grants for research or graduate study in the US for scholars and college graduates from the countries of Eastern Europe and the CIS. Although IREX programs have existed for more than twenty-five years, under the old communist system the “exchange” was often a one-way street — with a very limited number of Soviet scholars (hand-picked and approved by the Soviet government) permitted to visit the US. IREX, and other similar Western organizations, had very little exposure outside of the major academic institutions in Moscow and Leningrad, and were virtually unheard of in the periphery, particularly in the non-Russian republics of the Soviet Union.

With the breakdown of the communist system, as well as the breakup of the Soviet Union, IREX has ventured into areas previously off-limit, opening offices in Russia’s periphery as well as newly independent states in the Baltics, the Caucasus and Central Asia. That is why it was a particularly exciting assignment to be one of the first IREX representatives in the newly formed states, and to be able to offer, for the first time, educational and research opportunities based on open and equal competition. My task was to set up and manage the IREX offices and Educational Advising Centers not only in Almaty, but also in Bishkek, Kirghyzstan (I managed both offices with the local staff for the first year, until we got another permanent expatriate representative in Bishkek).

The outreach lectures and recruitment activities were some of the most challenging and exciting parts of the job, involving extensive travel not only to various parts of Kazakhstan, but also throughout Central Asia and Azerbaijan. In addition to educational grants, we organized a number of professional exchanges, such as parliamentary exchanges with Kazakhstan, a program for Kirghyz city administration officials, as well as various programs for NGO’s. One of the highlights of my work was organizing the Central Asian participation at a high-level international conference on economic cooperation between the US, China and the countries of Central Asia. The conference was held in Urumchi, China, in August of 1995 (our own Professor Ellison was one of its key organizers).

I found the experience of working in Central Asia immensely rewarding. The many fascinating contacts made through the course of my work — from high level government officials to prominent scholars, artists and writers — has been an experience in its own right. What I found most rewarding, however, was being able to meet and make contact with young people, such as college graduates applying for fellowships, coming to our centers for educational advising or attending our outreach lectures. Though the initial reaction to our programs was often one of mistrust and suspicion (it was difficult for many to believe that our competition was fair and open to all, and not just to the “well-connected” few as it had been in the past), it was rewarding to see the change in attitudes and the building of trust as time passed, and the first finalists began receiving grants and leaving for the US on research and study programs.

As the interest in our programs grew, however, it often became frustrating to realize that what we could offer was not nearly enough to meet the demand. USIA-funded fellowships were limited to a relatively small number available for each of the CIS countries, and USIA funding for these programs was further cut by the US Congress a few years ago.

In addition, the high local unemployment rate, and low pay for existing jobs made it difficult for returning program graduates to find suitable employment. The best paying and most desirable positions for young graduates continue to be jobs with foreign companies and embassies — which results in an underutilization of young talent for the benefit of their own countries. Unfortunately, very few local companies or governmental organizations can offer competitive employment opportunities to attract talented young professionals. Economic and political realities are far from encouraging, even for the highly qualified and employable.

My two and a half years working for IREX, followed by over three years in a management position at one of the large American corporation affiliates in Kazakhstan, provided me with a unique opportunity to view and experience life in the area from two very different perspectives: the academic world and the world of business. As someone intimately familiar with life under the Soviet system, it has been particularly fascinating to observe and experience the many changes taking place. In the relatively short period of six years I have lived through several currency changes and numerous changes of the government, the arrival of commercial banks, credit cards and the Internet, production of the first local TV soap-opera, and the move of the Kazakh capital. Through all of these changes, however, much has remained the same.

This is particularly evident in the enduring “Soviet” attitudes toward foreigners, reflected particularly in official policies, despite enormously increased exposure to Westerners and other foreigners through political, business and cultural contacts. On the one hand, there is a welcome change in the freedom of making personal contacts with people, who, particularly in the larger cities, are quite relaxed about meeting and making friends with foreigners and inviting them to their homes without fear of retribution. On the other hand, the official policies still apply different treatment to foreigners,

with special fares for hotels, airfare, housing or medical care (about ten times as high as what locals are charged — even for the same services), stringent customs and visa regulations, and a general tendency to “take the ‘reach’ foreigners for all they have got”. This is particularly evident in provincial towns removed from the more cosmopolitan Almaty, where foreigners are still a rare sight. I have literally chilling recollections of being put up in the freezing marble monstrosity of the “Intourist” hotel in Karaganda, and later again in Osh, where my American colleague and myself were the only guests. The huge ice palace had impressive artwork, majestic marble columns and staircases - but no heat or hot water in the middle of the winter. We slept fully dressed, wearing socks and hats, and on sheets that felt like they just came out of the freezer. There was a much more humble, but quite adequate (and heated!) local hotel nearby, but we were not allowed to stay anywhere but in the special hotel for foreigners — where we were charged exorbitant prices suitable to our “status”.

More disturbingly, the ‘enduring qualities’ of the old system are becoming increasingly evident throughout the government. Despite the rhetoric of democracy, a tendency to return to the old autocratic system is evident in the governments not only in Uzbekistan or Turkmenistan, known for their autocratic rulers, but in Kazakhstan as well. Interestingly enough, the majority of the government officials in high positions, even of the younger generation, are of the “old guard”, most of them former communists or active Komsomol leaders (a tendency shared by many other Central Asian and CIS governments). Most, such as the former Kazakh Prime-Minister Kazhgeldin, who used to be chief of the KGB in Soviet Kazakhstan, are rather proud of the fact. The present state security organization, renamed KNB, is largely staffed by former KGB apparatchiks — no doubt valued for their experience. President Nazarbaev, a charismatic leader well-versed in democratic vocabulary, seems to be slipping more and more into the role of an

autocratic leader, accumulating increasingly more personal power and effectively suppressing any political or civil opposition in the government or the society in general.

Although Kazakhstan definitely enjoys a much more open and free society in comparison with neighboring Uzbekistan, for instance, the trends are rather disturbing. Corruption and nepotism in the government are an open secret, and the effects on the economy are quite destructive. On the local level, independent small and medium-sized businesses are practically non-existent, the existing private businesses are heavily controlled by the mafia and/or the government (which is often one and the same). Even the smallest private operations, such as the food kiosks or newspaper stalls, are controlled and periodically raided by racketeers collecting their ‘dues’. The price for not paying dues ranges from having your business torched (several large restaurants as well as the largest pharmacy in the center of Almaty were burnt to the ground just in the last years — with little or no police intervention), and even more gruesome consequences. Governmental policies of heavy taxation and unavailability of low-interest credits do little to encourage prospective businessmen. There is very little, if any, local production of any kind. Existing “businesses” are limited to the service sector, or the trading of foreign goods. Some official imports from Europe are prohibitively expensive, but most are smuggled into the country illegally. Any local or foreign company trying to produce locally would have a hard time competing with contraband goods, since the cost of production in addition to taxes (which the contraband traders do not pay) inevitably makes the price of locally — and legally — produced goods much higher.

It should be pointed out that Kazakhstan still probably offers a more beneficial environment for foreign investment than most other CIS countries, including Russia, and undoubtedly enjoys considerably more stability — political and social, as well as financial (experts, both local

and foreign, have claimed that Russian banking crisis had little or no effect on Kazakhstan’s banking system). Kazakhstan has vast natural resources, particularly in oil and gas, which puts the country in a particularly beneficial position for economic growth. Whether or not these benefits are successfully utilized, however, depends largely on the direction of the political process. Even under the most beneficial conditions, transition to democracy and a free-market economy in Kazakhstan, as in other CIS countries, is going to be an uphill battle for years — and possibly decades — to come.

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# Russian Regional Update

BY VLADIMIR RASKIN

The end of the year 1999 and the beginning of the year 2000 were marked by four major events in Russia's political life: (1) the intensification of military activities in Chechnya; (2) the December Duma elections; (3) the sudden resignation of President Boris Yeltsin on New Year's Eve; and (4) the subsequent start of the presidential election campaign in January.

The war in Chechnya has caused an enormous humanitarian tragedy bordering on catastrophe in the region. The Chechen events have brought about increased critical attention from the West, as well as rising diplomatic pressure on Russia to stop the excessive use of force in the region. Russia, however, despite the danger of international isolation and in the face of possible expulsion from the Council of Europe, has paid little attention to the world's reaction. On the contrary, Russia has continued her military attack on Grozny and other rebel strongholds in the region. There are two reasons why Russia has turned a deaf ear to the international outcry. First, politically, the war has boosted Prime Minister Vladimir Putin's ratings and has made him the most popular politician in several years. It has also helped Putin's political bloc, "Unity," in the Duma election campaign. Second, economically, Russia has been able to afford the war due to the two-fold increase of oil prices in 1999 as well as the limited reinvigoration of the Russian economy in 1999. The last events in Chechnya have shown the determination of Russia's leadership to destroy rebel detachments before they are willing to consider any kind of a political solution in the region. Lately, Chechen forces have turned to guerilla tactics in a war that Russia will not be able to win by pure military means. Therefore, the impact of the Chechen situation on Russia's political future remains far from clear, as well as disturbing.

One might call the results of the December 1999 Duma elections a "quiet revolution." For the first time in modern Russian history, the Communist Party, which has managed to retain the largest (24%) faction in the Duma, will not be

able to form a majority in the Russian Parliament. The surprising success of the recently created pro-government moderate right bloc Unity (22%), along with the success of other centrist (Fatherland-All Russia, 12%), and liberal parties and blocs (Union of Right Forces, 9% and Yabloko, 6%), have created the pre-conditions to form a much more constructive and reform-oriented Duma than ever before.

There is no question that the Duma elections have marked a victory for democratic electoral processes in Russia and, one hopes, a demonstration of the strength of the reform-minded, centrist parties. The recent alliance between Putin and the Communist Party, resulting in the election of a Communist Speaker of the new Duma, shocked the West as well as many within Russia. However, the choice may have been a pragmatic one, born of the desire to overcome the roadblocks that the Communist Party had thrown up in order to prevent any parliamentary progress during the whole of the Yeltsin era.

Boris Yeltsin's dramatic resignation has given Prime Minister Putin a headstart in the upcoming presidential elections, to be held on March 26. Two months prior to the election date, Putin enjoyed a 45% approval rating, which is far more than any other contender can hope to win. There is much to be learned about Putin's political leanings and willingness to enact serious political and economic reform. However, there is reason to believe that Vladimir Putin, if elected president, will continue economic reform as well as further stabilization of Russia's political life. Putin has democratic credentials and experience in working with the liberal movement in the post-Soviet era. In addition, Putin earned the respect and confidence of Boris Yeltsin, so much so that Yeltsin chose to resign and put Russia in the hands of his heir apparent. It is unwise to believe he would have left Russia to someone willing to turn back the clock that Yeltsin himself had helped to start.

Before we move entirely into the post-Yeltsin era, it is important to evaluate

Yeltsin's role in modern Russian history. Historians and political scientists have not yet begun a serious assessment of Yeltsin's enormous political legacy. Whatever that assessment may say about Yeltsin and his influence on Russian society — not to mention his popularity, or lack thereof, with the Russian populace — Yeltsin was undeniably committed to the evolution of a stable, democratic Russia. Yeltsin's main accomplishments — and they are many — can be briefly listed here, and provide a sense of Yeltsin's tremendous role in post-Soviet Russia: (1) he provided a powerful force and face to the democratic opposition that led to the collapse of the Communist Party's hold on power, and, ultimately, the peaceful break-up of the Soviet Union in 1991; (2) he began a process of political and economic reform that, however flawed or slow-moving at times, has enabled Russia to move away from its Communist past, and which appears to be inexorably moving forward; (3) he set the stage for a remarkable flourishing of freedom of speech and the media, and an ever-strengthening civil society and non-profit sector in Russia; and (4) as the first democratically-elected President of Russia, Yeltsin also embodied the irreversibility of the reform process, in the face of much criticism and anti-reform sentiment among both government bodies and the populace.

As former Prime Minister Yegor Gaidar said in his recent visit to the University of Washington to promote his memoir, "President Yeltsin was the greatest leader in the thousand-year history of Russia." Dr. Gaidar, one of the leaders of the liberal Union of Right Forces and a renowned economist, made several public appearances and held private meetings with Seattle business, university and community leaders during his two-day visit to Seattle. Dr. Gaidar remains an important political figure in Russia. His visit certainly stimulated public awareness and boosted our community's attention to Russia and her role in the modern world.

**Vladimir Raskin is a Research Associate in the Jackson School of International Studies.**

# History Repeats Itself: The War in Chechnya

BY VJERAN PAVLAKOVIC



The conflict in the breakaway Russian republic of Chechnya has continued well into the year 2000 despite the boastful claims of some Russian generals that the Chechen rebels would be defeated by January. The Russians were able to capture the capital of Chechnya, Grozny, on 1 February with fewer casualties than they suffered in repeated assaults against the city in the previous war, which lasted from 1994 until 1996. The current conflict has entered a new phase, as the Chechens have vowed to wage a guerrilla war against the occupying Russian forces from their strongholds in the Caucasus Mountains in southern Chechnya.

The roots of the current war in this independence seeking republic lie in unresolved issues from the 1994-96 conflict, which ended with the signing of the Kasavlyurt Accords and left the political status of Chechnya unresolved until further talks scheduled for 2001. In the years following Kasavlyurt, lawlessness increased in Chechnya and it became clear that the Chechen president, Aslan

Maskhadov, was unable to control the various warlords and their armed formations who operated on Chechen territory. The kidnapping and murder of foreigners, weapon and drug smuggling, and most importantly (from Russia's perspective) the siphoning of oil from the pipeline running through Chechnya, characterized the level of anarchy in the republic. These factors, combined with a lack of economic aid and considerable corruption in Russia itself, prevented any significant reconstruction of the damage from the previous war and the development of a stable political system, giving the Russian leadership plenty of reasons to invade and "restore

order." More importantly, the Russian military was eager to restore its prestige after the humiliation suffered in 1994-96.

The invasion of Dagestan in August 1999 by militants from Chechnya wanting to establish a republic under Islamic law (*sharia*) was a suitable pretext to renew the conflict within Chechnya itself. Once the Chechens and their Dagestani allies were expelled in September 1999, the Russian military began bombing suspected training camps in Chechnya. A series of apartment explosions throughout Russia in August and September, which left approximately 300 people dead, were blamed on the Chechens and ensured public support for the campaign declared by the new Prime Minister, Vladimir V. Putin, against Chechen "terrorists." However, top Chechen field commanders Shamil Basayev and Ibn-ul-Khattab have repeatedly denied involvement in the apartment bombings, and there is speculation that they were in fact carried out by Russian security services to justify the invasion. While the fighting in

Dagestan and the apartment bombings have served as reasons for the present conflict, in January former Prime Minister Sergei V. Stepashin revealed that the Kremlin had planned renewed operations against Chechnya as early as March 1999.

Russian troops were able to occupy with relative ease the northern third of Chechnya after the initial invasion in late September 1999. The area north of the Terek River is flat and contains a population that has traditionally been pro-Russian, two factors which contributed to the quick Russian victories. While it was initially believed that the Russians might try and hold their positions along the Terek and simply create a security zone around the breakaway republic, by late October Russian forces once again pushed south in an attempt to encircle Grozny, which has little strategic value but is important symbolically. The Russians used more caution and overwhelming force in their assault in order to not repeat the costly mistakes of their attacks on Grozny in 1994-96, when battle hardened Chechen fighters with rocket propelled grenades annihilated Russian armored columns unable to maneuver in the urban war zone. Grozny, with an estimated 10,000 to 40,000 civilians (from a pre-war population of 400,000) was subjected to an aerial and artillery bombardment for almost four months as the Russians attempted to weaken the defenses (or force a surrender) before launching a ground attack.

Russia's use of indiscriminate force against civilian targets has drawn criticism from the West, although the international community has not gone so far as to impose sanctions for human rights violations. In addition to numerous non-combatant casualties resulting from the aerial bombing, artillery strikes, and rocket attacks, human rights organizations have accused Russian forces of summary executions, looting, and rounding up all Chechen males between 10 and 60 years of age, taken to filtration camps where further abuses have allegedly been administered. The Russian government has generally ignored all Western

criticism, despite visits from the chairman of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) and the president of the Council of Europe. Putin, who took over as acting president of Russia on January 1, 2000, has also dismissed calls for talks with the Chechen leadership, claiming that President Maskhadov does not have control over all Chechen forces and thus does not represent a legitimate negotiator.

The Russian military has further violated international law by detaining journalists on numerous occasions and preventing them from reporting from the war zone, particularly after the media questioned the official military casualty figures. In early February 2000 the Russian Defense Ministry finally acknowledged that over 1,100 troops had been killed since August, although many analysts still believe this figure is an underestimate. The fate of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty reporter Andrei M. Babitsky, who was captured by Russian troops while driving out of Grozny, was a mystery for over a month after allegedly being released to Chechen rebels by the Russians who said they could no longer "guarantee his safety." After Putin's personal involvement into the case, Babitsky was released from a prison in Dagestan (where he was being held for traveling with a forged passport) with stories of abuse at the hands of Russian prison guards he referred to as "sadists."

Even though in this type of war it is often difficult to distinguish Chechen militants from civilians, Russia's excessively brutal tactics have resulted in a fight not against only terrorists but against all of the Chechen people, as well as the complete destruction of the infrastructure and economy (that little of which was left intact from the previous war). This was made explicit in November when the Russian presidential representative to Chechnya, Nikolai Koshman, stated that Grozny was not going to be rebuilt (implying that the assault was going to be

no holds barred) and that Gudermes was to be designated as the new capital.

By the end of January, every major town had fallen to Russian forces except for Grozny, which the Chechens intended to hold only to inflict as many casualties as possible on the Russians. After the death of several top commanders, the Chechen rebels withdrew to the south, allowing Russian troops to take control of Grozny in the first week of February. The Russian military is currently focusing its attacks on the Chechen strongholds in the Caucasus mountains, which have been subjected to airstrikes since December. There the terrain is even less suitable to Russian armored units than the streets of Grozny, and it will be difficult to dislodge the Chechens from their bases in the southern highlands. Furthermore, the Chechens have shown that they are capable of carrying out large-scale attacks behind the front lines, such as the raids on Shali, Argun, and Gudermes (all of which were believed to be fully under Russian control) in mid-January.

With the prospect of a full-blown guerrilla war, as declared by President Maskhadov on 10 February (and subsequently dismissed as only talk by Russian military officials), it is unlikely that peace will come to Chechnya anytime soon. Even if the Russians are able to achieve a military victory (which is quite possible considering the relentless drive of Russian forces into rebel controlled gorges and the use of heavier bombs by Russian aircraft), the campaign in Chechnya is not going to create any long-term stability in the North Caucasus. The latest war is a chilling replay of every Russian attempt to subdue the Chechens since the Russians began a large-scale conquest of the region at the end of the 18th century. Even though the Russians have crushed all Chechen uprisings (the most famous lasting from 1840-1859, under the leadership of Imam Shamil) and have even deported the entire population to Central Asia in 1944, the Chechens have

stubbornly retained their national consciousness and their Islamic faith; if anything, the two hundred years of conflict with Russia have strengthened this faith. Even the rhetoric used by the Soviet authorities and the current Russian government is identical; in 1925, 1944, and 1999 Russian officials justified military invasions by stating they were "removing bandit elements" and "liquidating banditry." Calling members of the elected Chechen government "bandits" is ironic, considering that the leader of the Chechen militia fighting as Russia's ally, Bislan Gantamirov, was a convicted embezzler released from federal prison in the early days of the war. Putin's recent suggestion that Chechen children be sent to other republics for education is disturbingly similar to Stalin's attempts at crushing Chechen resistance.

Unless the Russian government intends to exterminate the entire Chechen population, it is more than likely that resistance to Russian rule will develop again in the future, and the Chechens killed in this war will serve as martyrs for the next generation. However, it does not appear probable that the Russians are going to alter their tactics and try to negotiate a settlement, since Putin has firmly declared that he "will not tolerate any humiliation to the national pride of Russia or any threat to the integrity of the country." Whatever the actual situation on the ground, the Russian government is going to try and portray this campaign as victorious at least until the presidential elections in March, since Putin has achieved the level of his popularity based on his tactics in Chechnya. Unfortunately, neither Russia nor Chechnya will be winners in this brutal conflict.

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## COMMENTARY

# Gaidar, Russia and China

BY KAZIMIERZ Z. POZNANSKI

When Yegor Gaidar joined the Yeltsin government to manage the Russian economy as a “young reformer”, it needed reform, and badly. The economy recently inherited from the Soviet Union was already in decline, and prices were getting out of control. Gaidar chose to follow the so-called “shock therapy” program that another group of “young reformers” from Poland, led by Leszek Balcerowicz, had already tried. As a result of shock therapy the Poles had faced a sharp decline in production, so there was a risk that if Russia followed the same path, an even worse decline might result. It did. Russia went into a tailspin, and nine years later, the poor economy keeps getting poorer. It is now reduced to half of its Communist-era potential, with an unstable, unreliable currency, as well as up to a 30 percent rate of unemployment. So Gaidar has a problem: how are people going to look at his legacy? Is he the reformer who tried but was prevented from implementing his “package”, or is it his program that actually introduced and opened the long road to halving the economy?



Yegor Gaidar

As an economist, Gaidar feels that a big part of the blame lies with the Soviet Union having demanded so much unnecessary production of products such as tractors and tanks, that had to be cut once the market took the place of the state. But it is hard to imagine that the Soviets

would have tolerated this much useless production, or even allowed it without their knowledge. Besides, if with all this waste Russia was able to maintain production at twice the current level, it is hard to argue that the current decline can be traced to unnecessary production in the past. One cannot likewise close an eye to the fact that, beyond tractors and tanks, both the agricultural and weapons markets are depressed. So it could be that there are fewer such goods not so much because they are not needed, but because after “shock therapy” and the overall demise of the economy, there is nobody to buy them (peasants are too poor to buy, and the military itself runs without money to buy “hardware”).

When one thinks of Russia and its fate today, another large country usually comes to mind — China, also “red” in the past, but as Russia changing its colors. Like Russia China has been in transition to capitalism, but unlike Russia it

has achieved incredible economic growth. The comparison is most revealing. In 1980 the Soviet Union had a national product worth more than 550 billion dollars, while China had 320 billion dollars. In 1999, Russia had only 290 billion dollars, while China showed 950 billion dollars in national income. So Russia is chasing China backwards, and one wonders how the picture is going to look ten years from now. This contrast should serve as a kind of intellectual “shock therapy” for those thinking and writing about transition in general, and Russia in particular. To Gaidar, Russia’s relative decline is due to the fact that Russia is less rural than China, and it is easier to reform rural countryside than urban industry. End of story; no other variable to consider.

This is slightly problematic argument, particularly to an economist like myself, for there is no piece of Western theory on which this kind of argument can be based, nor is it easy to figure out why this variable should play such a critical role. Even if it were easier to reform rural production, one would expect that less-rural Russia would simply grow more slowly than more-rural China, but only the latter showed growth. There is no way this factor could account for the Russian economy declining rapidly while China grew exponentially; there must be some other factor, or factors, at play. One hypothesis is that in Russia the state spiraled into its own crisis, so the economy was mismanaged and the market had no chance to settle in. This is in contrast to China, where the state remained strong and was committed to introducing the market, and markets were thus given a chance to overtake the economy. The lesson for “young reformers” might be that if you want markets, you have to at least appreciate the state. Otherwise, while steering towards capitalism you may end up in a sort of feudalism, as Dick Erickson describes today’s Russian economy.

**Kazimierz Z. Poznanski, Professor in the Jackson School of International Studies, is the author of *Poland’s Protracted Transition: Institutional Change and Economic Growth, 1970-1994* (Cambridge University Press, 1997). His *The Failure of Transition: Privatization Through Expropriation* is forthcoming.**

# Balkan Regional Update

BY SABRINA P. RAMET

## Croatia

The best news in the post-Yugoslav area comes from Croatia where, following the death of President Franjo Tuđman in December, a center-left coalition has come to power, ending a decade of controversial rule by the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ). As charges of corruption, nepotism, cronyism, and election-fixing piled up, with Tuđman even caught red-handed fixing local soccer matches, people became increasingly fed up. Meanwhile, in summer 1999, the Social Democrats (led by Ivica Račan) signed a coalition pact with the Social Liberals (led by Dražen Budiša).

The coalition won the parliamentary elections on January 3, and Ivica Račan, who had led Croatia from 1986-90 in his capacity as head of the League of Communists of Croatia, was sworn in as prime minister. In one of his first statements as prime minister, 55-year-old Račan promised drastic personnel changes in the Ministry of Internal Affairs; he also declared, in an interview with the Vienna newspaper, *Die Presse*, that his government would welcome the return of all refugees (including Serbs).

Meanwhile, the first round of the presidential election was scheduled for January 24. Mate Granić, the HDZ candidate, had been considered the favorite prior to January 3, but Račan's parliamentary victory changed the political climate. Granić placed third among nine candidates in the first round, leaving the two top finishers — Račan's coalition partner, Budiša, and 65-year-old Stipe Mesić, the candidate of a coalition of four small parties — to go into the second round on February 7.

Mesić had been seen as a "long shot" when he had first entered the race, but after his first place finish in the first round (with 41.11 percent of the vote), he was understood to be the frontrunner. Mesić in fact went on to win the second

round with a decisive 55 per cent of the final vote. The last president of socialist Yugoslavia and the first premier (as an HDZ member) of independent Croatia, Mesić had left the HDZ in 1994 to protest Tuđman's policies vis-à-vis Bosnia-Herzegovina. This was only one of a number of demonstrations of Mesić's integrity.

Now, in the wake of these changes, the Zagreb weekly newspaper *Nacional* has begun to reveal some of the ways in which Tuđman's HDZ (now in a state of rapid decay) transferred state funds to HDZ coffers, undermined the economy, and falsified election results.

## Macedonia

Macedonia has likewise seen the passing of the scepter. 82-year-old Kiro Gligorov, who had served two five-year terms as president of the republic, decided to retire from politics at the end of 1999; Gligorov, a bit of an outsider in the communist era, had no nationalist axe to grind and is widely credited with having steered Macedonia toward international acceptance, in the face of initial resistance from EU-member Greece.

Six candidates contested the October 31 elections, with none of them obtaining a majority. The two top vote-getters — Boris Trajkovski of the ruling IMRO-Democratic Party for Macedonia Unity, and Tito Petkovski of the opposition Social Democratic Union — advanced to the run-off on November 14, but voting irregularities at 230 of the country's 2,793 polling stations led to the nullification of the results. In the repeat vote on December 5, Trajkovski, a mild-mannered Methodist fluent in English, came from behind to notch a 52.8 per cent victory.

Among Trajkovski's first moves were to make an overture to Greece and to offer his support for the idea of separate Montenegrin membership in the UN. Trajkovski flew to Brussels in early

February to discuss an agreement on association with the EU.

## Serbia

By comparison with Croatia and Macedonia, which have taken some decisive strides in the direction of consolidating liberal democratic systems, Serbia continues to sink deeper into chaos, with a rash of murders of prominent figures, including paramilitary leader Željko "Arkan" Raznjatović on January 15 and Pavle Bulatović, federal Minister of Defense, on February 7. Meanwhile, opposition parties have tried yet again to mend their fences, pledging to eject Milošević from power before the year is out.

Some 64.5 per cent of Serbs are said to be living below the poverty line; the average monthly salary in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (of which Serbia is a part) is just \$50. The 12 years of Milošević's rule have seen a dramatic contraction of the Serbian economy — due in part to the UN embargo and to the NATO aerial campaign in spring 1999 (in which 500 persons are estimated to have lost their lives), but in part also to the costs of war and to the economic distortions produced by a system in which Milošević and his closest allies have become very rich.

Tallying up the objective factors at work in Serbia, it would certainly appear that Milošević's days' are numbered. But Milošević has defied the odds before. Ultimately, however, the present political formula has become highly unstable, and a sense of crisis, coupled with a growing expectation of change, will exert a pressure on the system until a new equilibrium is reached. It is hard to imagine that any new equilibrium can be reached as long as Milošević is in power.

Sabrina Ramet is a Professor in the Jackson School of International Studies.

# Fourteen Months in Bosnia

BY PHILIP LYON

When considering the events of the past 13 months in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), one might as well focus on what *did not happen* as on what happened in the country, for both considerations have profound implications for Bosnia's future. There were several salient events, such as the announcement of a final decision on the status of disputed Brčko; the struggle between the Office of the High Representative (OHR) and Republika Srpska president Nikola Poplašen; and the assignment of a new High Representative. Other events that occurred outside of Bosnia's borders will no doubt influence the country. These include the death of Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and the recent election of Stipe Mesić, the NATO war against Serbia over Kosovo, and the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) indictments of Slobodan Milošević and Željko Ražnjatović, a.k.a. "Arkan." The lack of significant progress in refugee returns and the failure to arrest prominent war criminals are tremendously significant as non-events of 1999, for they impede Bosnia's becoming a "normal" country.

At the ICTY, Louise Arbour was succeeded by Swiss Attorney General Carla del Ponte as the UN's chief war crimes prosecutor. Del Ponte favors more aggressive pursuit of accused war criminals. There was incremental progress in this regard. Several accused war criminals were arrested in 1999, including the Bosnian Serb general who oversaw the siege of Sarajevo. However, the majority of the indicted remain at large, including such "big fish" as Radovan Karadžić and Ratko Mladić. The arrest of war criminals

is in the interest of all ethnicities of the former Yugoslavia. Such arrests are necessary to replace the stain of collective, national guilt with the legitimate guilt of those who performed atrocities in the name of nationalism.

NATO's air campaign did not lead to the confrontations between Serbs and SFOR that many had feared. However, the Republika Srpska leadership publicly opposed the bombing and tensions did rise in the RS. The conflict was particularly disruptive of BiH's economy, which remains aid-addicted and unstructured. As a result of the conflict over Kosovo, Bosnia found itself in the unfamiliar role of a destination for 40,000 refugees.

It is perhaps the outlook for refugee returns that gives the bleakest picture of Bosnia. Refugee return is also the principle litmus test for Bosnians' desire or ability to live in a multiethnic country. According to UNHCR estimates, "over 330,000 refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina are still in need of a durable solution. Within Bosnia, up to 836,000 people remain displaced from their pre-conflict homes (490,000 in the Federation and 346,000 in Republika Srpska). An estimated 110,000 Bosnian refugees and 30,000 displaced persons had returned to, and within Bosnia in 1998. Only some 41,000 minority returns took place in 1998, and some 3,000 in 1999."<sup>1</sup>

So on the one hand there has been incremental progress in Bosnia. War criminals are gradually being arrested, refugees are trickling back to their homes, and the new government in Croatia looks set to respect Bosnia's autonomous existence. In November, the members of Bosnia's

three-man presidency presented the New York Declaration before the UN Security Council, where they reaffirmed their commitment to the fulfillment of the goals of the Dayton Accords. However, the presidency members quickly began to retreat from their statement and, in fact, made a point of not having signed the document. Internal dissent has always characterized the Bosnian government and apparently will continue. On January 25, Bosnian co-premier Haris Silajdzic called for a revision of the Dayton Peace Agreement, which, he said, had failed to achieve its basic objectives. Whether or not Silajdzic meets with success in his initiative remains to be seen. However it is clear that certain things simply need to happen. Indicted war criminals, especially Mladic and Karadzic, must be more aggressively pursued. Refugees must be allowed to return to their homes. Where the international community today has the responsibility of implementing the DPA, it should also be given the authority to enforce the accords, instead of having to rely on a reluctant SFOR. The international presence in Bosnia cannot endure indefinitely, so the international community must find the resolve to implement the Dayton agreement, or the courage to alter it.

**Philip Lyon completed his M.A. in history at the University of Washington in 1999. He currently works in the European Union Center at the University of Washington.**

1. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Available at [www.unhcr.ch/world/euro/bosnia.html](http://www.unhcr.ch/world/euro/bosnia.html).

## INTERNATIONAL UPDATES: TRENDS AND TRANSITIONS IN YOUR WORLD

SPONSORED BY THE JACKSON SCHOOL OUTREACH CENTERS (INCLUDING REECAS) AND THE CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS EDUCATION AND RESEARCH

**5:30 - 8:00 pm**

**Kane Hall, Walker-Ames Room**

Cost for each dinner/lecture is \$22. Clock hours are available at no additional charge for teachers who attend at least two updates.

Registration and information: 543-1675, or e-mail

[cwes@u.washington.edu](mailto:cwes@u.washington.edu).

*Remaining winter and spring events include:*

**March 8**

**Stephen Hanson** (Associate Professor, Political Science), *Russia Between Elections*

**March 29**

**Frank Conlon** (Professor, History and International Studies), *Faith and Friction: Religion Confronts Modernity/Modernity Confronts Religion*

**April 12**

**Marjorie Muecke** (Professor, Psychosocial and Community Health), *Disease as a Social Force: AIDS, Economics and Families in Thailand*

**April 26**

**David Bachman** (Chair, China Studies Program, JSIS), *China Watching in the Year 2000*

**May 10**

**Daniel Hart** (Director, Native Voices, The Center for Indigenous Media), *Telling Our Stories Ourselves: Indigenous Media in Canada*

*Other speakers this year have included:*

**Debra Glassman**

(February 2, International Business)

**Resat Kasaba**

(February 9, Middle East)

**Terri Givens**

(March 1, Western Europe)

## Spring Outreach Report

BY JACOB KALTENBACH

As Assistant Director and Outreach Coordinator since only December, I am excited and challenged by the breadth of outreach events, seminar speakers and conferences sponsored by this center. It is a great pleasure to play a role in the continued success of REECAS programs, and to help develop new initiatives drawing on the resources available to us at the UW and in the Northwest.

The annual REECAS Northwest Conference is a vital forum for developing these resources and enhancing cooperation across the region. This year's conference will take place on Saturday, April 22, at the University of Washington Tacoma. Panel topics range from developments in the Russian Far East and former Yugoslavia to media and politics, human rights and economic transition in Eastern Europe. Other panels address constructions of national identity, responses to

environmental catastrophes in Central Asia and Ukraine, and East German history.

Confirmed presenters include Ellen Mickiewicz from Duke University (who will subsequently deliver the Treadgold Lecture on April 24 in Seattle), Kazimierz Poznanski, Sabrina Ramet, Chris Jones, Vladimir Raskin and Kurt Engelmann (all University of Washington Seattle), Joanna Poznanska (Seattle Pacific University), Ian Sethre (University of Minnesota), Andrew Milton (Northern Arizona University) and Olexander Hryb (BBC Ukrainian Service). UW Seattle graduate students Philip Lyon, Vjeran Pavlakovic, Nina Wichmann and Julie Broome will also contribute. An open roundtable, chaired by our host at Tacoma, Professor William Richardson, has been scheduled on the subject of study abroad programs in the REECA regions. Faculty, staff, graduate

students and members of the general public are all invited to register for the conference at no cost. We are pleased to offer "free lunch" to registered participants, and the Port of Tacoma will host a wine and cheese reception at the end of the day. Please see the separate announcement and registration form.

Screenings of new additions to the REECAS outreach video collection commenced February 16 with the presentation by director Peter Davis of his video *Black Sea Voyage of Healing*, which chronicles a circumnavigation of the Black Sea, visiting Georgia, Russia, Ukraine, Romania, Bulgaria and Turkey in search of solutions to the region's ecological, economic and spiritual problems. Later in the spring we hope that Professor Herb Ellison will present and discuss two BBC films — for which he served as a consultant — on Boris

Yeltsin and the Yeltsin era. The post-video Q&A sessions are intended as a forum to discuss the topic at hand as well as the effective and appropriate use of video materials in the curriculum.

This is a good time to remind teachers, the general public and the UW community that the REECAS Center houses videos, teaching plans, books and computer software on REECA subjects. Most materials in the collection are available to be borrowed. Recent additions to the collection include the videotape noted above, Christopher Merrill's book *Only the Nails Remain*, based on his contact with ex-Yugoslav writers and travel in the Balkans over the last decade, and more than 50 slide images by noted British photographer Paul Harris, exploring the landscape and people of Kamchatka. REECAS hosted Mr. Harris' stunning slide lecture on Kamchatka, "Herders on the Edge", on January 11.

The REECAS contribution to the Jackson School's dinner-lecture series "International Updates: Trends and Transitions in Your World" coincides with the press date of this newsletter. Professor Stephen Hanson (Political Science) is speaking on the timely subject "Russia Between Elections" — which should have perhaps become "Russia Immediately Before an Election" when Yeltsin's resignation forced an early presidential election on March 26. Remaining Update dinner-lectures, which cost \$22 per session and are open to the general public, include talks on South Asia, Thailand, China and Canada. Clock hours are available at no extra cost to teachers, and the registration deadline is one week before each event. See the announcement elsewhere in this newsletter for more information.

The JSIS outreach team will also collaborate on the June 28-29 Summer Seminar for teachers — "The Family Across Time and Cultures". Scheduled REECAS presentations include Elmira Kochumkulova on the subject of "Kirghiz Traditional Weddings". Ms. Kochumkulova will also perform Kirghiz music. Registration details for the summer seminar should be available shortly.

Numerous other outreach activities are planned throughout the spring. April 26 brings World Languages Day to the UW, and in addition to contributions from

Slavic Languages and Literatures, Near Eastern Languages and Cultures, and Scandinavian Studies, high school students will have the option of attending a REECAS presentation on "The Other Russia", incorporating a general introduction to the diverse minority languages and cultures in contemporary Russia with a brief discussion of the Chechen war. Also in April, REECAS cosponsors the UW visit of the touring Margaret Mead Film and Video Festival. This year's program, "Roma in Cinema," includes *Black and White in Colour*, a film from Slovakia on the internationally renowned Romani singer Vera Bila, and *American Gypsy: A Stranger in Everybody's Land*, focusing on the outspoken Romani-American leader Jimmy Marks, who led a high-profile civil rights battle against the police in Spokane, Washington. Both films are scheduled at 2:00 p.m. on Saturday, April 15 in the Henry Art Museum Auditorium. Admission is free, and informed speakers will be on hand to provide commentary on the films.

On Saturday, May 13, REECAS and the Canadian Studies Center are pleased to

present a one-day seminar for educators and the general public, "Ukrainians in North America: Celebrating More Than a Century of History and Culture". This full-day event will feature presentations on Ukrainian immigration to Canada and the US, Ukrainian history, culture and art in North America, a workshop on using Ukrainian resources in curriculum development, live musical performances and a literary reading. Clock hours are available for teachers, and the \$30 registration fee includes a buffet lunch.

July 27 will see a one-day workshop on "Ports as Instruments of Economic Integration in the Middle East and Baltic Sea Regions", cosponsored with the Middle East Center, which seeks to bring together representatives from the shipping industry and the Port of Seattle, scholars from Israel, Poland and the UW, and students in Global Trade, Transportation and Logistics Studies. Look for further details in the summer newsletter.

Jacob Kaltenbach is Assistant Director and Outreach Coordinator of REECAS.

**A Seminar for Educators and the General Public**

## Ukrainians in North America

CELEBRATING MORE THAN A CENTURY OF HISTORY AND CULTURE

Saturday, May 13

This full-day workshop will feature presentations on Ukrainian immigration to Canada and the US, Ukrainian history, culture and art in North America, a workshop on Ukrainian curriculum resources, live musical performances and a literary reading.

**Clock hours are available for teachers (call to inquire).**

**The \$30 registration fee includes a buffet lunch.**

**For a full seminar program, or to register, call 206-543-4852 or email Sarah Egelman at [egelman@u.washington.edu](mailto:egelman@u.washington.edu).**

**Sponsored by the Russian, East European and Central Asian Studies Center and the Canadian Studies Center.**



## Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures

### INTENSIVE SUMMER CROATIAN-SERBIAN, UKRAINIAN AND RUSSIAN

June 19 - August 18, 2000

Earn a year's worth of language credit in 9 weeks and pay in-state tuition rates. Tuition is \$1,173 for undergraduates and \$1,821 for graduate students. There is also a \$35 application fee. See HOUSING AND SPECIAL PROGRAMS for information on housing and meal costs.

#### **Elementary Croatian-Serbian**

Emphasizes conversation and basics of Croatian-Serbian grammar and vocabulary. Students develop a certain fluency in expressing themselves in everyday situations.

#### **Elementary Ukrainian**

Introduction to Ukrainian grammar and vocabulary with practice in basic conversation.

#### **First Year Russian**

Introduction to Russian. Emphasis on oral communication with limited vocabulary. Short readings and writing exercises. Basic grammar. Conducted mostly in Russian.

#### **Second Year Russian**

Comprehensive review of Russian grammar with continuing oral practice and elementary composition. Conducted mostly in Russian.

#### **Third Year Russian**

Extensive practice in spoken and written Russian based on a variety of prose readings. Intensive review and supplementation of strategic grammatical concepts. Conducted mostly in Russian.

#### **Fourth Year Russian**

Class discussion, oral presentations, and composition, based on reading a variety of texts, both literary and non-literary. Advanced grammar. Conducted entirely in Russian.

#### HOUSING AND SPECIAL PROGRAMS

Students who wish to live in a Russian-speaking environment may apply to live in the Russian House, located just across the street from the campus. The Russian House has its own modern kitchen facility, and residents may opt to prepare their own meals or to buy a meal plan. The Russian House is a focal point for extracurricular events, which may include Russian singalongs, folk dancing, plays, poetry readings, lectures, films, weekend bike rides, and hiking trips. The Russian House may also host Russian visitors in the fields of art, science, business, etc. Priority to live in the House is given to those with the strongest Russian language background. All students in the summer program are welcome to participate in activities held at the Russian House or just to visit.

Costs for the Russian House in summer 1999: \$852 for a double, \$1074 for a super-single; \$552 for the meal plan (optional). Summer 2000 rates are expected to be comparable. Applications for the Russian House are available through the Slavic Department. The deadline for applications is April 28, 2000; acceptance will be based on date received. Applications for housing in the dorm will be available in April through Housing and Food Services: (206) 543-4059. Be sure to indicate RUSSIAN on your housing application.

#### SCHOLARSHIPS AND FELLOWSHIPS

The Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures offers one full-tuition scholarship for an undergraduate returning to the UW for the Summer Russian Program. Contact Slavic Department, (206) 543-6848.

**Deadline: April 3, 2000**

#### APPLYING AND REGISTERING

Call (800) 543-2320 to request a Summer Quarter Bulletin.

Telephone registration begins late April. Applications by mail are accepted through June 1, later applications are accepted in person only. No transcripts or letters of recommendation are necessary.

Application materials should be sent to: Admissions Office, University of Washington, Box 355840, Seattle, WA 98195-5840. Course fees billed in early July.

For more information on course offerings or the Russian House, contact: Shosh Westen, Slavic Department  
University of Washington, Box 353580  
Seattle, WA 98195-3580  
Tel: (206) 543-6848 / Fax: (206) 543-6009  
Email: [shoshw@u.washington.edu](mailto:shoshw@u.washington.edu)

# THE DONALD W. TREADGOLD PAPERS

IN RUSSIAN, EAST EUROPEAN, AND CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES

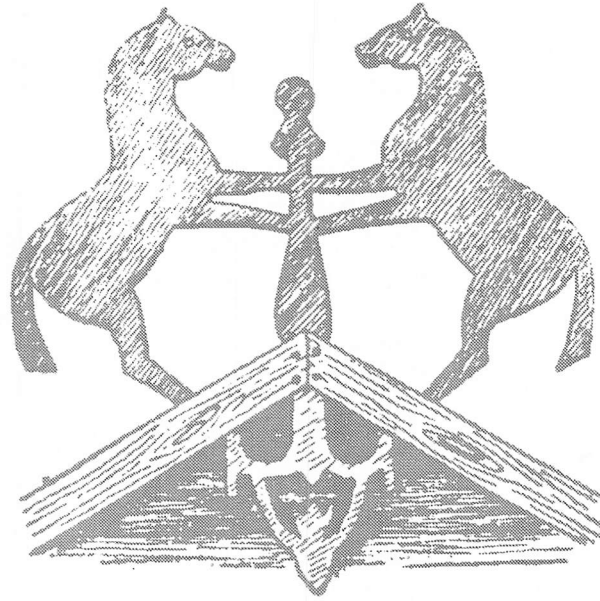
- NO. 1: **Law in Russia** – Theodore Taranovski, Peter B. Maggs, Kathryn Hendley, and Steven A. Crown
- NO. 2: **Religion in Imperial Russia** – Robert L. Nichols and Henry R. Huttenbach
- NO. 3: **The Fate of Russian Orthodox Monasteries and Convents Since 1917** – Charles Timberlake
- NO. 4: **The 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 Deshchytzia (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*)

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 Vjieran 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>



THE SIXTH ANNUAL NORTHWEST REGIONAL CONFERENCE FOR  
**RUSSIAN, EAST EUROPEAN,  
AND CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES**

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Saturday, April 22, 2000

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University of Washington Tacoma

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*Events will take place at the University of Washington Tacoma, in the GWP Building's  
Tacoma Room (320) and classrooms (212, 216, 220).*

The most recent update of the conference program is available at:  
**<http://depts.washington.edu/reecas/events/conf2000/regconf00.htm>**  
and can be downloaded in Adobe PDF format.

**SPONSORED BY:**

**The Russian, East European and Central Asian Studies Center (REECAS)**  
Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington Seattle

**The Interdisciplinary Arts and Sciences Program**  
University of Washington Tacoma

**The Port of Tacoma**

**WITH ADDITIONAL SUPPORT FROM:**

**The National Bureau of Asian Research**

Admission to the conference is **ABSOLUTELY FREE**, although advance registration is required to reserve lunch (also free). We welcome students and faculty from institutions of higher learning throughout the Northwest, as well as the general public. For general information on the conference call (206) 543-4852 or e-mail [egelman@u.washington.edu](mailto:egelman@u.washington.edu)

If you are interested in overnight accommodations close to UW Tacoma, the Sheraton Hotel is within walking distance and has Airport Shuttle service. Block rate: \$73.20. Call the Sheraton at (253) 591-4135 to book rooms.

## TENTATIVE PROGRAM

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### 8:00-8:30am

Coffee, pastries and no-fee registration (GWP-Atrium)

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### 8:45-10:15am

#### SESSION 1A:

Roundtable: *Northwest Study Abroad Programs in Russia*

#### SESSION 1B:

*Post-Soviet Environmental Challenges*

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### 10:45-12:15pm

#### SESSION 2A:

Roundtable: *Media and Politics in Russia and Eastern Europe*

#### SESSION 2B:

*Soviet History*

#### SESSION 2C:

*Developments in Central Asia*

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### 12:15-1:15pm

Lunch, hosted by REECAS

Welcoming remarks

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### 1:30-3:30pm

#### SESSION 3A:

*Prospects for Economic "Transition"*

#### SESSION 3B:

*Developments in the Former Yugoslavia*

#### SESSION 3C:

*Cultural Studies*

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### 3:45-5:45pm

#### SESSION 4A:

*Developments in the Russian Far East*

#### SESSION 4B:

*Identity, Nationality and Ethnic Politics*

#### SESSION 4C:

*Cultural and Educational Development Work in the Republic of Georgia*

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### 5:45-7:00 pm

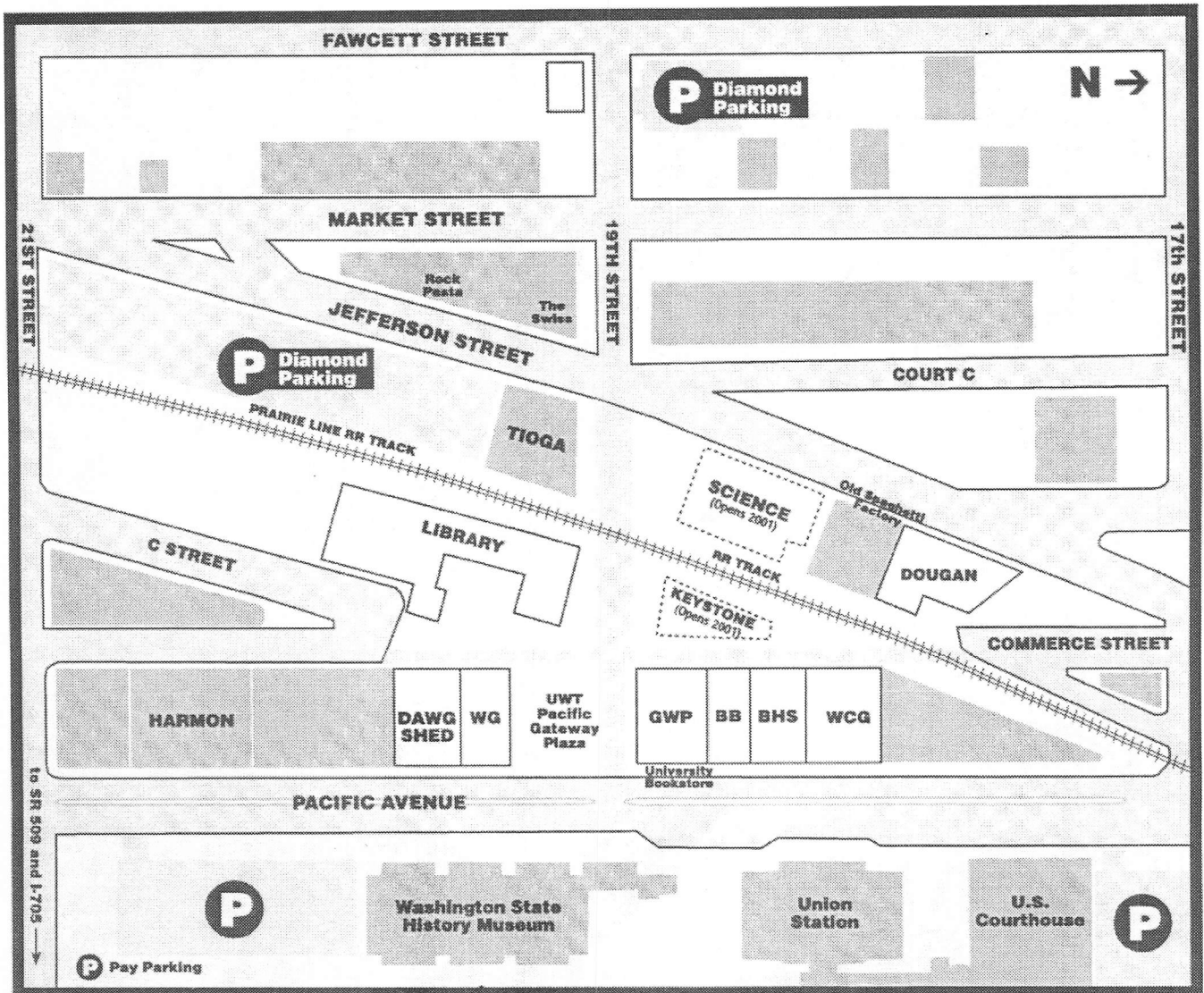
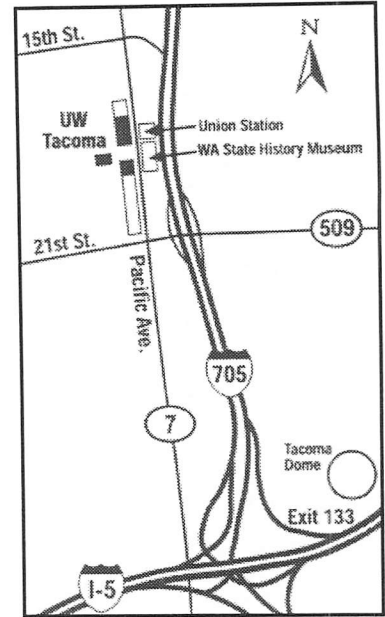
Closing Reception, hosted by the Port of Tacoma

### Directions to University of Washington Tacoma

From I-5, take the I-705/Tacoma City Center exit (Exit 133). From I-705 take the South 21st Street exit. From the traffic light at the base of the exit ramp, turn left onto 21st Street. Turn right at the next light onto Pacific Avenue. The campus is on your left, across the street from the Washington State History Museum and the U.S. Courthouse/Union Station. The conference will take place in the GWP Building (above the University Bookstore).

**PARKING:** There are pay parking lots next to the Washington State History Museum and Union Station on Pacific, at the intersection of 21st and Jefferson, and on 19th between Market and Fawcett. One-hour street parking is available along Pacific Avenue, Jefferson Street and Market Street.

*Note: Commerce Street (at the north end of campus) is currently closed due to construction.*





THE SIXTH ANNUAL NORTHWEST REGIONAL CONFERENCE FOR

# RUSSIAN, EAST EUROPEAN, AND CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES

Saturday, April 22, 2000  
University of Washington Tacoma

## CONFERENCE REGISTRATION

All participants and presenters should complete this form.

NAME: \_\_\_\_\_

STREET ADDRESS: \_\_\_\_\_

CITY, STATE, ZIP: \_\_\_\_\_

E-MAIL: \_\_\_\_\_

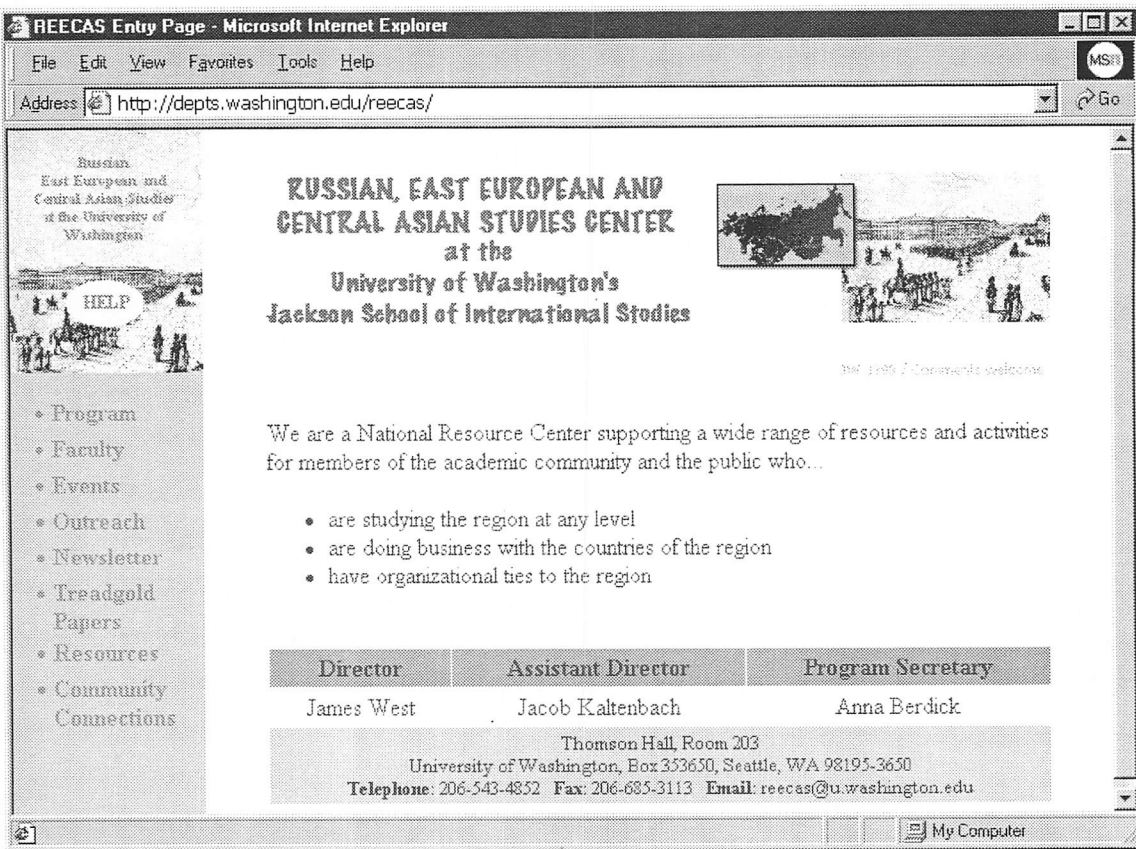
FACULTY/STAFF     STUDENT     GENERAL PUBLIC

PLACE OF WORK OR STUDY: \_\_\_\_\_

Please reserve lunch for me. I prefer : \_\_\_ vegetarian \_\_\_ non-vegetarian

I will not be eating lunch at the conference

MAIL TO: REECAS-NW Conference Registration, REECAS Center, Box 353650, University of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195-3650,  
or e-mail details to [egelman@u.washington.edu](mailto:egelman@u.washington.edu).



# REECAS NEWSLETTER

203 THOMSON HALL, BOX 353650  
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 UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON  
 SEATTLE, WA 98195-3650

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