

REECAS NEWSLETTER

JACKSON SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES | UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

From Spain with *Znanie*? Adventures of Historian of the USSR on the Iberian Peninsula

BY GLENNYS YOUNG

“Why would a historian of Russia do research in Spain?” inquired a colleague when I mentioned that I had just returned from a stint working in Spanish archives in Sant Cugat (a city just outside of Barcelona) and Salamanca in September and October.

Deflecting what might have been my colleague’s suspicion that I went to Spain for the food, or to avoid the frustrations of archival research in Russia, I talked about the book project (*The World the Refugees Made: The Niños de la Guerra in the USSR and Beyond*), that had taken me to the Iberian Peninsula. This is not to say that the foodie in me had not been anticipating Spain’s culinary delights. And along the way, I ate lots of Serrano ham (*jamón de Serrano*) and also got a kick out of seeing the *Museo de Jamón*, a Madrid store with cured carcasses hanging from the ceilings. I even feasted on Spanish trains, on sandwiches made of Spanish omelet (*tortilla español*), and was introduced to razor clams (*navajas*) and a special Mediterranean version of *paella* in Benicàssim, southwest of Barcelona. But I think I am being honest with myself when I say that it was the pursuit of knowledge (in Russian, *znanie*), not cuisine, which took me to Spain. And so, here is an expanded version of how I answered my colleague.



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Author standing in front of the *Archivo General de la Guerra Civil Española* in Salamanca

Over four expeditions, from March 1937 to December 1938, nearly 3000 children, most of whom were from the Basque region bombed by Hitler’s forces in April 1937, were evacuated to the Soviet Union. The reasons for the evacuation (whether to the USSR or other countries) are complex. Certainly the parents feared for their children’s safety. The Republican forces also wanted to evacuate non-combatants from

the line of fire to increase the effectiveness of military forces. Some parents, having socialist sympathies, wanted their children to go to the USSR in particular.

The reasons why the USSR was willing to receive the children are also complex and contested. But it is clear that though the first group of children did not arrive until March 1937, preparations for them began in the fall of 1936. A September

(continued on page 2)

INSIDE THIS ISSUE

The Donald W. Treadgold Studies	5
A Kaliningrad-German Partnership: The Struggle for Mutual Understanding	6
New Gordon C. Culp Fellows Research Feminist Development Theory and Ethnic Minorities in Central Asia and the Baltic States.....	9
Nicholas Poppe Symposium on Inner/Central Asian Studies Call for Papers	9
New Faculty and Visiting Scholars	10
The Russian State Library: A Small Portrait of a Very Large Library	12

UW Intensive Language Programs	15
Independence for Kosovo and the Final Phase of the Dissolution of Yugoslavia	16
REECAS Northwest Conference	18
The Alpine Fund: The Challenge of Volunteering in Kyrgyzstan	19
Ellison Center News	21
Summer Seminar for Educators	22
Campaign UW	23
Upcoming Ellison Center Events	24



(continued from page 1)



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Yours truly, Joan Ullman (Professor Emerita of Spanish History, UW), and Carmen López Sanchez in Benicàssim

letter from the Comintern Secretariat urged Stalin to admit Spanish children. In November, thanks to the efforts of MOPR (the International Organization for Assistance to Revolutionary Fighters), the completion of a future home for Spanish children on the Yaroslav railway line near Moscow was celebrated.¹

It is also clear that both the children and their parents believed that the stint in the USSR would last a few months, or a year at most. But the children and their parents would soon learn bitter truths—that Franco's forces would be victorious, that there would be no "Red Spain" (as one child, Benito Capellán, put it in 1937 in a letter written from Leningrad to his parents in Bilbao²) and that the children would stay in the USSR at least until Khrushchev's thaw in 1956 brought permission to go "home." Indeed, some of the *niños de la guerra* (children of the Spanish Civil War, the contemporary term for the 34,000 or so children exiled to the USSR or other countries, such as France, Belgium, England, Mexico, Iran, Africa and Denmark) would not return, if ever, from the USSR to Spain until the late 1980s or early 1990s. The Spanish children were housed in special homes for Spanish children (*dom ispanskikh detei* or *casas de los niños*) located throughout the Soviet Union—not just in Moscow and Leningrad, but also in Odessa, Khar'kov, Kherson and Kiev.

Has the story of Benito Capellán and the other Spanish Republican children evacuated to the USSR been told before? Yes and no. Yes, in that Spanish, Soviet, Russian and even American scholars have written articles, book chapters and even books about them;³ and no, in the sense that the existing scholarship has chronological, thematic, archival and conceptual limitations. Regarding chronology, many studies treat only one chapter in the children's lives, such as their time they spent in Spanish children's homes before Hitler's Wehrmacht invaded the USSR. There has been an emphasis on certain themes (such as the children's "indoctrination") to the exclusion of others (such as the Spanish children's fate in World War II). As for archives, studies by Spaniards tend to limit themselves to Spanish archives, while Russians have tended to work only in the archives in the former Soviet Union. No scholar has yet undertaken the archival work to reconstruct the transnational journeys of the Spanish children.

Conceptually, existing scholarship tends to see the Spanish children as only objects, and indeed tragic victims, of larger historical forces. The tragic dimensions of their lives cannot be denied. But along with awareness of those tragic elements has gone a tendency to minimize the depiction of how the children themselves exercised agency, whether in transforming Bolshevik ideology in the process of recep-

tion, mounting opposition to Franco, or helping to shape the Cuban Revolution. Another conceptual problem with existing studies is that they tend to treat the Soviet *niños de la guerra* as a bounded group set apart from Soviet society. Although sequestered by Soviet authorities in the homes for Spanish children, they nonetheless interacted with Soviet citizens even before they left the state's care. It is also problematic to view the Spanish children as a bounded and unified group given that creating such an identity was one of the goals of Moscow's "Spanish Center" (*El Centro Español de Moscú*) and its provincial branches from its opening in 1966 to its closure in 1986.

Dissatisfied with these limits, I am working on the first transnational study of the political, social and cultural consequences of the evacuation of the Spanish Republican children to the USSR. What

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especially interests me are the cultural interactions between them and Soviet citizens, especially in the post-Stalin era, when the Soviet *niños* were adults who had married and worked in factories or in professions. Such is to be expected of a historian of the USSR. But because I also consider myself a historian of the USSR in its global context, and of Europe and the history of Communism more generally, I want to follow the *niños* who went back to Spain, seeking to understand how, if at all, they helped to transform their homeland, whether immediately after 1956 or sometime later. And, I want to reconstruct their journey to Cuba, where, during the Cuban Revolution, they served as advisors, translators and architects of Castro's literacy

campaigns. The transnational dimensions of the project have taken—and will take—me to what for me are new research venues.

The first of these venues was the *Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya* (National Archive of Catalonia, or ANC) in Sant Cugat. I almost decided not to go there, thinking that it might be more productive to work in Madrid's national archives. Fortunately, I decided to head to Barcelona anyway, perhaps, I must admit, out of a desire to see the Mediterranean for the first time, and to see the streets of the city whose civil war George Orwell chronicled in *Homage to Catalonia*, a book I remember well reading during my first year of graduate school at Berkeley. Thank goodness, in any case, I did not give up on Barcelona. A day before I left for Europe, an archivist from ANC replied to an email in which I had introduced my project. She alerted me to an amazing collection of materials connected to the Spanish Center of Moscow, an important institutional landmark of the Spanish-Soviet cultural encounter that is all but missing from the historiography.

Created during the early Brezhnev years, the Spanish Center was a voluntary political and cultural "entity whose purpose was to bring together the Spaniards residing in the Soviet Union, and keep watch over their moral and political unity; to contribute insofar as possible to their opportunities for supporting the Spanish

people's struggle for democracy and peace."⁴ The Center sought to reach all Spaniards in the Soviet Union—not just those who had been evacuated from Spain as children, but also the political exiles, namely members of the Spanish Communist Party (PCE) who came to the USSR after the Civil War. Any Spaniard who was at least sixteen years old and who lived in the USSR could become a member.⁵ The Center, which was to have branches throughout the USSR, closed in 1986. But in 1995, adult children of the Spanish Civil War reopened the Center under a new statute.

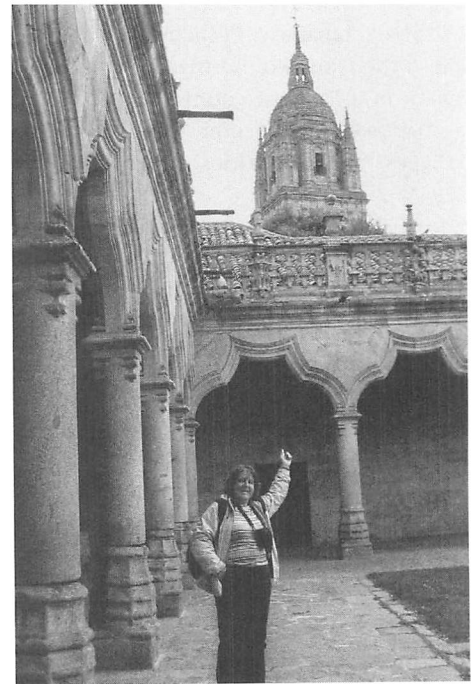
The story of the journey of the Spanish Center's documents to the ANC is a fascinating one that in some ways begins with the *Archivo Guerra y Exilio* (Archive of War and Exile or AGE), an organization, created in Spain in 1997, whose general purpose is to "recover the historical legacy of the Spanish Civil War, exile and resistance against Francoism."⁶ In four installments between 2000 and 2003, the documents of the Spanish Center of Moscow came to the ANC from Moscow (via Madrid) as a result of an agreement signed in May 1999 between the Department of Culture of the autonomous government of Catalonia and AGE. In 2006, the cataloging of the materials was completed.

I loved working in Barcelona at the ANC in part because I enjoyed pondering the remarkable confluence of historical

events and forces—a mixture of the Soviet collapse, the tradition of Catalan autonomy and the decisive intervention of determined individuals in Catalonia, Spain and the Russian Federation—that had brought the documents there. A "national" archive, it turned out, had a transnational history.

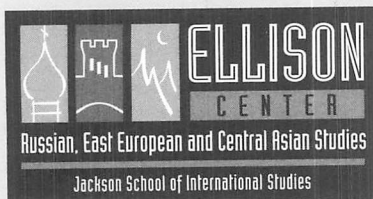
As I traveled west through Madrid to Salamanca, I wondered how different it would feel to do research at the Archive of

(continued on page 4)



Author gesturing toward one of the many famous spires of Salamanca

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(continued from page 3)

the Spanish Civil War (*Archivo General de la Guerra Civil Española*, or AGC). I was thinking not just about the fact that I was leaving the Mediterranean coast for the central Spanish plain, seafood for meat, Catalán for Castellano (“Spanish”) and the ultra-modern ANC for the Baroque charms of the AGC. I was thinking about what my journey meant in terms of the history of the Spanish Civil War. Sometimes, as the train rolled on, the Spanish Civil War seemed, even for an historian, far away. Perhaps this was because the train wound through the broad swath of a Spanish countryside that was a shadow of its former self: abandoned villages and casualties of post-Franco

Ironically, it was here, in the city that had served Franco’s military headquarters, that I had the clearest sense that my research was allowing me to do what I wanted—that is, to look not at the Spanish children evacuated to the USSR as objects of larger historical forces, but to see them also as historical *agents*.

urbanization appeared every so often, seeming to place the past out of reach. Still, I could not quite push out of my mind that I was heading from Catalonia, whose regional autonomy Franco’s nationalists had despised and crushed, to Salamanca, the medieval city that had been Franco’s headquarters during the Civil War.

Doing research at the AGC indeed felt very different than the ANC—not worse, not better, just different. Ironically, it was here, in the city that had served Franco’s military headquarters, that I had the clearest sense that my research was allowing me to do what I wanted—that is, to look not at the Spanish children evacuated to the USSR as objects of larger historical forces, but to see them also as historical *agents*. My mission in Salamanca was to read letters written by the Spanish children to their families back in Spain. All of the letters in the Spanish archives were written by the children from the Basque

region evacuated on the second voyage, which left Santurce (Bilbao) on June 13th, 1937 and after a stop in France to change boats, arrived in Leningrad on June 22nd, 1937.⁷ The letters, which never reached their destinations even though they were hurried by the Soviet authorities to Spain, fell into the hands of the Republican and then the nationalist governments.⁸ As I read the letters, I sought to listen to the voices of the Spanish children. Rather than regarding the letters as only sources of information about the Spanish children’s everyday lives, I approached them as texts



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Detail, Gaudi architecture, Barcelona

in which the children were working out the meaning of the rupture through which they were going.

As with any trip or research project, one sometimes only discovers in retrospect the reasons for making the journey. And here we get to a reason that I did not give my colleague. It was only when I got back that I realized I went to Spain not just to tell the story of the Spanish children evacuated to the USSR from a new perspective, but also to contribute to putting the history of the USSR in a more robust transnational context. “Transnational” can mean many things. But one transnational approach that has, on the whole, been missing in the scholarship on Soviet Russia has been one that not only examines how non-Soviets and their cultures helped to shape Soviet socialism, but, in turn, what such cultural interactions meant for the Soviet project of international socialism and 20th century world history generally. These are phenomena I seek to explore as I look at the adult Spanish Republican children who served as advisors in Castro’s Cuba and at the political activities, espe-

cially during the Franco years, of those who returned to Spain.

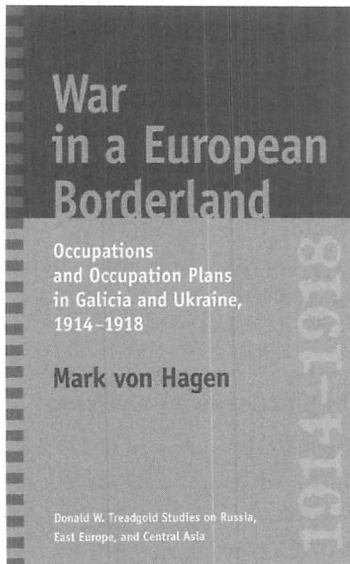
Let me note that the “in retrospect” is still ongoing. Later, I may come up with other, even more interesting, answers to my colleague’s question. I hope so. In any case, I am looking forward to more adventures with *znanie*—and Spain’s culinary delights—on the Iberian Peninsula. ♦

Glennys Young is Associate Professor of History and International Studies at UW. She is the author of *Power and the Sacred in Revolutionary Russia* (1997), co-editor of *Reginald E. Zelnik, Perils of Pankratova; Some Stories from the Annals of Soviet Historiography* (2005), and recent articles in *Russian Review* and *Ab Imperio*. Aside from the project mentioned here, which will have the support of the Simpson Center’s Associate Professor Initiative in 2008–9, she is working on two other monographs, *Writing the Soviet Project: Concepts, Paradigms, and The Making of the Soviet Experience* and *After Bloody Saturday: State Violence and the Fate of the Bolshevik Revolution*.

- 1 For these and other details on preparations for the Spanish children’s arrival in the USSR, see Daniel Kowalsky’s fine study, *Stalin and the Spanish Civil War*, (New York, 2004), chapter 5: The Evacuation of Spanish Children to the Soviet Union, esp. pp. 1–3.
- 2 Letter of 23 June 1937, Archivo General de la Guerra Civil Española, P.S. Bilbao, Caja 5, 2, exp. no 11.
- 3 See, in addition to Kowalsky’s study, A. V. Ellat’evskii, *Ispanskaia emigratsiia v SSSR* (Moscow, 2002); Alicia Alted Vigil, María Encarna Nicolás Marín, and Roger Gonzáles Martell, *Los niños de la guerra de España en la Unión Soviética: de la evacuación al retorno, 1937–1999* (Madrid, 1999); Marie José Devillard, *Los niños españoles en la URSS, 1937–1997: narración y memoria* (Barcelona, 2001); V. A. Talashova, “Sovetskii komsomol-aktivnyi uchastnik dvizheniia solidarnosti s respublikanskoi Ispaniei v period natsionalno-revoliutsionnoi voiny, 1936–1939,” Ph.D. Dissertation, Vologda State University, 1972, among others.
- 4 “Proyecto de Estatutos ‘Casa de España,’” p. 1. (Moscow, January 1966), ANC, fond 555, Codif 1.1.2 (Antic lligall 43).
- 5 “Proyecto de Estatutos ‘Casa de España,’” III. (De los socios, sus derechos y deberés.) Something of an institutional predecessor to the Spanish Center, the Club Skalov, was created in Moscow in 1946 as a meeting place for young Spaniards.
- 6 See, for example, the agreement signed between Sra. Dolores Cabra Loredo, General Secretary and Treasurer of AGE and the Honorable Sr. Joan. María Pujals i Vallvè, Conseller de Cultura de la Generalitat de Catalunya in Barcleona, on 10 May, 1999, available at www.nodo50.org/ageCONCatalunya.htm.
- 7 On the expedition’s institutional and organizational infrastructure more generally, see Alted Vigil et al., *Los niños de guerra*, p. 49.
- 8 Kowalsky, *Stalin and the Spanish Civil War*, chapter 5, “The Evacuation of Spanish Children,” p. 13. Copies of these letters can also be found in the National Archive of Catalonia (ANC).

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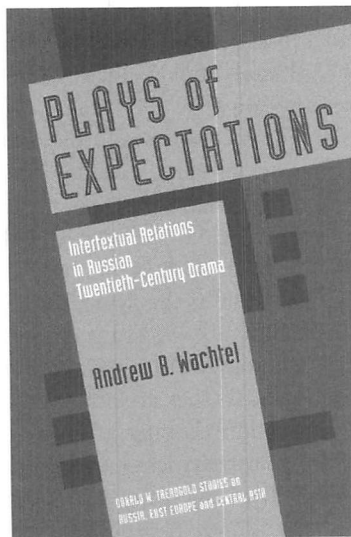


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A Kaliningrad-German Partnership: The Struggle for Mutual Understanding

BY LARS KASCHA

I have been to Russia about 18 times, mostly in Kaliningrad. Over the past eleven years, I have actively participated in a sister city partnership between my home county, Pinneberg (Germany), and the Russian county Zelenogradsk in the Kaliningrad region. Annually, for approximately three weeks each time, I sponsor Russian youth groups consisting of chil-

German host family. We helped students of the music school in Zelenogradsk perform more than 100 concerts on stages in our county and in the rest of Europe. We have organized summer trips to our partner county in which already about 500 people have taken part. Furthermore, we supported building a care center for disabled people, helped to run a seniors café

parents accompanied this trip as chaperones. It was our first time in Russia and the kindness and the hospitality of the people on the one hand and the poverty and the dysfunction on the other was overwhelming. It left a lasting impression...especially on my parents. My parents decided to support the official county partnership already in existence by founding a non-profit organization "Selenogradsk e.V."³ with a focus on encouraging mutual understanding and self-help. As I grew, I grew into this work.



Playground nearing completion (author center in jumpsuit)

dren with difficult social backgrounds to spend their holidays in Germany. On four separate occasions, I organized, planned and built playgrounds in Zelenogradsk together with young German and Russian volunteers.¹ I further supported this partnership by creating a 300-page chronicle for the 10th anniversary of our association in 2005. These are only the projects I, at least partially, masterminded as the youth group leader of an association called "Selenogradsk. e.V."² The work of our association and my support of it go much farther.

Over the past 10 years, we have helped over 50 Russian guest pupils spend one year each at a German school with a

and helped to establish a fire department partnership. Even this is still an incomplete list of our projects. Today, our association has more than 250 members.

How did I end up in this partnership? Well, people in Germany and elsewhere often tend to think that I have ancestors in this former German area. But I do not have any ancestors from Kaliningrad, which was formerly Königsberg, the Prussian capital. At least none of whom I am aware. But nonetheless, my family is certainly "to blame" for my commitment to this program.

When I was 11 years old, back in 1992, I took part in a school exchange program and spent two weeks in Kaliningrad. My

The Challenges of Crossing Borders

The focus of our work has never been primarily on traditional humanitarian aid; however, we did transport essential goods during the early 1990s from Germany to the Russian Federation. Travelling to Kaliningrad from Germany involves crossing both the German and Polish borders; and crossing borders during this period offered a textbook example of post-Soviet dysfunction and headache. The Poles resented us because we brought aid to the former Soviet state, and the Russian customs officers had little monetary incentive for enthusiasm. Humanitarian help has never been an easy part of this partnership and fortunately the need for it has declined. But still, when our county firemen bring equipment to their counterparts in Zelenogradsk, they are often times in need of aggression therapy afterwards. While border issues have lessened somewhat, they are still lingering sources of frustration.

In addition to difficult Russian and Polish border guards, the visa procedure has historically been needlessly complex and has often made our work miserable. But while we have to drive 50 kilometres to the Russian consulate in Hamburg, up until recently, our friends from Kaliningrad had to go to the German embassy in Moscow to get a visa. That means covering a distance of almost 700 miles. And getting a German visa in Moscow did not only mean travelling there, but also stay-



© LARS KASCHA

Ahoy there! A completed children's playground

ing there for days. Furthermore, visas can be denied by the embassy without stating any reason. All this was connected with additional work and expense that complicated our partnership considerably.

Since the middle of last year, however, Russia has finally operated an improvised consulate in Kaliningrad, which makes our work and especially the work of our Russian counterparts much easier. Additionally with the beginning of this year, the Polish-German borders are open and border controls are no longer conducted. So during the last few months, trans-border issues have diminished. Still, other problems remain. The Russian regulations for invitations and visas change too often to get used to them. The right to issue invitations goes from institution to institution and what was possible last year can be absolutely impossible now. When applying for visas, it is all about knowing people and being known by people. This is not supposed to be a hint concerning corruption. It is more about trust and forming common experience.

For example, officers in the Russian consulate often times really care about the things we do, but they circulate in their positions frequently during their diplomatic careers. All the arrangements you made and all the trust you have built with one officer leaves the building with him. You have to start again as a nobody, who has to prove that he really works for mutual

understanding and does not want to smuggle drugs in buses filled with children.

The Lingering Kaliningrad/Königsberg Controversy

Although World War II has been over for some time, the memory of "Königsberg," the former Prussian capital, is still an issue for some in Germany. It has never been an issue for me. In my opinion, Königsberg is strictly the historical name of a city that existed on the soil where Kaliningrad is today. Königsberg is irretrievably gone. It may be hard for some to acknowledge that fact, but it would be quite appropriate to do so. After the war, almost all Germans were expelled from the area and Russians from many different regions settled there. Today in Kaliningrad, less than 1% of the inhabitants are of German origin and then they are mostly of Volga German origin, with no ties to historical Prussia.⁴ Most of the German architecture has also disappeared.

How difficult it is for some to accept this fact, I experienced last year when our local Christian Democrats brought up a plan to label in official documents all former German cities in Russia and Poland by their old German names followed by the Russian names in parentheses. This attempt caused some concern among members of our association, the political opposition, and of course, the Russian side. At

that time, a group of Russian musicians was in our county, and they were outraged. As an association, we were asked to react, and so we did. I wrote a two-page piece to our members about the outright idiocy and pure uselessness of this plan. Besides that, I was quoted in several local newspapers as an "expert."⁵ The ensuing letters to the editor showed that my understanding of German history and its finality in this

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case by no means shared by everybody. I never meant to downplay the suffering of those who had to leave their homeland under awful circumstances, but I do not see any benefit in rejecting the current reality and historical facts. The most amazing thing for me was to find myself pushed into a political debate I would never have involved myself with otherwise. Incidentally, I also believe the initial Russian idea to celebrate "750 years of Kaliningrad" in 2005 and to conceal Königsberg's history should be put in the very same category of ridiculousness.⁶

Why Am I So Committed to This Work?

Good question. Did I fall in love with Russia? No, it was probably not a love match—more an accidental kind of relationship. "The Russians" drove me crazy more than once with their absolute lack of planning and organization, but they taught me a lot in terms of improvisation.

I remember one occurrence when we were building a playground in front of the middle school in Zelenogradsk. We wanted to include a swinging bridge into our playground construction. The first problem was that nobody had a real clue how to build one: more precisely, how exactly to

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connect the planks with the chains—and the second problem was that we literally had emptied all the home improvement stores in the neighbourhood. After some time, one of our Russian partners left and returned later with exhaust tube mountings from a car accessory store. We incorporated these into the construction, and it worked well.

Another experience I, and even more often, our Russian partners unfortunately have had to undergo is having our motivations questioned.

There are other aspects of working in Kaliningrad to which I just cannot adjust. Corruption and high vodka consumption are two of these things. Another experience I, and even more often, our Russian partners unfortunately have had to undergo is having our motivations questioned. Within the post-Soviet context, it is often hard for locals to believe that you are doing something for a benefit that is not measurable in dollars. It is strange that when you get voluntarily active for a social cause, you arouse people's suspicions.

Once one of my best friends, our Russian "playground master builder" Sergei, came to me and said that he wanted me to know that people assume that he would get money for his work with us. I responded that I was told the day before by a local that I myself was getting paid for the work I did for free. This is just one example of the rumours you have to live with when you get involved voluntarily in a developing civil society. Such misunderstandings occur less often on the German side, but when they do happen, they occasionally take another form. Once I got a phone call in which a very excited woman meant to yell at me because I dared to help Russian children even though there was enough poverty in Germany.

However, despite the challenges, people like our playground master builder Sergei keep me coming back to Kaliningrad. I have met plenty of these people in Russia: people who want to change something, people who taught me a lot about humbleness and non-material based happiness and satisfaction. And, of course, the hundreds of Russian children with whom I spend my time either in Russia or Germany, who are not to blame for all the aforementioned problems, often made my

days brighter. Many of these children are "social orphans," and I am constantly stunned by the happiness they display, despite their tough life stories. ♦

Lars Kascha is a visiting graduate from Kiel, Germany. His major subject there is political science and his minor subjects are Slavic Languages and Literature and public law. His main interest is the Kaliningrad region and Russian politics overall. He completed a two-and-a-half year apprenticeship at Deutsche Bank and also had two internships in Russia, one in a city administration and one in a bank. Over the past ten years, he has actively participated in a sister city partnership between his home county, Pinneberg, and the Russian county Zelenogradsk in the Kaliningrad Region.

- 1 More pictures of the playground are to find at: www.selenogradsk-jugend.de.vu.
- 2 "e.V." is the abbreviation for "registered association."
- 3 Homepage of the association "www.selenogradsk.de", mostly in German, some parts in Russian.
- 4 Michael Rywkin, "An odd entity: The case of the Kaliningrad enclave." *American Foreign Policy Interests*, 25(3) (2003): 213, from ArticleFirst database.
- 5 I was sick that time and the only one at home to pick the phone, when the journalists called.
- 6 www.zeitgeschichte-online.de/zol/_rainbow/documents/pdf/zol_int/doku_kgrad.pdf.



A concert given by a Russian music school in Germany



Russian music school dancers

New Gordon C. Culp Fellows Research Feminist Development Theory and Ethnic Minorities in Central Asia and the Baltic States

This year, three new graduate students researching issues in REECAS were selected to receive the illustrious Gordon C. Culp Fellowship, sponsored by the Henry M. Jackson Foundation. The fellowship, named in honor of lawyer, former UW regent and counsel to Senator Henry "Scoop" Jackson, Gordon C. Culp, provides up to three years of full tuition and living expenses to outstanding students of Russian, East European, Central Asian and Chinese Studies at the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies.



Miriam Counterman is a second year graduate student working toward concurrent MA and MPA degrees in Russian, East European and Central Asian Studies (REECAS) at the Jackson School and at the Evans School of Public Affairs.

After spending last summer in Dushanbe, Tajikistan studying the Uzbek language, Counterman became interested in women's organizations in Central Asia. For her thesis and as a Culp Fellow, she plans to look at how modern feminist development theory is being used in Tajikistan and how international organizations can tailor their practices to benefit the women of Tajikistan most effectively.

Counterman hopes to return to Dushanbe this summer to do an internship with a woman's organization to gain both field experience and information for her thesis. Her career aspiration is to work in international development in Central Asia and elsewhere in the former Soviet Union. She is honored and flattered to be a recipient of the Culp Fellowship.



Katherine Kostiuik is a first-year MA student in REECAS. With support from the Culp Fellowship, she is focusing her study on Central Asian minority and immigrant populations and how they are affected by nationalism, language politics and education policies. She is particularly interested in Uzbek populations in Tajikistan, Russia and the United States.

Katherine developed an interest in studying Central Asia when she was a Peace Corps Volunteer in Uzbekistan from 2003–2005. She later acted as a volunteer sponsor for Meskhetian Turk refugees from Russia and taught English as a Second Language to immigrants and refugees from around the world.

At the University of Washington, the Culp Fellowship is making it possible for Katherine to take both Uzbek and Russian language courses in addition to her regular coursework. Learning these languages will enable her to access primary resources, to conduct fieldwork and to better understand the people with whom she works.

In the future, Katherine hopes to pursue a PhD in anthropology and to continue her research on Central Asian immigrant and minority populations. She would like to make a career of researching this important subject and teaching American students about the REECA region.



Lauren Monsein Rhodes is a first-year PhD student in the Sociocultural Anthropology Program in the Department of Anthropology. As a Culp Fellow, her research interest is the impact of immigration and political change on ethnic, cultural and national identity in Latvia, a country where she has spent time.

She is specifically interested in looking at how political change affects how ethnic Latvians see themselves and the *other* (and in turn how the *other* views ethnic Latvians). The *other* in the case of Rhodes' research, are Latvian residents and Latvian citizens of black, African descent.

Prior to her time at the University of Washington, Lauren was the Manager of School and Teacher Programs at Weeksville Heritage Center, an African American historic house museum located in Brooklyn, NY. She holds a MEd in Museum Education from Bank Street College of Education and a BA in Anthropology from Oberlin College. ♦

Call for Papers

TWENTIETH ANNUAL

Nicholas Poppe Symposium on Inner/Central Asian Studies

Saturday, May 10, 2008

DENNY HALL 215 A • 8:30 AM – 6:00 PM

Papers from students and faculty pertaining to Inner/Central Asia are being solicited. Most welcome are papers that address the contributions of Nicholas Poppe to the field of Altaic Studies and the current state of Central Asian Studies.

Submit abstracts (250 words maximum) by April 20, 2008 to: Ilse D. Cirtautas, Department of Near Eastern Languages & Civilization, Denny Hall 229, Box 353120, University of Washington, Seattle WA 98195.

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The Ellison Center Welcomes New Faculty and Visiting Scholars

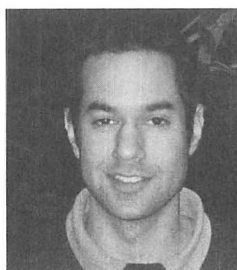


The REECAS program would like to welcome Professor **Yong-Chool Ha**, who arrives from Seoul Korea, where he taught Soviet politics, domestic and foreign policy, East Asian security and comparative socialism at Seoul National University for 19 years. Over the last 15 years, he has emerged as one of the premier authorities on the comparative

study of late industrialization in countries ranging from Soviet Russia, to Korea, to Japan. He links his current academic interest with the trips he made to Russia since perestroika and the collapse of communism. In particular, he claims his experience leading the "Trans-Siberian Research Team"—a group of scholars traveling from Vladivostok to Moscow in 2000, celebrating the 10th anniversary of diplomatic relations between Russia and Korea—as an eye-opening experience shaping his current research. "We need to think about people first that are living in Russia. Largely, when speaking about Siberia we only talk about energy and resources. Whenever we talk about resources, we never talk about people," he said.

As a scholar of comparative industrialization, Professor Ha has compared the effects of the industrialization programs launched by Stalin and Park Chunghee in Korea—leaders with nothing politically in common, but who placed similar senses of urgency and importance on rapid industrialization. Additionally, he is interested in how importing western economic practices in East Asia effected pre-existing institutions and norms.

Professor Ha is the author of numerous books and has published widely in scholarly journals, most recently in *Asia Survey* a piece entitled "Crony Capitalism After 10 Years: the Politics of Economy Reform." Currently, he is working on a book titled *Late Industrialization, the State and Social Changes: the Emergence of Neo-Familism in South Korea*.



The REECAS program would also like to welcome Assistant Professor **Scott Radnitz**, UW's new Central Asia specialist, who arrives from Washington D.C. where he was a fellow at the Woodrow Wilson Institute. He received his PhD from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 2006 after defending his dissertation on human

networks and the emergence and role of elites in political mobilization in Central Asia.

Radnitz's findings derived from on-site research in Central Asia, in particular, in southern Kyrgyzstan, dispute many received images of the region. He cautions against overweighting the significance of tribe and clan in Central Asian politics. "The strongest social tie is villages, communities, neighbors, which may overlap with tribal boundaries, but it's more about who people interact with in everyday life," he said.

As a professor, Radnitz is interested in engaging students in order to foster an accurate image of a region often obscured by stereotypes and misconceptions. "One of the things that I would like to do and that I do in my research is to try and clear up some of these misconceptions on the region and to look at the field work that's been done, rather than focus exclusively on what politicians and think tanks say."

Currently, he is working with a project that began in Berlin, co-authored by two German colleagues, adopting a broader Silk Road theme. This work examines governance and informal political networks all across Central Asia and the Caucasus and is based on the work of six field researchers.

In his spare time, Radnitz enjoys travel, has recently visited Turkey and western China, and would like next to visit Morocco or India. In Seattle he is looking for a restaurant that serves good shabu shabu. He is originally from Hacienda Heights, California.



Andrey Breslavets, one of the Ellison Center's three winter/spring Russell Fellows, hails from Vladivostok State University of Economics, where he has worked as an associate professor for nine years. He received his PhD in Political Science at Pacific State University in Khabarovsk, specializing in East Asian

Foreign Policy, Diplomacy and Asian Pacific Cooperation and Security. Additionally, he conducted research at the Kansai Institute in Japan and resided at Osaka University as a visiting scholar from 2005–2006.

With help from the Japan Foundation, Breslavets completed and published his first monograph: *Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation: Open Regionalism—a New Challenge for the International Relations System*, and in 2007, the 11th Russian Far East Book Fair evaluated it as the year's best monograph on the region. Currently, Breslavets is planning to publish his second monograph, a work on non-military forms of security.

At the University of Washington, he is researching comprehensive East Asian security and the possibility of building a Northeast Asian community organization as a political analog of East Asian economic cooperatives in order to settle longstanding issues held among Russia, China, Japan and North and South Korea.



Artur Grobowski, Fulbright Teaching Fellow, comes to the UW from his home in Krakow, Poland, by way of Chicago, where he was a visiting professor at the University of Illinois from 2004–2006. He received his PhD in Literary Theory in 1997 from Jagiellonian University, defending his dissertation on the

techniques and forms of meaning in the versification of modern Polish poetry.

He is also the author of a collection of essays on European

Modernism, entitled *A Cage with a View*, and is an accomplished author and translator of poetry, drama and prose. He is currently writing a novel and a new drama while researching a future book comparing one of the great Polish writers, Witold Gombrowicz, with Franz Kafka. This new book utilizes Freud's psychoanalysis and Kierkegaard's theology to assess how both writers present literary expressions of philosophical thinking.

At UW, Grobowski taught "Masterpieces of Modern Polish Literature" in the fall and is currently teaching "Ironic Hero: In Search of Self-Definition in Modern Polish Literature & Film."



Alexei Krivolap, a Russell Fellow originally from Minsk, joins us from Vilnius, where he teaches visual and cultural studies at the European Humanitarian University (EHU). The University, opened in Minsk in 1992, was the first private institution in Belarus devoted to the humanities. In 2004, it ceased operations

due to political reasons. After securing strong EU support, it reopened in 2005 in Vilnius, Lithuania, where it continues to educate citizens of Belarus.

As part of a 'faculty in exile,' Krivolap says that he has not encountered significant political problems in Belarus, although he says that he cannot defend his PhD thesis at Belarus State University because he works with EHU. "I'm not alone. It's not a unique situation because all young teachers who work at the

European Humanitarian University, we all have the same trouble," Krivolap said.

Currently, he is working on a book project, researching Internet development in Ukraine, Moldova and his home country. The book's working title is *A New Constellation in the Internet Galaxy*, and among other things it analyzes the Russian language regional domination of Internet media.

He is a student of the American media and Internet phenomena, like social networking sites, and hopes to encourage Internet entrepreneurs in Belarus to look west for inspiration. Additionally, he is one of the leading members of the Center for Internet Studies, an Internet research organization in Belarus. Their site can be accessed at www.probelnet.com. For more information on EHU, visit www.ehu.lt.



Maria G. Rewakowicz, Shevchenko Society Post-Doctoral Fellow, arrives from Columbia University, New York. She left Poland in 1981 and received her PhD in Slavic Languages and Literatures from the University of Toronto. For her dissertation, she wrote on the "New York Group," exploring the works and lives of

a group of young, modernist émigré Ukrainian poets who, in the 1950s and 1960s, experimented with modern Ukrainian rather than switching to English.

Rewakowicz is an accomplished poet, having published four

collections of verse. Additionally, she has edited an anthology of the New York Group's poetry, entitled *Half a Century of Half-Silence*. Currently, she is preparing a collection of essays on the New York Group, which she wants to call "Literature, Exile, Alterity." She is also co-editing a book on contemporary Ukrainian culture. As a Shevchenko Society Fellow, she is studying Chernobyl in relationship to the rise of new discourse, aesthetics and identities. Of the swirl of controversy, text and thinking created by the Chernobyl tragedy, Rewakowicz says "Every catastrophe of this kind triggers new beginnings." At UW, she is currently teaching a course entitled "Catastrophe and Culture: Chernobyl as Text."



Natalia Ryzhova, Russell Fellow, joins the University of Washington from Blagoveshchensk in the Amur region of Siberia, where she is a scholar in the far eastern branch of the Russian Academy of Science. She is a specialist on trans-border economic, social and environmental relations, and completed her

PhD at the Institute of Economic Research in Khabarovsk, conducting research on informal economic practices.

Currently, Ryzhova is researching the informal economies of Blagoveshchensk and its neighboring Chinese city, Heihe. In particular, she is conducting research on Chinese migrants in Blagoveshchensk, Russian migrant workers in Heihe and the huge,

informal economy created by these cities proximities to each other coupled with official freedom of cross-border travel. While Ryzhova concludes that the informal economy makes taxation more difficult, she says "If there were no informal economy, everything would be much worse than now."

Ryzhova has published widely on trans-border economic phenomena. She recently presented an article at San Diego State University, entitled "Blagoveshchensk-Heihe – Twin Cities: The Role of Migrants and Firms in the Formation of the Single Socio-economic Environment." In the United States, she is interested in researching United States-Mexican trans-border phenomena as they compare and contrast with issues pertaining to the Russian-Chinese informal border economy. ♦

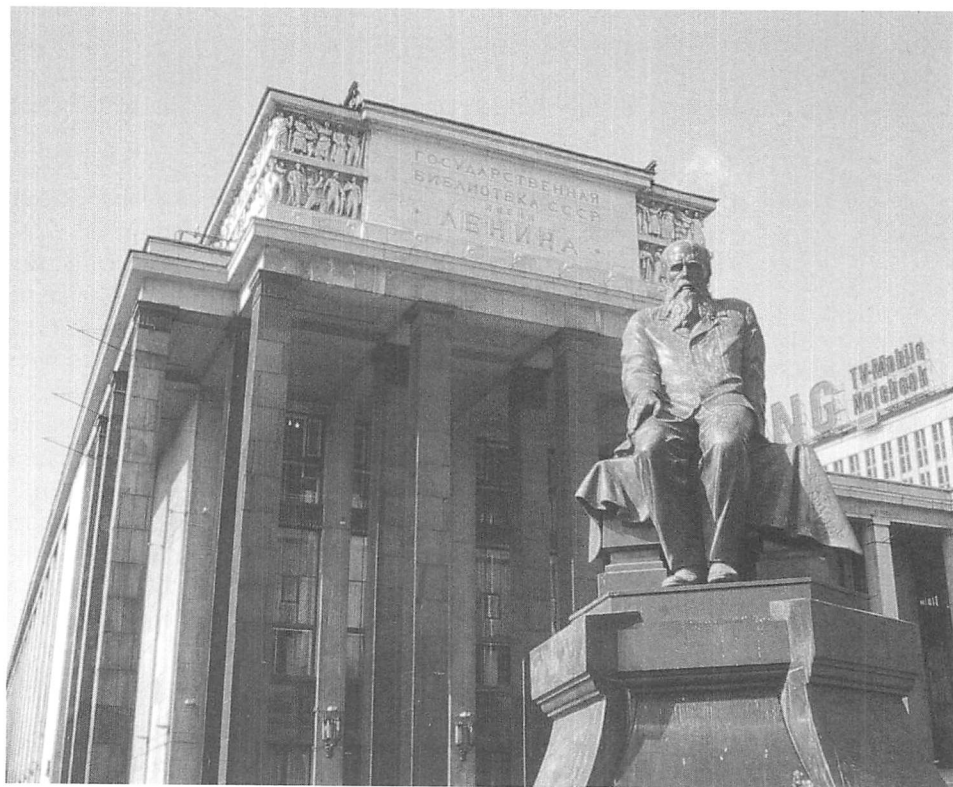
The Russian State Library: A Small Portrait of a Very Large Library

BY JOYCE WIEHAGEN, WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF IRINA BOLDYREVA

One weekend afternoon in July 2007, my tutor Sasha and I surfaced at the Biblioteka imeni Lenina Metro stop and found a crowd of Muscovites standing under the overhang of the building, taking shelter from the pouring rain. The crowd was dense. Some people motioned at the downpour and fretted, others chitchatted in murmurs, a couple of young guys shouted ...someone laughed. The rain was loud. Sasha, who, typically, was keeping our destination a surprise, frowned at the weather and considered what to do next, how to best navigate our way. She asked two nearby police officers a question and then motioned me over. We needed to cross to the *perekhod* (pedestrian underpass) a few yards away; would we make a run for it in the pouring rain? I, like nearly every time we met, was up for virtually anything, so I said, "Let's go." We grinned at each other, then made our way to the edge of the crowd—and sprinted into the rain. As soon as we emerged from under the overhang, we found ourselves in the harsh beam of a powerful spotlight. I squinted at it through the rain... The scene was a wet

This verve for sculpting libraries to promote state ideology can be observed in virtually all Soviet leaders. Despite unfortunate events in Soviet history—the confiscation of personal libraries for state use, or the perverse purging of public library collections—librarianship as a science and a profession was honed to a level never before seen in Russia.

blur as I ran: the spotlight, the well-known statue of Dostoevsky (his back turned to the flood of light), a couple of director's chairs, a few people in raincoats standing around. It was a movie set, Sasha later confirmed; filming had been put on hold by the afternoon cloudburst.



The monumental façade of the Russian State Library guarded by a soulful Dostoyevsky

Beyond the set, the spotlight, the officers and the crowd loomed the calm, shadowy palace of the Russian State Library, formerly called the Lenin State Library and still nicknamed *Leninka*. I was well aware of its presence as we ran by it. Even in the darkly overcast afternoon, I marveled at the building's severe beauty, and I fondly recalled the tour of the library that I had taken a few weeks earlier with some of my classmates. I am interested in libraries, and I am interested in Russia and Russian culture, so, following a pretty simple thread of logic, I guess it makes sense that I developed a fixation on the library during my summer studying Russian in Moscow.

The Russian State Library is deserving of fixation, though, for its rich history, elaborate holdings and sheer size make it a marvel. The library was established in 1862, based on the personal collection of Count Nikolai Rumyantsev, a state chancellor and diplomat. The collection was

earlier located in the Pashkov House, an elegant building at 26 Mokhovaya Street, near the Kremlin. Due at first to personal and estate contributions and later in great part to the Soviet law of legal deposit—which required that one copy of every newly published document in the country be deposited in the library—the treasury of books, manuscripts and art began to burst at the roof beams of Pashkov House, and in 1960 the library moved to its current home at the corner of Vozdvizhenka and Mokhovaya streets, just west of the Kremlin.¹

One may, understandably, presume that the Russian State Library, being the largest library in the country and located in the country's capital, is *the* national library of Russia, but there are actually two national libraries in Russia: the Russian State Library and the Russian National Library (sometimes called the National Library of Russia), located in St. Petersburg.

This may seem quite paradoxical, but it is actually only partly so: when the Russian National Library was officially opened in 1814—having been established in 1795 and cultivated by Catherine the Great—St. Petersburg was the national capital, and in 1992, after having been called the State Public Saltykov-Shchedrin Library or simply the Public Library during most of the Soviet period, the St. Petersburg institution, by Yeltsin's presidential decree, was named the Russian National Library due to its "distinctive place in the nation's historical and cultural heritage."² Meanwhile, what is now called the Russian State Library had undergone a number of name changes, including variations of Moscow Public Museum and Rumyantsev Museum (originally) and the V. I. Lenin State Library of the USSR (1925–1992), after which it was officially renamed the Russian State Library. However, I encountered more than one person who still refers to it as the Lenin Library, or *Biblioteka imeni Lenina*—maybe because it is shorter and easier to say than the current name (*Rossiiskaia Gosudarstvennaia Biblioteka*), or maybe because the older name still lingers in heavy gold lettering on the building's façade.

Lenin was, of course, a major influence on the Russian State Library and the Soviet library system in general. In the Council of People's Commissars mandate "On Centralization of Library Organization in the RSFSR" (1920), as well as in a number of his speeches, letters and essays, he placed immense importance on enlarging and streamlining the Soviet library system as a means to encourage book-reading and to foster the education of the public—to use it as "an educational mass medium"³—thereby fortifying society and bringing the Soviet Union closer to its goal of becoming a socialist utopia. Under his guidance, the Lenin Library and libraries nationwide expanded considerably.

This verve for sculpting libraries to promote state ideology can be observed in virtually all Soviet leaders.⁴ Despite unfortunate events in Soviet history—the confiscation of personal libraries for state use, or the perverse purging of public library collections—librarianship as a science and a profession was honed to a level never before seen in Russia. Essential, far-reaching

library infrastructures were established, and library usage and literacy levels reached record highs. By 1961, at least—when a delegation of US librarians visited the Soviet Union under the US-Soviet Cultural Exchange Agreement—the Soviet library system was apparently quite well developed, leading the authors of the detailed report to conclude, "the dedication, competence and enthusiasm of Soviet librarians impressed the delegation very favorably."⁵ Unfortunately, in the ensuing years, particularly post-1991, Russian libraries experienced considerable hardship, primarily financially. The Russian State Library survived—and then some.



From the *Oktoikh*, the first book printed in Cyrillic script. Printed in 1491 in Krakow and held by the Russian State Library, it is the only complete copy remaining.

Currently the Russian State Library contains over 43.3 million items, including 16.9 million books and brochures; 12.9 million periodicals; 1.4 million serial publications; 663,500 newspapers; 368,600 musical scores; 148,700 maps; 1.3 million works of printed art (*izoizdanie*); 2.2 million specialized scientific and technical documents; 907,600 dissertations; 543,500 archival and handwritten works; 120,000 unpublished documents about culture and art; 33,300 audiovisual materials; 3.2 million items in microform; and 15,000 elec-

tronic documents. It is one of the largest libraries in the world, with over 170 miles (275 kilometers) of shelf space.⁶

On our tour, we were led through mint-hued halls of marble and a number of the reading rooms: airy, high-ceilinged spaces with rows of carrels, towering windows, plants, embellished wood trim and the omnipresent bust of Lenin. People in cardigans and jackets sat and read. One of the more fascinating aspects of our tour was the mechanical pulley retrieval system

A much more captivating stop on our tour was the Rare Books Department (aka the Museum of the Book), which includes, among other fine published riches, stunning art nouveau illustrations by Ivan Bilibin.

by which requested materials were transported from stacks deep in the library. Also a mint hue—layered with paint—the part of the contraption that we observed looked like a fantastical hybrid of a factory conveyor belt and an amusement ride from Gorky Park. I wish I could include a photo of it here, but I was forbidden to use my camera. Later, we stopped at a librarian's desk from which book requests were transmitted to the stacks through a vacuum system of pipes networked throughout the building. At the time we stood there listening to our guide, the mechanism was silent. A bright red plastic telephone sat on the clean desk, and a faded "Garfield" sticker adorned one of the tubes, which highly amused me and added a comical touch to the otherwise solemn atmosphere. A much more captivating stop on our tour, however, was the Rare Books Department (a.k.a. the Museum of the Book), which includes, among other fine published riches, stunning art nouveau illustrations by Ivan Bilibin.

The manuscript holdings—numbering roughly 600,000 storage units kept in the Scientific Department of Manuscripts—constitute the library's most significant and extensive collection.⁷ This important feature of the Russian State Library ranks

(continued on page 14)

(continued from page 13)

as one of the oldest archival centers in Russia. It includes one of the earliest Slavic books, the Arkhangelsk Gospel, dated to 1092; the famous 11th century Mariinsky Gospel, written in the Glagolitic alphabet; and the prized exemplar of late 14th century book arts, the Khitrovo Gospel, which specialists believe belongs to the school of medieval painter Andrei Rublev. More than 60,000 unique works of book culture in this collection represent virtually all Old Russian literature and the artwork of medieval Russian artists. West European, Arab, Persian, Turkish, Indian, Chinese and Japanese handwritten manuscripts are also represented in its holdings, as well as Greek manuscripts dating to the 6th century. The most extensive part of the collection is the more than 800 personal archives of significant public figures of Russian history, science, literature and art from the 16th to the 20th centuries; the records of nobility; and the series of Masonic lodge documents. More than any other departments of the library, however, people come to the Russian State Library to use the main stacks and the collection of dissertations.⁸

Yet librarianship worldwide has long since entered the electronic age, and the Russian State Library—as one would expect, considering its stature—has followed suit. In addition to its paper-based valuables and regalia of manuscripts and artwork, the library can boast of its electronic resources. On October 26th, 2005, the Russian State Library opened the first electronic library research room in Russia, equipped with laptops and plasma screens, gifts of LG Electronics.⁹ The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation has also financed a number of projects with the Russian State Library, notably the digitization of portions of the library's holdings. Currently, 166,500 of the library's titles have been digitized, and all of its collections are expected to expand due to the ongoing transfer of resources into electronic format.¹⁰

Some of the library's other recent projects include the National Digital Library (<http://rusnel.ru/>); the Russian Literary Heritage Online project, connecting Leo Tolstoy's library at his estate in Yasnaya Polyana to related material in the

Russian State Library collection (<http://tolstoy-nasledie.ru/>); the Russian Information Library Consortium, a search engine spanning the five largest libraries in Russia (<http://www.ribk.net/>); the State Symbols of Russia project, a digital image library (<http://simvolika.rsl.ru/>); and the Digital Library of Dissertations, which holds 33,594 abstracts and 140,432 dissertations and grows by approximately 17,000 candidate and 8,000 doctoral dissertations annually—"almost a railway carriage full of prints" (<http://diss.rsl.ru/>).

Leninka also has its own publishing house, Pashkov Dom, which was established in 1998 as successor to the library's Press Publications Department. It primarily publishes scientific titles, "literature on library subjects," and reprints of the Russian State Library's rare holdings, although it has recently increased its participation in joint printing projects with its foreign counterparts.¹¹

As one of Russia's foremost libraries, the Russian State Library must also face a number of problems that affect the library system in the Russian Federation broadly. Possibly the most troubling issue is the fact that in Russia there are currently about 130,000 libraries spread across its vast territory and under the jurisdiction of varying ministries and institutions. There is no one organization or authority uniting the dispersed library system and no common set of rules or plans for development governing all of them; obtaining reliable information about the holdings of regional libraries can be very difficult, if not impossible.¹² Moreover, only 10% of libraries at the raion (or county) level and only 3% of libraries at the village (*sel'skaia mestnost'*) level are equipped with online library systems.¹³ The condition of library collections and information services in general remains unsatisfactory. Plus, librarians in Russia generally work for extremely low wages.

The challenge facing the Russian State Library is acknowledging these nationwide issues while maintaining its own projects and enhancing its presence in the international library community. As this brief profile indicates, the library seems to be managing these tasks steadfastly. For example, an important stage in the develop-

ment of international library collaboration was marked with the recent signing of an agreement between the Library of Congress and the Russian State Library regarding the planning and development of a prototype for the World Digital Library (<http://www.worlddigitallibrary.org>). And in August 2007, the Russian State Library joined the European Library, which means users of the European Library's online databases will be able to access the Russian State Library's resources, further expanding the community served by this massive collection of information and cultural artifacts. ♦

Joyce Wiehagen is a REECAS Master's candidate (spring 2008), studying the book publishing industry and mass media in Russia. Irina Boldyreva is Chief Librarian in the Department of Library and Information Science and International Library Relations at the Russian State Library.

The Russian State Library is located at 3/5 Vozdvizhenka Street, Moscow, 119019, near Metro stops Biblioteka imeni Lenina and Borovitskaya. If you would like to contact the Russian State Library with general questions or to inquire about obtaining a reading (library) card, send e-mail to naydina@rsl.ru or, if you speak Russian, call 011-7-495-202-5790. The Russian State Library's Web sites are listed below.

Thank you to Michael Biggins for proofreading.

- 1 Russian State Library (Russian only), www.leninka.ru (accessed 1/30/08).
- 2 Russian National Library, www.nlr.ru (accessed 1/30/08).
- 3 P. L. Horecky. (1959). *Libraries and Bibliographic Centers in the Soviet Union*. Bloomington: Indiana University, p. 1.
- 4 M. J. Ruggles & R. C. Swank. (1962) *Soviet Libraries and Librarianship*. Chicago: American Library Association, pp.10.
- 5 Ibid. 104.
- 6 Russia.net, www.russia.net/entertainment/placestogo (accessed 2/2/08).
- 7 I. Boldyreva. (library statistics derived from a personal communication with Irina Boldyreva, 10/18/07).
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Russian State Library, "Pashkov Dom," <http://rsl.ru/index.php?f=28> (accessed 2/2/08).
- 12 I. Boldyreva, personal communication.
- 13 Ibid.

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Independence for Kosovo and the Final Phase of the Dissolution of Yugoslavia

BY FREDERICK MICHAEL LORENZ

In 1991, Yugoslavia began to break apart with Slovenia first seceding and Croatia soon after following suit. A bloody civil war ensued, and the worst violence was in Bosnia because at the time of the war Bosnia contained a mixed population of the three major parties to the conflict: Serbs, Croats and Bosniak Muslims. After four years of war and ineffective action by the UN, in late 1995 NATO resolve and US diplomacy finally brought an end to the killing. The Dayton Peace Agreement managed to hold Bosnia together, but today there is still no shared vision for the future among the three factions, and peace in Bosnia remains fragile. Although Kosovo was relatively quiet during the Bosnia war, the seeds for conflict had been sown. After repression, war and nearly ten years of reconstruction under the careful supervision of the United Nations, in February Kosovo's parliament declared independence from Serbia. However, Kosovo's independence remains a contentious issue with potential international ramifications.

Kosovo is in south Serbia in the former Yugoslavia. It covers a mountainous area about the size of New Hampshire. In 1989, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic began a long campaign to repress the ethnic Albanian majority. Massive human rights violations and ethnic cleansing by the Serbs in 1998 led to NATO's 1999 intervention. This was followed by a truce agreement and the establishment of a United Nations protectorate under the United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK).¹ In the year 2000, I was assigned as a UN Legal Affairs Officer in Kosovo, working to establish a functioning government in a place where the infrastructure had been destroyed and the victims (Albanians) had become the oppressors of the Serb minority. My time in Kosovo was shared between the UN Headquarters in Prishtina and the northern sector of Mitrovica.

Two years ago, the last Yugoslav Republic (Montenegro) became independent and with its February 17th declaration of



Belgian Peacekeeper in Mitrovica, May 2000

independence, the question of Kosovo's final status is nearing and international resolution. Technically, it can be argued that Kosovo remains a province of Serbia; UN Security Resolution 1244 created UNMIK and provides that the territorial integrity of Serbia must be respected.² This is despite the fact that since the end of the Kosovo War in 1999, Kosovo has been operating as a trusteeship, and NATO led forces have provided security. Kosovo is home to some two million people; more than 90 percent are ethnic Albanians. Kosovars have consistently demanded independence, and negotiations over the last two years have yielded no middle ground between full independence and Kosovo's autonomy as a province of Serbia.

At the end of the Kosovo War, as ethnic Albanian refugees returned, tens of thousands of Kosovo Serbs either fled Kosovo or were ethnically cleansed. Now about 60,000 Serbs remain in Kosovo, but they have either retreated into small enclaves across the province or live in the north, in lands adjacent to Serbia. In March 2004, riots in Kosovo left 19 people dead and chased some 4,000 Serbs and Roma from their homes, prompting the major powers dealing with the region to

make an attempt to finally resolve the Kosovo final status question.

In July 2006, I flew to Skopje, Macedonia, as part of a project to assist the Kosovo legislature draft its first constitution. Funding was provided by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) mission in Kosovo. Before my presentation, I was unfamiliar with the concept of constitutional court, but I learned enough in the two weeks before the program at least to sound knowledgeable. And we had a judge from the Constitutional Court of Bulgaria with much practical experience to help. Since a British professor was speaking on how to draft a constitution (and Great Britain has no constitution), it did not seem so strange to someone from a country without a constitutional court to speak on that subject. Our focus was the legislators of Kosovo, who at that time had not made much progress in the process of drafting their constitution. We used resources from the Law

All major Serb politicians oppose Kosovo independence, but they differed on methods of dealing with Kosovo once independence had been declared.

Group and the Post-Conflict Constitution Drafter's Handbook.³ This was my main source when speaking about the judiciary portion of a constitution.

Many countries today do not recognize Kosovo's declaration of independence, and the final step in the dissolution of Yugoslavia is still ongoing. Balkan history is very much alive for most people in the region. During the Battle of Kosovo Polje in 1389, the legendary Serb Prince Lazar, along with the help of Albanian forces, faced down the invading Ottoman armies. The defeat led to 500 years of Ottoman occupation. Although many Albanians

who later converted to Islam fought on the Serb side against the Ottomans, 19th Serbian ideology created a nationalist cult around the event. Today many Serbs regard Kosovo, with its magnificent churches and monasteries, as the cradle of its civilization.⁴ Although there are both moderates and radicals in the Serbian government, any Serbian leader who agrees to its loss would be committing political suicide. All major Serb politicians oppose Kosovo independence, but they differed on methods of dealing with Kosovo once independence had been declared.

In the Serbian elections in early February 2008, the moderate leadership celebrated a narrow victory. This might be considered to be a turning point for Serbia: a decision to move toward Europe and eventual European Union (EU) membership. The stage was then set for a declaration of independence by Kosovo—a formal declaration before the Serbian elections would have strengthened the hands of the Serb radical nationalists.

The EU leadership has a dilemma in dealing with Serbia: on one hand there is the desire to support moderate democratic elements, but on the other, there is also a need to apply pressure on Serbia to cooperate with the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. Two of the major indicted war criminals—Ratko Mladić and Radovan Karadžić—are still at large and rumored to be sheltered by Serbian authorities.⁵



© FREDERICK LORENZ

Constitution Program in Skopje, 2006 (author, front left)

Underlying the international politics, there are important legal issues relating to Kosovo independence. During my time as a legal advisor for UNMIK in 2000, it was assumed that independence could never be achieved without a change in UN Security Council Resolution 1244, which authorized the international trusteeship for Kosovo while reaffirming its legal status as a part of Yugoslavia, now Serbia. The terms of Resolution 1244 were unique. Never before had the Security Council created such a relationship with absolute power over the legislative, judicial and executive powers of a trustee territory. So there is no precedent for the final outcome or “end state” for Kosovo.

Russia maintains that it has veto power over this path to Kosovo independence as a permanent member of the Security Council. But the failure to achieve a negotiated solution has forced the rest of the international community to take a fresh look at the question. In Europe and the US, there is a belief now that if enough states recognize Kosovo as independent, Resolution 1244 should not pose an obstacle to independence. One argument is that the “territorial integrity” reference was merely in the preamble of the resolution and not legally binding. But the real argument, both legal and equitable, is that a single state (Russia) may not unilaterally block independence if Kosovo meets all the other requirements of statehood.

Until last year, many observers believed that Russia would abstain from efforts to block Kosovo independence, hoping to make gains elsewhere. The Russian-backed self-proclaimed republics of Abkhazia and South Ossetia in the Republic of Georgia might benefit and claim rights to independence based on the precedent of Kosovo. But Russia took the hard line on Kosovo, rejecting independence and supporting the nationalist elements in Serbia. In Russia and Serbia, the leadership is always conscious of the sentiment at home, and Russia is anxious to retain in-

fluence with the Serbs. And for Russia, having another former socialist country on the road toward the EU and NATO may be less than appealing.

Currently, we see a delicate diplomatic dance within the 27 member states of the EU. Although there has been hope for a single EU policy on independence, not all EU states immediately recognized Kosovo. Greece has been a traditional ally of the Serbs, and Spain has its own Basque minority to contend with. The US was one of the first to recognize Kosovo, and a majority of EU states soon followed. This

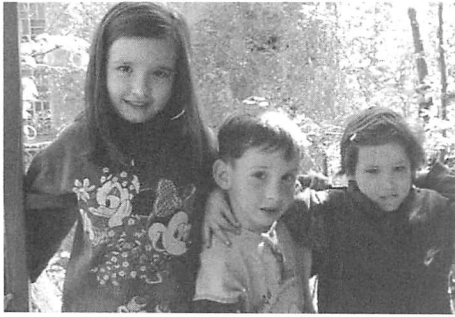
The Russian-backed self-proclaimed republics of Abkhazia and South Ossetia in the Republic of Georgia might benefit and claim rights to independence based on the precedent of Kosovo.

may give Kosovo functional independence even though Russia can block its admission to the United Nations in the short term.

So what will Kosovo look like in the future? Since 1999, Kosovo has held multiple democratic elections. It has a functioning multi-party system, an independent media and a functioning system of self-government. A continued international diplomatic and military presence in Kosovo needs to be maintained under the leadership of the EU. The creation of a prosperous and sustainable economic system presents a greater challenge. Such a system is essential for Kosovo's and the region's stability. International assistance and the hard work of the Kosovars themselves have largely undone war's damage, but uncertainty about Kosovo's future has prevented normal business relations with the rest of the world. A number of international studies have identified Kosovo's abundant supplies of soft coal as the basis for major electric power generation and an export industry, but it is now clear that only independence can ensure the stable and predictable political and legal environment to ensure Kosovo's future prosperity.

From my photos of Kosovo, I always go back those of the kids. Can you tell the

(continued on page 18)



My Serb landlord's grandkids



Albanian kids in Prishtina

(continued from page 17)

Serbs from the Albanians? The first photo on page 18 shows my (Serb) landlord's grandkids, and the second shows Albanians in Prishtina. At the end of my lectures, I usually ask the question, will they be willing to live peacefully together? Time will tell, and the next few months will be critical as an independent Kosovo tries to become a credible part of the international community.

Frederick (Rick) Lorenz obtained his undergraduate and law degrees from Marquette University. He served in the US Marine Corps for twenty-seven years as a judge advocate, including a tour as an infantry company commander. After his retirement from the Marine Corps as a colonel in 1998, he spent a year as a Fulbright Senior Scholar in St Petersburg, Russia, teaching courses in international law and US foreign policy. In 2000, he served as a United Nations legal affairs officer in Kosovo, working in the UN Civil Administration. He is a Senior

Peace Fellow for the Public International Law and Policy Group of Washington DC, with continuing projects in the Republic of Georgia and the self-proclaimed Republic of Nagorno-Karabakh. As a Senior Lecturer at the Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington, his current courses include International Humanitarian Law, International Law and the Use of Force, and Water and Security in the Middle East.

- 1 For more information on the United Nations mission in Kosovo, see www.unmikonline.org.
- 2 See www.nato.int/Kosovo/docu/u990610a.htm for the resolution's full text.
- 3 See www.publicinternationallaw.org the Post-Conflict Constitution Drafter's Handbook can be found on this site as well.
- 4 See Noel Malcom, *Kosovo: a Short History*, Macmillian, 1998
- 5 See Nick Hawton, The Hunt for Mladić and Karadžić, BBC News, 26 February, 2007. Additionally a copy of the indictment against these two former Serbian leaders can be found at www.un.org/icty/indictment/english/kar-ii950724e.htm

THE 14TH ANNUAL NORTHWEST REGIONAL CONFERENCE FOR
RUSSIAN, EAST EUROPEAN AND CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES

Nations, States and Identities in Russia, East Europe and Central Asia

Saturday, April 12, 2008

9:00 AM – 5:00 PM, PORTLAND STATE UNIVERSITY
PORTLAND, OREGON

REGISTRATION (9:15–10:00 am)

SESSION 1 (10:00–11:30 am)

- National Identity and Transborder Issues
- Politics and Economics in Chechnya and Central Asia

LUNCH & PLENARY (12:00–1:30 pm)

- Nations, States and Identities in Russia, East Europe and Central Asia

SESSION 2 (1:45–3:15 pm)

- Revolution and Evolution in the Former Soviet Union
- Power, Symbols and the Press in Russia and the Baltics
- Roundtable: Teaching Russian in Portland Schools

SESSION 3 (3:30–5:00 pm)

- Identity and Representation in Russia
- Looking Out, Looking In, Perspectives on Central Asia
- Old Believers: Language and Life in America

CLOSING RECEPTION (5:00–6:00 pm)

For more information or to register, please visit <http://jsis.washington.edu/ellison/>, call the Ellison Center at (206) 543-4852 or email reecas@u.washington.edu.

The Alpine Fund: The Challenge of Volunteering in Kyrgyzstan

BY ANDERS CONWAY

The plane from London emptied in Tbilisi, Georgia before completing the final leg to Bishkek. Those remaining were largely middle-aged, pudgy and North American. They were all going to Kyrgyzstan to volunteer, as was I. At this point, I had a minor crisis. Being neither middle-aged nor pudgy, I questioned my credentials as a volunteer for the first time. Still, I was North American. The rest would come with time.

I came to Bishkek to be Mountain Programs Coordinator for the Alpine Fund.¹ In 2000, a UNICEF project partnered some mountaineers with orphans living in the Kyrgyz Republic to make a movie. The movie contrasted the bleak setting of the orphanage with the majesty and freedom found in Kyrgyzstan's rolling, snow-capped mountain ranges. *Rabbit Sitting on a Fence* was enormously popular at many film festivals and won several awards.² After the screenings, many people asked how the "program" partnering alpinists and orphans was going. The reality was that the movie was a one-time project, not a program. UNICEF had no further plans to work with youth and mountain programs, and it was by chance that an American climber living in Bishkek volunteered to take youth to the mountains. This new program created by volunteers and initially sponsored by UNICEF was named the Alpine Fund.

The founding principle of the Alpine Fund was to teach kids qualities such as "leadership" and "initiative" through wilderness experience. These qualities were to assist them in the equally sponsorship-worthy occupation of "beating the odds." The odds are stacked pretty steeply against poor kids in Kyrgyzstan. They are more-or-less at the bottom of the barrel in a small, poor country with significant structural issues impeding its path towards stable, independent and wealthy nationhood. Through the Alpine Fund, young people learn an appreciation for the mountains as well as the importance of responsible environmental stewardship. Many volunteers, including myself, have been known to add a dash of western-style gen-

der equality training by encouraging the girls to climb and to hike (man stuff) and the boys to cook and to do dishes (woman stuff). However, this is only the tip of the iceberg, both in terms of the projects in which I engaged and the broader picture. The story of the Alpine Fund is the story of an NGO working within a universe where success is often hard to measure and where attempts at solving deep, systemic issues wholesale often impede a clear-sighted assessment of the challenges facing Kyrgyzstan.

Currently, the Alpine Fund is a small non-profit first registered in Kyrgyzstan and later in the United States. It operates out of Kyrgyzstan and its ultimate purpose is really open to interpretation. Since its inception, the Alpine Fund has taken kids from local orphanages and "bazaar kids" (children whose families live and work at one of Bishkek's large bazaars) to the mountains. The Alpine Fund continues to focus on wilderness experience as a vehicle for improving lives in Kyrgyzstan. Since its establishment, however, it has become apparent that the relationship between wilderness travel and demonstrable employable life-skills education is tenuous, hence the Fund's eventual inability to meet measurable UNICEF criteria and its loss of the UN branch's support.

Obviously, the challenges of poverty, dysfunctional families and a dismal job market faced by these kids will not be solved by trips to the mountains. Likewise, deeply ingrained attitudes about environmental exploitation and gender roles will not be rapidly altered by a few well-meaning westerners. What is worse is that these problems compound one another in an almost cruel sort of way. Access to Kyrgyzstan's economy is largely based on family

connections. Being from an orphanage or working on the periphery of Bishkek's vast bazaar economy is generally the result of a *lack* of advantageous connections. The Alpine Fund quickly learned that tourism companies would rather employ a nephew or niece over a slightly more-qualified orphan. Ironically, the vast, systemic, ostensibly immeasurable cultural problems the Alpine Fund was established to combat, led to UNICEF's withdrawal of funding.



The Alpine Fund in Bishkek (author in center)

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In response to these systemic issues, in an effort to provide more specific skills to the kids, the newly independent, privately sponsored NGO began offering English classes to motivated participants willing to commit to regular class attendance. However, while English speaking ability is more tangibly employable than "initiative and leadership," speaking some English does little to alter the fundamental obstacles children face when they enter into adulthood.

So what is the point of bringing kids into the mountains or offering English if it does not resolve the root issues of poverty, economic exclusion and family dysfunction? One might point out that bringing kids to the mountains and teaching English is more about what the volunteers want to

(continued on page 20)

(continued from page 19)

give than what the kids really need. I think that this is true, but that the presence of volunteers nevertheless results in a lot of good. Immeasurable experiences, which may appear only loosely correlative with concrete improvements—like forging *personal* understanding and connection with these kids based on experience—are actually at the heart of effectively engaging systemic issues which themselves defy simple solutions and measurements.

Working for the Alpine Fund taught me that there is not a straightforward solution to the multi-layered problems these young people must confront. However, devoting time and attention to grasp the basics of their tough situations changed my original posture toward these adversities. I began to recognize that part of the problem was putting too much faith in the possibility of large-scale, top down change in a system in which change has to come from the inside out.

A concrete example will help to illustrate my point. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the bottom fell out for Ulan's family. Ulan's family had lived in a small town in a rural region of Kyrgyzstan and could no longer make ends meet. The kids would have to work rather than study. Ulan was an outstanding student. His brothers were also good students. So the family decided to put the older brothers to work full-time, so that Ulan could study and hopefully support the family more substantially in the future. But there were no jobs available where they lived. Ulan's family decided to move to Bishkek during the worst years of the economic depression (around 1997)³, so that the kids could work at the bazaar as porters. Ulan worked too, but on weekends and over breaks. Being a porter in the bazaar is backbreaking work for anyone, most of all for teenagers and preadolescents. His siblings and he, however, did receive free food during the workday at the bazaar from an organization called the Center for the Protection of Children. Around 2004, the Alpine Fund began working with the Center for the Protection of Children. During this time, Ulan began going on weekend trips to the mountains.

Ulan was intent to use his time with the Alpine Fund to learn English. The vol-

unteers were excited to offer English classes to Ulan and to three other interested pupils. Ulan excelled. The four students of the English class at the Alpine Fund accumulated a fan club of former volunteers as well as well-wishers from the expatriate community in Bishkek. The friendly relationships with English speakers helped to motivate and to encourage the students to study. Having seen their commitment to the classes, the Alpine Fund's country director offered them minor positions at the organization. The positions only paid 15–20 dollars per month, but in Kyrgyzstan this represents excellent pay for a part-time job. When Ulan received his first paycheck, he bought a 50-kilo bag of flour at the bazaar. That would be the base of his family's meals for the winter. Volunteers at the Alpine Fund meanwhile worked on Ulan's behalf to gather funding from people and organizations in the US and to secure a place for Ulan in one of Bishkek's Universities. As Ulan's economic contribution to the family increased and even greater educational opportunities unfolded, his family's situation began to improve. Ulan's older brother, Kuba, began to take English classes and to help with Alpine Fund trips as well.

The Alpine Fund made the connections enabling Ulan to enroll in a university prep course at the American University in Central Asia, the premier institution of higher education in the region. Now Ulan is attending another local university. He still works with the Alpine Fund. The other members of Ulan's English class continue to study and to work as interns, and the country director and volunteers are currently working on finding a way for them to earn a high school diploma and to go on to higher education. Unlike Ulan, these kids were older members of their families and had to work to make ends meet. Consequently, they never finished secondary, or sometimes even middle school. But with the support of some people in more fiscally fortunate parts of the world, they hope to finish school. This story demon-



Alpine Fund hike in Ala Archa

© ANDERS CONWAY

strates that small-scale help is possible and, moreover, that even a little help can go a long way. A year of university in Kyrgyzstan costs about \$300. That is an insurmountable sum in a country where a doctor earns 40 dollars per month. But for Americans who know how to get the money and how to get it to those who need it, \$300 is no problem.

The strength of the Alpine Fund is its openness, flexibility and intimacy. The volunteers are drawn by their own interests, such as travel and the outdoors. Ideas about solving the problems of Kyrgyzstan are secondary. The Alpine Fund encourages volunteers to take the time to survey the entire landscape of Kyrgyz issues and to lend a hand as best they can, where they can. I find this to be an attractive combination: self-interest channeled toward making connections with others. Setting up achievable goals is a fundamental and often overlooked aspect of volunteering.

Many young people and NGOs approach volunteering with a self-aggrandized vision. They set out to be a big part of the ultimate resolution for problems of health, education and poverty. In reality, these problems reflect the very imperfections of humanity. There is no surefire route to ameliorating these problems. Instead, working for small-scale change is not only a more constructive approach, but also one in which gaining accurate knowledge about broader, cultural issues becomes truly possible for the volunteers themselves.

Today, the Alpine Fund is not growing. It remains a small organization staffed by a few highly dedicated and involved people. But it is raising more money and spending it effectively. It is spending more on things it knows it does well—like put-

ting kids in schools and universities, like buying school supplies for orphans and taking city kids who otherwise have no access to the mountains, on trips. It is serving its purpose more adeptly, yet its biggest impact may only be felt with time. I went to Kyrgyzstan wanting to share the many lessons of wilderness travel with people from a wholly different background than my own. In retrospect, I think that I imparted far less than I had hoped, but the experience undoubtedly taught me much about change, about culture and about the

necessity of working, feet on the ground, or in the mountains as the case may be, with a set of realistic goals that I know I can fulfill. ♦

After graduating from the University of Puget Sound with an International Political Economy BA, Anders traveled to Kyrgyzstan to volunteer for the Alpine Fund. At the Alpine Fund, Anders was able to combine his interest in Central Asia and languages with his passion for youth wilderness travel. At the Jackson School, Anders is continuing his study of Russian and Kyrgyz. He hopes to return to Central Asia soon where he will undertake field work in the region's bazaars.

- 1 For more information on the Alpine Fund, see www.alpinefund.org/Home.html
- 2 *Rabbit Sitting on a Fence*. Produced by UNICEF. Directed by Evgeniy Kotlov. Epos International Cinemavideocentre, 2000.
- 3 *World Development Indicators*, World Bank Online, <http://ddp-ext.worldbank.org/offcampus.lib.washington.edu/ext/DDPQQ/report.do?method=showReport> (accessed December 13, 2007). Measured in PPP adjusted GDP per capita in 2000 US Dollar terms, the Kyrgyz plummeted from \$2408/per capita in 1989 to \$1220 in 1995. Since then the economy has more-or-less steadily recovered to \$1755 in 2005.

ELLISON CENTER NEWS

JOSE ALANIZ announced the recent publication of his essay "Nice, Instructive Stories Their Psychology Can Grasp": How to Read Russian Children's Comics" in *Russian Children's Literature and Culture*, ed. Marina Balina & Larissa Rudova, Routledge, 2007. He also has other publications related to Russian comics forthcoming, perhaps the most fun of which are his translations of several Russian stories for The Mammoth Book of Zombie Comics, coming out in 2008.

ROBERT BIRD (BA 1991) recently published a new book *The Russian Prospero: The Creative Universe of Viacheslav Ivanov* (Wisconsin, UP).

SABRINA DEASY (MAIS 2004) was married July 28, 2007 in Las Vegas.

ELIZABETH GRYGÓ (MAIS 1990) worked in Russia & Central Asia for five years between 1992 and 2000. Currently she consults in finance systems and operational effectiveness.

STEPHEN E. HANSON published two new essays: "Rationality, Structure, and Agency in Post-Soviet Russian Democratization," *Perspectives on Politics* 5(4), December 2007, 793-802; and "Russian Nationalism in a Post-Ideological Era," in Eugene B. Rumer and Celeste A. Wallander, *Russia Watch: Essays in Honor of George Kolt*, (Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies Press, 2007), pp. 10-25.

LAUREN LAFARO (REECAS MA 2007) was selected as a fellow for the Nonproliferation Graduate Program—a joint venture between the Department of Energy and the Pacific

Northwest National Laboratory—and moved to DC this spring in order to start work at NA-242, the Global Security Engagement and Cooperation program office. The program focuses on building multilateral nonproliferation regimes and promoting regional cooperation in order to stem the tide of WMD.

WILL LASKY (REECAS MA Candidate) recently published a retrospective on the cinema of Owen Wilson and Wes Anderson entitled "The Suicide of Genius: Owen Wilson and Wes Anderson in Life and Art." The retrospective analyses the films of Owen Wilson and Wes Anderson as they map a strange convergence of life and art while commenting on contemporary therapy society's troubled relationship with the idea of 'creative genius.' The article can be viewed at www.24liesasecond.com.

LAURA LOCKARD (BA 1996) has been fortunate to have observed four elections abroad because of her REECAS background. Through the Organization for Security & Cooperation in Europe, she observed elections in Kosovo, Russia, Ukraine and Kazakhstan. She has also worked with the European Network of Election Monitoring Organizations in Kyrgyzstan. Currently, she works for King County Elections as the election's program manager.

After working at Microsoft for six year, spending two of those years at the Singapore branch, **JEFFREY LUMPKIN** (MAIS 1997) recently moved with his wife and son to Oregon to start a wine business.

MATTHEW RICHARDSON (BA 1990) was recently elected to the Pierce County Regional Council. He recently had a fourth child, Luke Richardson.

KARL SEELEY (MAIS 1995) is in his fifth year at Hartwick College, teaching environmental economics, macroeconomics, development, (post-communist) transition and an array of introductory topics. He and his wife Kate have two little boys, Ben and Garrett.

DOUGLAS SMITH's new book, *The Pearl: A True Tale of Forbidden Love in Catherine the Great's Russia*, will be published by Yale University Press in May 2008. Based on years of research in archives and museums across Russia, "The Pearl" tells the dramatic story of the great serf-diva Praskovia "The Pearl" Kovalyova and her master and later husband, Count Nicholas Sheremetev. Learn more at www.douglas-smith.info.

After 10 years of leading development efforts for Project Harmony designing US State Department & USAID programs, **COLLEEN (HALLEY) THOMAS** (MAIS 1996) is now applying nonprofit management skills doing environmental advocacy at the state level in Vermont.

SULYNN WARNER-BEAN (BA 1985) retired from a career in commercial aviation (Alaska Airlines), which included stints in customer relations management, public affairs, media relations and emergency response planning. Now she is a consultant specializing in aviation disaster response—both operationally and in relationship to humanitarian issues.

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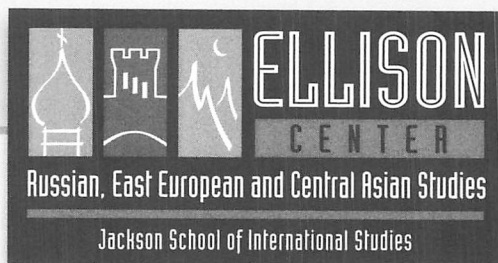
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UPCOMING ELLISON CENTER EVENTS

APRIL 2: Jackson School Outreach Centers: Hot Spots in Our World

"Russia, the EU and the United States: Soul mates?" Darryl Johnson, American Ambassador, Retired. Walker Ames Room, Kane Hall, 7:00–9:00 pm.

APRIL 7: Ambassador Erlan Idrissov

HE Erlan Idrissov Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Kazakhstan to the United States. Parrington Hall, Room 308 (Commons), 6:00–8:00 pm.

APRIL 12: 14th Annual REECAS-NW Conference at Portland State, Portland, OR

"Nations, States, and Identities in Russia, East Europe and Central Asia." Portland State University, 10:00 am – 5:00 pm. A reception will follow. See page 18 for more information.

APRIL 14: The Donald Treadgold Memorial Lecture

"Postcommunism as a Rorschach Test: Sources and Consequences of Various Models of Post-1989 Transformations." Dr. Jan Kubik, 2006–07 Distinguished Fulbright Chair, Warsaw University; Associate Professor of Political Science, Rutgers; Recurring Visiting Professor, Centre for Social Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw. University of Washington Club Conference Room, 3:30 pm. A reception will follow.

APRIL 25: UW International Security Colloquium

"Powerlines: The Geopolitics of Eurasian Energy." Celeste Wallander.

APRIL 26: Washington Weekend

"Jackson School International Knowledge Bowl." With host: Professor Wolf Latsch, Thomson Hall Room 101, 10:30 am–12:00 pm.

APRIL 30: Polish Studies Distinguished Speaker Series

"Adam Michnik Lecture" Kane Hall, Room 220, 7:00–9:00 pm.

MAY 1: The European Union After Enlargement

"Change versus Continuity: The Nature of the Enlarged European Union." Kane Hall, Room 220, 7:30–9:00 pm. For more information visit <http://jsis.washington.edu/euc>.

MAY 2: The European Union after Enlargement

"The European Union after Enlargement: Policies and Politics in a New Context." Husky Union Building, Room 310, 8:00 am–5:00 pm. For more information visit <http://jsis.washington.edu/euc>.

MAY 10: 20th Annual Poppe Symposium

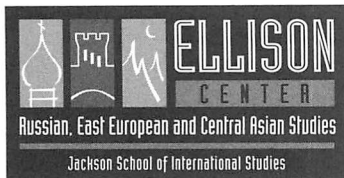
"Inner/Central Asian Studies." Denny Hall, Rooms 215 and 215A, 8:30 am–6:00 pm. For more information see page 9.

MAY 12: Ellison Center Speaker Series

"Is Russian Labor Really Docile? The Post-Communist Proletariat in Comparative Historical Perspective," Dr. Rudra Sil, Associate Professor and Undergraduate Chair, University of Pennsylvania. Thomson Hall, Room 317, 2:30–4:00 pm.

JUNE 25–26: Summer Seminar for Educators

"Life Cycle Rituals and Traditions across Cultures." UW Seattle Campus. For more information see page 22.



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