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## Send in the Turks

BY ADAM SMITH ALBION

MOSCOW, Russia

20 August 1995

The Russian White House (or, more accurately, the Government House of the Russian Federation) must be one of the best-known buildings in the world. It stands on the bank of the Moscow River just west of Moscow's famous Garden Ring Road — a gleaming, spangly white structure shaped like a Chiclet. It lives up to its name: at a distance, it seems to be made of bone china, and in the bright sun it has an almost enamel finish to it. I walked there from the nearest metro station, now named Barrikadnaya to commemorate the barricades erected here against the anti-Gorbachov putschists in 1991. I stood on Kalinskii Bridge and looked at the building for about an hour in astonishment.

The source of my astonishment was this: I recall vividly how in October 1993 I sat in Seattle, half a world away, and watched on TV as the White House burned. Black smoke poured out of the windows of the top four floors. I am sure I am not alone in remembering the building as a smoldering ruin. I had never adjusted my mental picture of it, because that was the last image I saw. After three days of intense coverage the media lost interest and turned their cameras elsewhere.

Probably most people, including myself, forgot to ask what happened to the White House after that. The answer may be surprising: the Turks fixed it. Two Turkish construction giants, the firms Enka and Gama, were awarded the job by the Russian government. There was no public competition for the contract. The moment the smoke had cleared, Turks were swarming over the site like an Anatolian army. Gama rebuilt the bottom, Enka rebuilt floors 8 to 20 and restored the building's mechanical and electrical systems. Approximately 10,000 Turkish workers worked around the clock, operating three 8-hour shifts. They began on October 30 and completed the work in three months, ahead of schedule. It cost the Russian Federation around \$35 million, a modest sum under the circumstances. The Russians, accustomed to the poor standards of their own construction companies, were impressed, to say the least.

The involvement of foreigners in prestigious Russian building projects is not exactly new. After all, when Tsar Ivan III began rebuilding the Kremlin in brick in 1485 (until then it had been made of wood and white stone), he invited the Italians to help him. It is easy to see the hands of fifteenth and sixteenth century Italians in the Kremlin's Cathedral of the Archangel Michael or the Faceted Hall. Peter the Great also had teams of European architects, masons, stone-cutters, carpenters and metal-workers on hand (not to mention shipwrights and caulkers) to translate his fantasies, on land and sea, into reality. However, these were Westerners — and, incidentally, Christians — in the tsar's service. Today, the way that some 20 to 30, independent Turkish firms have stormed the Russian construction market, bringing with them a semipermanent resident workforce, is remarkable and unprec-

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edented. There is competition, notably from German and South Korean (and Russian!) companies, but the Turks are winning handily. The two most prestigious contracts in the land — renovating the White House and the State Duma — were handed to Turkish firms. And in spring of this year the tenders to rebuild Chechnya were also awarded to Turks. Enka and Gama, the team that rebuilt the White House, will start by constructing 10-15 large buildings in Grozny. For now, the only serious challenges that Turkish firms face in the Russian construction market are from one another.

## Willing Workmen

It is almost a cliché that the Turks are good at construction. Today, according to the Turkish Construction Association (*Turkiye Muteahhitler Birligi*), 173 firms are at work in 28 countries around the world, from Germany to Pakistan, from Israel to Malaysia. Turks even lead the field for contracts in Europe. *Why* are they good at construction? No one seems to know for sure. I have picked up a lot of pet answers, but never met anyone who could pinpoint a reason. Clearly, there are a variety of factors. First, Turkish construction companies began to establish reputations in the 1970's as a response to demographic changes at home. Until the early 1960's Turkey was still essentially an agricultural country. Thenceforth Turkey began to modernize, industrialize and urbanize rapidly, and required apartment blocks, hospitals, roads, sewers and urban infrastructure generally. Indigenous Turkish firms rose to meet these needs and gained a great deal of experience. Skill in housing construction has been a particular asset in winning contracts in Russia. However, by this reasoning alone construction companies from Mexico or Thailand, which have also undergone massive development and urbanization recently, would be vying with Turks in world markets. But they are not.

A second important factor has certainly been the tourism boom in Turkey. As tourists discovered serene fishing villages called Bodrum and Kusadasi, they ushered in a field-day for the builders. Turkish firms cut their teeth on hotels, condominiums, parking-lots, restaurants, cinemas and marinas — the whole crop of over-building that has spoiled most of the Aegean coastline today but brought enormous revenues for Turkey. Crazy, unregulated development is hardly unique to Turkey, however. Greybeards among us remember when Malaga, Marbella and Puerto Banos were picturesque retreats and the south coast of Spain was not a colony of British jobs. But the Spanish boom has not served as a springboard for Spanish construction companies the way the Turkish boom has.

Other reasons account for the Turks' success. They have been fortunate in that the construction business interpenetrates other strong sectors in the Turkish economy. Industries like cement, steel, electrical goods, heavy machinery and forestry products reinforce (and depend on) construction work. That is not to forget fur-

niture, plumbing, carpentry, sanitary fixings, paints, carpets and other things required once a building has been finished. These sectors have advanced hand-in-hand with construction. A conglomerate like Enka Group, once it has erected an office tower in Moscow, can paint it, wire it, and fit and furnish it without buying from outside — everything it needs is produced by companies that it controls itself.

Furthermore, Turks were welcomed into Islamic countries undergoing development in the 1980's. They gathered a great deal of experience building in northern Africa and the Middle East. Before the collapse of the USSR, the three most profitable markets for Turkish construction were Libya (\$14.5 billion of contracts completed to date), Saudi Arabia (\$4.2 billion) and Iraq (\$3.5 billion). (In fact, most of the Turkish managers I met in Moscow had done their "apprenticeships" in Libya or Iraq.) But by the beginning of the 1990's, these traditional markets were drying up, partly due to falling oil prices, but largely as a result of the Gulf War. Lucrative contracts to rebuild Baghdad failed to materialize, although Kuwait was, for a time, profitable (\$504 million). In Saudi Arabia, construction had simply reached a saturation point after so many years of building.

I can add one or two observations of my own on the subject of the Turks' efficiency and excellence. The teams really do work well on the ground. They are motivated, no doubt, by good wages. An average monthly salary for a Turkish worker in Russia is 1,200 DM (\$820), for an overseer 2,000 DM (\$1370). This is double what they would earn in Turkey. They are disciplined on the site. They have sharp-eyed foremen who keep order well. Too well, from my point of view: I was chased away from two sites for distracting the workers. I tried to return to one the next day — a 10,000-square-meter site on Neglinnaya Street where Gursoy is building the Stolichny Bank's new Central Office. The foreman, overseeing 127 workers, caught sight of me again. This time he didn't hesitate to announce out loud that I was a spy from another Turkish company. Perhaps he believed it. At any rate, his ploy was effective: I was shunned.

The Turkish teams also have a clear idea of the chain of command and who to go to in case there is a problem. I asked some Enka workers: "What do you do if the cement mixer breaks down?" "Go to Cem Bey." "What if you're positioning a girder and you see it's cracked?" "Tell Halil Bey." "Who's responsible if the struts for the ceiling supports aren't completely straight?" "That wouldn't happen." "Well, if it did, who would be responsible?" "Osman Bey."

I had this conversation over lunch at Enka's Sretenka Complex site on Poslednii Pereulok. Four buildings are being restored to make 11 offices and 35 residential apartments. Enka has erected a sign in Russian that reads: "We apologize for the inconvenience which we are causing. Construction will be completed soon and

we will present you with a lovely new neighborhood." Five minutes away on the same street is a similar site being worked by Russians and Ukrainians. The only identification is a sign reading: "Moscow City Government: Keep Out." I wandered in without hindrance. I even climbed up to the second floor of a half-finished building, although work was going on. Everyone ignored me. I met two Ukrainians leaning against a shed. We had a chat about their home towns, which I had visited. I asked them what they earned: if they were telling the truth, a little over \$40/month. Then they beckoned me to follow them around the corner of the shed, uncorked a bottle and offered me a drink.<sup>1</sup>

### The Natural Gas Agreement and Petrovsky Passage

The Natural Gas Agreement between Turkey and the USSR, signed in 1984, gave Turkish construction companies a chance to break into the Soviet and post-Soviet markets. It stipulated that, in return for supplies of Russian gas, Turkey would pay in the form of goods and services. It was not a direct bilateral barter deal, though.<sup>2</sup> Rather, Turkey would buy gas with money that the Soviet government agreed to spend only on importing Turkish commodities and services. These services were exclusively construction. Thus, the agreement was actually triangular, between Ankara, Moscow and the Turkish private sector.

The agreement survived the demise of the USSR without revision, and is now in force between Turkey and Russia.<sup>3</sup> In practice it works like this. Every December Ankara tries to anticipate its gas needs for the following year. BOTAS, the Turkish state pipeline company, then opens a letter of credit on January 1 and subsequently on the first of each month to pay in advance for that month's gas imports from Russia. If it buys too much gas in March, it buys less in April, and thus fine-tunes imports throughout the year. The Russian supplier is Gazprom. Gazprom used to be the Soviet monopoly gas enterprise. Today it controls 95 percent of Russia's natural gas output (hence, 34 percent of the world's known reserves) and although it was partially privatized recently the government retains a controlling share of 40 percent.

Toward the end of each year, Gazprom and the Russian Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations sit down with BOTAS, the Turkish Embassy's Commercial Attaches and a boggle of bankers to settle up for the year and hash out the details of the agreement for next year. The exact percentages of income that Russia will spend on Turkish goods and on services are renegotiated annually. The average has been: 50 percent on goods, 25 percent on services. (The remaining 25 percent is devoted to a complicated mechanism whereby Russia can pay back consumer and investment credits that it has received from Turkey.) The Turkish side has no say over how the Russians spend the 25 percent on construction. The Russians choose the projects, tender them and choose a contractor themselves. The Turks do have a say, however, about the goods that the Russians buy: presently on the Turks' list are various foodstuffs, agricultural products like hazelnuts and tobacco, and industrial goods like engines and car batteries.

The Natural Gas Agreement came into effect in 1987, three years after it was signed. That year Turkey imported \$40 million worth of gas. This number rose the next year to \$75 million (see table). 1988 was also the year when the first Turkish construction companies began setting up in Russia. The ice cracked in 1988 when Enka was awarded the contract to refurbish the luxurious Petrovsky Passage, a mall of swank shops in the

**Turkish Natural Gas Imports from USSR/ Russia**

1987	\$40 m
1988	\$75 m
1989	\$170 m
1990	\$250 m
1991	\$338 m
1992	\$300 m
1993	\$350 m
1994	\$350 m
<u>1995</u>	<u>\$400 m (estimate)</u>
TOTAL	\$2.273 billion

1. I accepted the drink, for old times' sake; in July 1989, before the Velvet Revolution, I worked for three weeks building a vat at the Branik Brewery in Prague. The company was the state construction firm Armabeton. Branik 12 percent was universally acknowledged to be the worst beer in Czechoslovakia, and spawned a well-known couplet, *Kdo pije Branik/ Sere jako oranik* — "Whoever drinks Branik gets the runs like a small black horse." I can vouch for this, and we drank it all day long. Thus doubly impaired in both head and bowels, we did at least as little work as these two Ukrainians hiding behind the shed. NB: Eastern European construction companies such as Armabeton, conversant with the Soviet market, were the Turks' first competitors in Russia during perestroika.

2. GATT forbids barter trade on a government basis. Turkey had numerous barter agreements with Eastern European countries, especially in the 1970's — with Poland and Czechoslovakia for power plants, with Romania for the Middle Anatolian Petroleum Refinery — and an important trade with Iran for oil, now liquidated.

3. Other agreements affecting Turkish business generally, including construction, have not been inherited so easily. The Russian Parliament, for example, has demanded that the Turkish-Soviet document on Mutual Protection of Investments be renewed. A Turkish-Russian version has been initialed and awaits ratification, hopefully before 1996.

center of Moscow. The contract price was \$19.5 million. The sum represented a considerable proportion of the money that the Russian money had earned up to that time from the Natural Gas Agreement to spend on Turkish construction (at least 65 percent).

The Moscow City government reportedly worried that a Turkish firm was a risk. They didn't know the Turks, and some Russian racism seems to have been at work. (It is well known, for example, that the Turkish company Tekfen failed at first to penetrate the Russian market. However, when it bought out a German company and reapplied for the same tenders under a German name, it was welcomed with open arms.<sup>4</sup>) Enka's success in renovating the Petrovsky Passage eased many Russian doubts about the Turks. It was largely responsible for the Turks' being handed the job of rebuilding the White House.

It is estimated that during the past 8 years, Turks have completed at least \$6 billion worth of construction in Russia.<sup>5</sup> This volume clearly outstrips what can be accounted for by the Natural Gas Agreement. In other words, Turks are now building for private clients, and the Russian government is shelling more out of its own coffers. Furthermore, the German government has contributed 8 billion DM (\$5.4 billion) toward a military rehousing program (36,000 residences, approximately 2 million square meters of living space) for ex-Soviet soldiers pulled out of East Germany. Turks, with their experience in housing construction at home and in other Islamic countries, have been much in demand.

The companies with the largest stakes in Russia today are probably Enka, Tekfen, Gama, Tekser, Baytur, MIR and Alarko. Most of their work has been housing/residential, a term that includes office buildings and hotels. But Turks are also responsible for hospitals, shops, power plants, heating centers for housing projects, airports, bridges and factories. (If one includes their activity in the CIS as a whole, one can add utilities, gold mines and the laying of pipelines.) Turks are working from the Leningradskaya oblast' to Siberia, and from Moscow to Sochi. They have also, uncharacteristically, taken on the expansion or renovating of Russia's system of ports in the Black Sea (Tuapse, Novorossiysk) and the Sea of Azov (Port Kavkaz, Yeysk). Tekser is even building a hotel for cosmonauts, waiting for launches! At \$15 million, the company acknowledges that this Russian Cosmos Club is smaller than

their regular contracts, but they are hoping it brings them prestige. I was disappointed to hear the hotel has been unimaginatively named "Sputnik."

### *Gurbetciler* — Workers' camps — Tea and billiards

Approximately 25,000 Turks are at work on construction in Russia today. The figure fluctuates as projects come and go. This number is tiny when compared with the Turkish community in Germany (2 million people, 2.6 percent of the German population), but I have noticed that Turks are growing aware of their compatriots in Russia and have begun to equate them loosely with the workers in Germany. *Gurbetci*, meaning a worker abroad, used to signify a *Gastarbeiter* in Germany, but I have now heard it used to mean a Turk in Russia. I have even heard some joking references to *Rusya'daki Almancilarimiz* — "Our Germans in Russia."

A Turk usually travels to Russia to work for 6 months. His contract is renewable. He has been offered a package deal, including salary, room and board (three meals a day), transportation, insurance and medical treatment. As mentioned before, his salary is about 50 percent larger than what he would earn at home. If he is a manager or overseer, he will arrive at Sheremet'ev II airport. If he is a common worker, he will come by train or by the three-day bus that leaves from the stop just above Robert College in Istanbul. In either case, he will be met at the station or airport by company representatives who will hold his hand the whole way.

In fact, the situation of Turks in Russia is very different from their *Gastarbeiter* experience in Germany. Unlike their status in Germany, they are coming to work for Turkish firms, not local ones. Although they often work beside Russians who are hired as engineers or architects, they generally do not mix with Russian society, or vice versa. I found, though, that Russians at large had good impressions of the Turks; this may be because, unlike Germans, the Russians have never seen them collecting garbage or sweeping the streets. No significant inter-national clashes have been reported to date. Turks rated their relations with Russians as good overall (better, ironically, than with Azeri and Kazakh co-workers, who are jealous at being paid less than Turks), but reckoned that the police stopped them to check their papers more than usual.

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4. Enka won the Petrovsky Passage tender because of the personal lobbying of Enka's chairman, Sarik Tara, who was a personal friend of Gorbachov. He is also intimate with Yeltsin, which puts him on his way to being the Turkish Armand Hammer. The joke doing the rounds in Moscow has Sarik Bey encouraging Yeltsin to launch a war somewhere else, since whenever he blasts anything (the White House, Grozny) Enka gets the job of rebuilding.

5. The Turkish embassy in Moscow, which made the estimate, acknowledges that the figure should probably be higher, as firms may not have reported all their activities in order to dodge taxes. Double taxation is a major problem for Turkish companies. The Avoidance of Double Taxation Agreement, signed by Chernomyrdin and former Turkish Prime Minister Ciller in September 1993, was ratified by the Turkish parliament seven months later but still awaits ratification by the Russian side.

Turkish workers may have stayed in Russia a number of years, earning good money, but few are thinking of settling. A tiny proportion marry Russian women, but in that case they have determined to stay in Russia: no one has heard of a case where a Turk intended to take his Slavic bride home. Nor do they bring their families with them: Turkish enclaves are wholly male. There are no special provisions made, therefore, for schooling, Friday prayers, circulation of Turkish newspapers, Turkish-language entertainment or any of the trappings of community life, such as has happened in Germany. (Admittedly, Turks have lived in Germany for thirty years and only eight in Russia.) All companies have a personnel department ready to counsel culture-shocked or homesick employees, and some have satellite TV for management, but that is the extent of the expatriate support structure. No "Turkey Town" district is springing up in Moscow, with doner kebabs roasting on every corner, as one might see in Berlin or Rostock; the workers eat at least lunch and dinner on the building sites, where Turkish cooks prepare dishes as close as possible to what they would eat at home.

In Moscow, workers usually live scattered around the city in hotels (where they often eat breakfast). I estimate the average is four to a room, eight sharing a toilet. Gama workers tend to live directly on their sites. Enka has finally decided to build a camp for all its workers in Moscow; it will accommodate 3,000 people. This is an indication at last that the company is confident in making a long-term commitment to business in the country. The site of the camp, incidentally, is a corner of an 180,000-square-meter plot at Krasnye Kholmy (Red Hills). This is a desolate area between the Moscow River and Obvodnoi Canal that I think of as Moscow's Canary Wharf. Enka will develop it (as a joint venture with the Moscow City Government and the Russian Ministry of Culture) into the Russian Cultural and Business Center. The complex, due to be finished by 2000, will include a 33-story hotel, an office building, sports fields, swimming pools, a concert hall, five cinemas, an art gallery, an industrial showroom and a theater equal in size to the Bolshoi. The cornerstone was laid in July in a ceremony attended by the Mayor of Moscow, the Turkish ambassador, and — oddly — the Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church.

I visited a construction site in Maloyaroslavets, a town three hours south-west of Moscow by train, which was touted as one of the most impressive camps. Two companies, Turan Hazinadaoglu and Yasar Ozgan, have joined forces there to build 250 apartments and 13 "villas" for the employees and families of two factories for steel and aluminum in the area. The complex consists of four pastel-colored buildings, a small park, a playground and a school. Under the circumstances, I thought it was extremely attractive. The Turks themselves are living in a camp 100 x 200 square meters in area. As reported, their conditions were excellent, the best I had seen anywhere. A spit-and-polish Marine would have been keen on the place. Everything was

spick and span, down to the shiny wood floors in the canteen. The men lived in double rooms with toilets. I had to smile at the three 8 x 16 meter greenhouses, which were an important part of the tour: there, gardeners were lovingly cropping the fresh cucumbers and tomatoes indispensable for Turkish salads.

The disadvantage in working at Maloyaroslavets is that the town offers nothing to do whatsoever except get drunk. On the other hand, even for a Turk living in Moscow, entertainment is a problem. Moscow is hardly a city where one can promenade, and the language barrier is insurmountable. Many men fall back on the bars. Sometimes hotel rooms are converted into impromptu tea houses, but they are generally too small to be satisfactory, and if the men smoke and talk too much the *dyerzhurnie* — the female battle-axes who patrol the hallways in Russian hotels — raise Cain.

There are a few pool halls where some Turks like to go, but I can testify that the tables are uneven, the baize is poor, and a single game usually costs 20,000 rubles (\$4.50). Then, as ever, there are Natashas. "Russian girls are very beautiful, and they are a temptation, of course," one man told me over a game of pool. "Yes indeed, a big temptation," he said, and took a shot. "They have wonderful bodies, you know, Russian girls," he said, and took a second shot. "Well, I suppose you know all about it if you're from Trabzon," he said, a little jealously, and took a third shot. Finally he gave vent to his thoughts and burst out, rather ingenuously, "Frankly, it's lucky for me my salary is paid into a bank account at home and they only give me pocket money here, or I'd never save a penny, not with all these Russian girls around!" I didn't want to disillusion him, but I am not sure he could afford them anyway: when a woman propositioned me on the street, the price was \$300, or — special offer — \$500 for two!

## Jumping the housing queue

Since my brief is Turkey and not Russia, I have deliberately avoided discussing what sort of a place post-communist Moscow has become. Still, a few points are worth making, because they help explain why there is a demand for construction in the first place. Government buildings and banks are prestige jobs for Turks, but their bread-and-butter work comes from housing. In the provinces, this has meant apartments for soldiers. In Moscow, this means residences, luxuriously fitted, of often palatial dimensions, for the flood of Western businessmen and the New Moscow's super-class of *nouveaux riches*, the *Noviye Russkiye* or "New Russians."

"The New Russians" is the *nom-de-plumage* they have chosen for themselves. They wear the name with pride. I personally think it has an unpleasant resonance about it. However, what associations the term brings to mind depends on your point of view about them. Whether they remind you more of "The New Avengers" or of Nietzsche's "The New Barbarians" depends on your at-



itudes towards (1) the legitimacy of all forms of capitalism, (2) the Wild West robber barons of the nineteenth century, (3) the Theory of Social Darwinism, and (4) the Zero Mostel philosophy, "If you've got it, baby, flaunt it, flaunt it!"

The Russian Mafia has become a household term worldwide, and there is no doubt that many of the BMWs and Saabs parked near Red Square were acquired by dubious means. Crime statistics for Moscow suggest that the city is no more dangerous than European or American cities, but most residents are shocked anyway at the deterioration of Soviet-style law and order. At the entrance to the Dynasty Chinese Restaurant on Zubovsky Boulevard, where an entree of Peking Duck costs \$59.95, there is a sign that reads:

"Dear Guests, Please unload your weapon before visiting restaurant and hand it to our security. Your weapon will be returned to you when you leave. We apologize for causing you inconvenience. Administration." At another Chinese restaurant (no name-plate, at the foot of Tverskaya, opposite Red Square) one must enter through a metal detector such as airport security people use. When I asked to see a menu, I was asked if I was carrying a gun. When I said no, the guards told me to leave! It would appear that someone who went around Moscow unarmed was not quite the sort of person they wished to encourage at their restaurant.

On the other hand, it is true that many fortunes have been made in the new Russia by legitimate, legal means. Bankers/financiers take their place promi-

nently among the New Russians. They have profited from chaotic money policies that have driven overnight interest rates sometimes as high as 1,000 percent. In this case, proponents of Islamic economics, which forbids charging interest, might add their voices in evaluating whether "legal" in Russia is really the same as "legitimate."

The luxury residential buildings that Turks are erecting around Moscow are intended to cater to these New Russians. One of the grandest is the "Palazzo" complex on Tsvetnoi Boulevard 16. It features, for example, 180 square meter three-bedroom apartments with gold-plated taps on request. It is intended for Russian businessmen, as it is assumed that not even Western expatriates will be able to afford to buy there.

Meanwhile, Westerners are increasingly reluctant to live in any old apartment in Moscow. Afraid of the sort of crime that many of the New Russians represent, they want to live in secure, Western enclaves. Quite a number of buildings that Turks are working on aim to meet that need. The Sretenka complex, which I mentioned earlier, has been conceived as a mixed-use office and residential development, to be leased on a five-year basis to Western, security-conscious businessmen. Its security network and provisions for camera-controlled access are some of its biggest selling points. A 220-square-meter duplex has already been leased to the manager of British-American Tobacco; he is a bachelor, but will presumably use that enormous space for entertaining. Enka will not only construct the Sretenka complex, but the company will run it too, from security to janitorial services. It is the first time Enka is investing in the real estate in Moscow: 40-50 percent of the property rights will go to the Moscow City Government, but the rest will belong to Enka.

Meanwhile, housing problems for ordinary residents of Moscow are still acute. The waiting list for an apartment is 15 years long; in other words, Russians who joined the list in 1981-82 are being given flats now. The Mayor, Yuri Luzhkov, has commissioned 2-3 million square meters of apartment blocks to be erected in the so-called "new developments" on the outskirts of town. Two-thirds of this housing will be put up for sale. If you can afford to buy, you can jump the queue; otherwise, you must still wait long years, assuming the Moscow City government continues its generous social policy of providing apartments free of charge.

At the same time, the poor-quality apartment blocks built in the late 1960's have begun to decay. It was known at the time that the standard, five-story pre-fab "panel" buildings, erected throughout the Soviet bloc, would only last 25 years. In Moscow there are 30 million square meters of such housing and the estimate from the Mayor's office is that two-thirds will become dangerous and unfit for human habitation within seven years, unless repairs are started immediately. Turkish construction companies will not lack work for a long time to come. □

## Current Fellows & Their Activities

**Bacete Bwogo.** A Sudanese from the Shilluk tribe of southern Sudan, Bacete is a physician spending two and one-half years studying health-delivery systems in Costa Rica, Cuba, Kerala State (India) and the Bronx, U.S.A. Bacete did his undergraduate work at the University of Juba and received his M.D. from the University of Alexandria in Egypt. He served as a public-health officer in Port Sudan until 1990, when he moved to England to take advantage of scholarships at the London School of Economics and Oxford University. [THE AMERICAS]

**Cheng Li.** An Assistant Professor of Government at Hamilton College in Clinton, NY, Cheng Li is studying the growth of technocracy and its impact on the economy of the southeastern coast of China. He began his academic life by earning a Medical Degree from Jing An Medical School in Shanghai, but then did graduate work in Asian Studies and Political Science in the United States, with an M.A. from Berkeley in 1987 and a Ph.D. from Princeton in 1992. [EAST ASIA]

**Adam Albion.** A former research associate at the Institute for East-West Studies at Prague in the Czech Republic, Adam is spending two years studying and writing about Turkey's regional role and growing importance as an actor in the Balkans, the Middle East and the former Soviet bloc. A Harvard graduate (1988; History), Adam has completed the first year of a two-year M. Litt. degree in Russian/East European history and languages at Oxford University. [EUROPE/RUSSIA]

**Cynthia Caron.** With a Masters degree in Forest Science from the Yale School of Forestry and Environment, Cynthia is spending two years in South Asia as ICWA's first John Miller Musser Memorial Forest & Society Fellow. She is studying and writing about the impact of forest-preservation projects on the lives (and land-tenure) of indigenous peoples and local farmers who live on their fringes. Her fellowship includes stays in Bhutan, India and Sri Lanka. [SOUTH ASIA/Forest & Society]

**Hisham Ahmed.** Born blind in the Palestinian Dheisheh Refugee Camp near Bethlehem, Hisham finished his A-levels with the fifth highest score out of 13,000 students throughout Israel. He received a B.A. in political science on a scholarship from Illinois State University and his M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of California in Santa Barbara. Back in East Jerusalem and still blind, Hisham plans to gather oral histories from a broad selection of Palestinians to produce a "Portrait of Palestine" at this crucial point in Middle Eastern history. [MID-EAST/N. AFRICA]

**Sharon Griffin.** A feature writer and contributing columnist on African affairs at the *San Diego Union-Tribune*, Sharon is spending two years in southern Africa studying Zulu and the KwaZulu kingdom and writing about the role of nongovernmental organizations as fulfillment centers for national needs in developing countries where governments are still feeling their way toward effective administration. She plans to travel and live in Namibia and Zimbabwe as well as South Africa. [sub-SAHARA]

**Pramila Jayapal.** Born in India, Pramila left when she was four and went through primary and secondary education in Indonesia. She graduated from Georgetown University in 1986 and won an M.B.A. from the Kellogg School of Management in Evanston, Illinois in 1990. She has worked as a corporate analyst for PaineWebber and an accounts manager for the world's leading producer of cardiac defibrillators, but most recently managed a \$7 million developing-country revolving-loan fund for the Program for Appropriate Technology in Health (PATH) in Seattle. Pramila is spending two years in India tracing her roots and studying social issues involving religion, the status of women, population and AIDS. [SOUTH ASIA]

**William F. Foote.** Formerly a financial analyst with Lehman Brothers' Emerging Markets Group, Willy Foote is examining the economic substructure of Mexico and the impact of free-market reforms on Mexico's people, society and politics. Willy holds a Bachelor's degree from Yale University (history), a Master's from the London School of Economics (Development Economics: Latin America) and studied Basque history in San Sebastian, Spain. He carried out intensive Spanish-language studies in Guatemala in 1990 and then worked as a copy editor and Reporter for the Buenos Aires Herald from 1990 to 1992. [THE AMERICAS]

**Teresa C. Yates.** A former member of the American Civil Liberties Union's national task force on the workplace, Teresa is spending two years in South Africa observing and reporting on the efforts of the Mandela government to reform the national land-tenure system. A Vassar graduate with a *juris doctor* from the University of Cincinnati College of Law, Teresa had an internship at the Centre for Applied Legal Studies in Johannesburg in 1991 and 1992, studying the feasibility of including social and economic rights in the new South African constitution. While with the ACLU, she also conducted a Seminar on Women in the Law at Fordham Law School in New York. [sub-SAHARA]

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