

But once again, Moscow, having extricated itself, averted its gaze. The central government made virtually no effort to help establish Chechnya as a secular, peaceful, prosperous polity within the Russian Federation. The deteriorating conditions and free-for-all atmosphere became an even stronger magnet for secessionists, Islamic radicals and other extremists, many indigenous but some foreign as well. Last summer, some of these elements used Chechen territory as a base of offensive operations against other parts of Russia.

Now, here's where the irony is most acute: Unlike the one four years ago, the current war has had broad popular support. That's primarily because most Russians have no doubt that this time, rather than their army being bogged down in some remote and basically alien hinterland, this time it's defending a heartland that is under attack from marauding outsiders—including outsiders within—that is, non-Russians living in Russia.

Thus, Chechnya has fanned the resurgence of another ism—nationalism. That phenomenon was the target of particular passion and eloquence on the part of Sir Isaiah Berlin, the late British historian of ideas. He saw nationalism as inherently conducive to intolerance and friction, both inside states and between them. He recognized that national consciousness exists, by definition, in all nations; but he warned that when the nation in question feels afflicted by the "wounds" of "collective humiliation" nationalism becomes what he called "an inflamed condition."

Russia today suffers from just such a condition. Chechnya has generated fears, resentments and frustrations in its own right. But it has also come to symbolize for many Russians a more general sense of grievance and vulnerability after a decade of other difficulties and setbacks, real and imagined—most conspicuously the enlargement of NATO and the Kosovo war.

But while there are these ominous trends, they haven't by any means won. The political environment of their ebb and flow is still pluralistic. Atavistic voices and forces are contending with modern ones that advocate an open, inclusive society and an open, cooperative approach to the outside world.

When I was in Moscow last month, I heard the word *zapadnichestvo*. It might loosely be translated as Russia's pursuit of its Western vocation. *Zapadnichestvo* is not an ism: It's in some ways the opposite—an endorsement of a liberal antipathy to isms. Moreover, I heard this word used in a favorable and even optimistic context by at least one of Vladimir Putin's erstwhile political allies on what Russians call "the right" of the—that is, what we would call the liberal-democratic end of the political spectrum. *Zapadnichestvo* derives from the 19th-century debate between the Westernizers and the Slavophiles.

There was at least an echo of the concept of *zapadnichestvo* in what Mr. Putin himself told me when I saw him on that same trip: He said he wants to see Russia as "part of the West." Granted, he has sent other, quite different signals to other, quite different audiences.

He's been doing so rather dramatically in recent days. We can speculate together—and that's all we can do at this point—on exactly what he's up to in his recent parliamentary maneuvers. But one theme that he strikes consistently, whomever he's addressing, is a desire to see Russia regain its strength, its sense of national pride and purpose. In and of itself, that goal is not only understandable—

its achievement is indispensable. No country can succeed without those ingredients.

It all depends on how Russia defines strength, how it defines security. Will it do so in today's terms, or yesterday's—in terms that are proving successful elsewhere, or in terms that have already proved disastrous for Russia under Soviet rule? Will Russia recognize that in an age of global—and regional—interdependence, the porousness of borders is a necessity out of which a viable state must make a virtue? Or will it fall back into the habit of treating this and other facts of life as a vulnerability to be neutralized, or—that most Soviet of all verbs—to be liquidated? Will Russia understand that indiscriminate aerial attacks, forced movement of populations and civilian round-ups—no matter what the original provocation and ongoing threat—are the acts of a weak and desperate state, not a strong and clear-headed one?

This is the vexing question, not just about Mr. Putin but about his country as a whole. It's a genuinely open question. Moreover, the answer will probably be evolutionary, not revolutionary. Russia has had its revolution, and its counterrevolution. The last thing its people want or need is another upheaval.

Evolutions, by definition, take a long time—surely a generation or more. In the final analysis, it's the Russians themselves and no one else who will decide on the character of their state.

2000 COLORADO BUSINESS HALL OF FAME INDUCTEES, MR. DICK ROBINSON AND MR. EDDIE ROBINSON

**HON. SCOTT McINNIS**

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, February 1, 2000*

Mr. McINNIS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to recognize two inductees for the 2000 Colorado Business Hall of Fame, Mr. Dick Robinson and Mr. Eddie Robinson.

Jointly produced by the Denver Metro Chamber of Commerce and Junior Achievement, the Colorado Business Hall of Fame recognizes outstanding Colorado businesses and civic leaders from the past and present, publicizes the contributions of business leaders to our community and promotes the importance and value of the private enterprise system.

Best known for their leadership of Robinson Dairy, a major food processor and distributor in Colorado for more than 114 years, the Robinsons have left their mark beyond the day-to-day operations of their plan. The family-run business is a leading role model for community development and betterment programs.

The Robinsons serve on boards and committees promoting economic development, medical and health care issues and cultural improvement in communities across Colorado. Dick is currently a board member for the Columbia/HealthONE, Children's Hospital, Ocean Journey and the Denver Art Museum and chair of the Rose Community Foundation. Eddie is active on the Metropolitan State College of Denver Foundation and has chaired the National Jewish Center for Immunology and Respiratory Medicine Board of Directors,

St. Joseph Hospital Foundation Board and the Denver Zoological Foundation Board of Trustees.

The Robinson brothers have been honored repeatedly for their involvement in the community. Being inducted into the Colorado Business Hall of Fame is another award to add to the vast collection. Clearly, it is a fitting tribute to two eminently deserving individuals.

It is with this, Mr. Speaker, that I would like to congratulate two assets of the Denver Community, Dick Robinson and Eddie Robinson, for being inducted into the Colorado Business Hall of Fame.

IN MEMORY OF ALWINE FENTON, ORGANIZER AND FRIEND OF THE ARTS

**HON. FORTNEY PETE STARK**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, February 1, 2000*

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take a moment to remember a dear friend of the Hayward, California community who has recently passed on.

Alwine Fenton was a great supporter of cultural awareness in the Hayward community. She was very involved in many local art programs, and was dedicated to introducing children to the arts, especially music, in various ways.

From 1949 until 1986, Mrs. Fenton taught music in Hayward's elementary schools. In addition to teaching, Mrs. Fenton was the co-founder, officer and director of the Southern Alameda County Youth Orchestra, introducing children to orchestral and symphonic music. She also arranged concerts with the Classical Philharmonic Orchestra of San Leandro for thousands of Hayward area children.

Not only was Mrs. Fenton committed to promoting musical awareness, but she also dedicated a great deal of her time to the visual arts in the Hayward area. She was a member of the Hayward Arts Council, which arranges art exhibits in downtown storefronts and throughout the community. Mrs. Fenton had arranged art exhibits in the City Hall since June of 1998.

After her retirement, Mrs. Fenton continued to remain active in the Hayward community. She was a member of the California Retired Teachers Association as well as the Eden Garden Club. She was also a member of the Friends of the Hayward Library group and the Kaiser Hospital support group for heart patients.

Mrs. Fenton's accomplishments have not gone unnoticed. During her time as an educator, Mrs. Fenton received several awards from the California Teachers Association. In 1998, the Hayward Lions Club recognized Mrs. Fenton with the Distinguished Citizen of the Year Award.

I ask my colleagues to join with me in paying tribute to this great community leader. Mrs. Fenton will truly be missed by all members of the Hayward community. Her dedication to promoting cultural awareness, especially in the arts, will be remembered for many years to come.