



# Center for Russian & East European Studies

Littlefield Center, Room 14, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305-5013

## NEWSLETTER

Fall/Winter  
1996-1997

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Academic Coordinator:  
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Administrator:  
Rosemary Schnoor

Newsletter Editor:  
Chi-ming Yang

(415) 725-2563

[hf.ree@forsythe.stanford.edu](mailto:hf.ree@forsythe.stanford.edu)

[http://www-leland.stanford.edu/dept/  
CREES/](http://www-leland.stanford.edu/dept/CREES/)

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## A NATIONAL RESOURCE CENTER

### *Letter from the Director*

Dear Friends,

This mid-year edition of our Newsletter gives us the opportunity to welcome new members to our community and to acquaint you with some of the research projects that CREES has been able to fund over the past summer. We are happy to welcome a new instructor of Polish, Przemyslaw Turek, who comes to us from the Jagiellonian University in Cracow. Thomas Emmert, a Stanford Ph.D. who worked under Wayne Vucinich, joins us from Gustavus Adolphus College in Minnesota, and is teaching in the Winter Quarter a colloquium on Balkan nationalism. Nikolai Ssorin-Chaikov, just completing his Ph.D. degree in Anthropology at Stanford, will teach a course in the Spring Quarter on the peoples of Siberia. John Earle, Research Associate at the Center for International Security and Arms Control and Visiting Associate Professor of Economics (as well as a Stanford Ph.D. in Economics) is teaching in the Winter Quarter the much needed topic of economic transitions from socialism to market economies.

I would also like to recognize the talented array of professors who are teaching the three segments of the core curriculum in our M.A. program this year. Mikk Titma, Lecturer in Sociology, taught "Comparative Sociology: Soviet and Post-Soviet Nation States" in the Autumn Quarter. Gail Lapidus, Senior Fellow at the Institute for International Studies and Professor by Courtesy in Political Science, in the Winter

Quarter is teaching "Ethnicity and Nationalism in Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics." In the Spring we will have a course taught jointly by Michael McFaul, Assistant Professor of Political Science, and John Earle on "Post-Communist Institutional Change."

Visiting lectures, seminar series and conferences continue as usual. Let me highlight only a few. On March 7 we join our colleagues in Berkeley for a joint conference on "the invention of tradition" in post-Soviet republics; free and open to all, we hope to see some of you there. In May historian Laura Engelstein of Princeton University will be our Donald Kendall Lecturer in Soviet Affairs; her topic for this series of three lectures reflects her research in sectarian movements in 19th- and early 20th-century Russia: "Castration and the Heavenly Kingdom: A Story of Folk Religion in Tsarist and Soviet Russia." Also in May we hope to hold a symposium on post-Soviet Central Asia, with a particular focus on environmental and economic issues. This symposium will be supported in part by a gift from Thomas and Dorothea Sege; we are grateful for their continued and generous support, and for that of our other contributors, which allows our programs to grow. Stay tuned to your e-mail or regular mail for announcements of upcoming events.

—Nancy S. Kollmann

# Travels to Russia and Eastern Europe

Each year CREES invites graduate students to apply for summer travel and research grants administered by the Center. Two recipients of CREES research/travel support in 1996 were Valery Yakubovich, Sociology, and Dusan Djordjevich, History. Here, they offer reflections on their experiences abroad.

## What Time Is It in Samara?

By Valery Yakubovich

During my research trip last summer to Samara, a big Russian industrial center in the Povolzh'e region, I had a recurring experience that became the leitmotiv of the visit. Wherever I went, Samarans stopped me to ask the time of day. I had been to Samara once before, in 1991, when the time had just been decentralized and the Povolzh'e region had won back its natural right to one-hour's time difference from Moscow. Then, people did not seem confused; nobody approached me to ask about the time.

Thus, if we accept 1991 as a baseline, the reason for the change in attitude should lie somewhere between that year and now. When I asked my fellow sociologists from the Samara Pedagogical University for an explanation, one of them silently showed me his arms, which bore no trace of a recently worn watch. I began seriously to think that time was indeterminate there.

Definitely, this was not the case in the Soviet period. By then, Samara had lost its name and its initial identity as a rich, Russian mercantile city. Renamed as Kuybishev, it became famous as the city where Lenin started his revolutionary activity, as one of the most important Soviet industrial centers during World War II, and as the capital of the region where the most popular Russian beer "Zhigulyovskoe" and the most popular Russian car "Zhiguli" (known as "Lada" in the West) were produced.

Perestroika and the ensuing market reforms brought visible changes to the city. First of all, the city got back its original name. An infinite number of memorial signs on the buildings where Lenin lived and gave his inflammatory speeches are still in place, but the buildings themselves are in sad shape. The powerful military-industrial complex has dissipated into a number of idle enterprises and local ecological disasters.

Although, according to the government's record, the car plant is on the edge of bankruptcy, it is currently under siege by new commercial organizations which make public their existence from time to time either by high pro-

file crimes or equally high profile political promotions. Mr. Berezovskii, the new controversial vice-secretary of the National Security Council, made his multi-million dollar fortune on sales of "Zhiguli" cars. Colorful storefronts in the downtown are supposed to celebrate the return of the city's brilliant mercantile past, although unaffordable prices and predominantly foreign labels do not make

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a strong case for such prosperity. The only exception is the availability of "Zhigulyovskoe" beer.

My participant observations raised more questions than provided answers. How do people survive under such circumstances? Where does their income come from? One place to look for answers is the labor market. Hence, I carried out a number of exploratory interviews with recently hired people. The case of one young woman is particularly illustrative.

I interviewed Nina L., who was working as an economist in a construction cooperative. She earned a decent salary which was paid on time. This was already enough of a reason for her to be satisfied with her job, keeping in mind that the majority of workers in Russia are not paid for weeks or even months. The mystery of Nina's relative success soon became evident. The job had been set up for her by her father-in-law, one of the co-owners of the cooperative. Unwilling to give the impression that she was the holder of a "patronage appointment"—a person without her own worth—Nina hurried on to tell me the full story of her job search.

She had just graduated from university with a degree in economics. Because the old

state system of distributing graduates among enterprises had collapsed some years ago, she had neither the guarantee of a job nor the obligation to accept any job assigned to her by the state. Nina decided to exercise her market skills and apply directly to one of the new private firms. She successfully passed the preliminary stage of the selection process and was invited for an interview.

Unfortunately, the employer who invited her did not show up at the arranged time. It remains unknown whether he, too, did not have a watch, if something in his plans had changed, or if the firm had suddenly lost its ground. In any case, Nina was deeply upset and disappointed with her first experience in the emerging labor market. However, her father-in-law was willing to help, and she saw no alternative but to take advantage of the opportunity.

Samara sociologists found ample evidence in support of the same basic story: employers do not hurry to embrace the idea of fair competition in the labor market. Interestingly enough, even the chocolate factory, one of the rare, thriving enterprises in Samara, avoids a competitive selection of new workers among the thousands who dream of working there. Instead, the factory set up a waiting list of its current employees' relatives who expressed the desire "to join their families."

So, what time is it in Samara? Instead of a conventionally "transitory" transition from socialist past to capitalist future, the situation in Samara appears to have become a lasting phenomenon with its own intrinsic logic. Thanks to the CREES travel grant, I had the great chance to explore it. The findings I obtained provided a foundation for the theoretical part of my third-year qualifying paper and for the research design of the large-scale survey which my advisor and I are currently working on. Hopefully, our efforts will lead us to a more definite answer to the question: What time is it in Samara? ■

# Making History in Serbia: Demonstrations Then and Now

By Dusan Djordjevic

Last summer, with the assistance of CREES, I conducted pre-dissertation research in Belgrade. My topic concerns the politics and ideology of Yugoslavia's national question from the mid-1930s to the Axis invasion and the division of the country in 1941. At the University of Belgrade and other institutions I met a number of young historians and graduate students who are taking a fresh look at the "first" Yugoslavia. Previously restricted archives have been made accessible, and former ideological constraints no longer apply.

The interwar Kingdom has received surprisingly little attention from American historians. Unmistakable and instructive parallels can be made, however, between the late interwar period and the circumstances surrounding Yugoslavia's second breakup. For example, both Serbia's democratic oppositions of the 1930s and the 1990s exhibit an uneasy blend of liberalism and nationalism in a volatile multinational state. Here, I thought I would touch on the 1990s and the current protests in Serbia.

There was little in Belgrade in September to hint at the possibility of massive civic mobilization in November. Everyone agreed that over the last three years, apathy and despondence had descended over the once-active student population. Although the main democratic opposition parties had managed to overcome their differences and join in an electoral coalition (Zajedno, or Together), in private, opposition supporters expressed little hope that the November vote would turn out better for them than other losing efforts since the first multi-party elections in December 1990.

These expectations were in fact borne out by the election results for the federal Yugoslav parliament, in which Zajedno received only slightly more than half as many votes as the ruling coalition, and not much more than Vojislav Seselj's right-wing nationalist Radical Party.

The second-round municipal elections, however, took everyone by surprise. Most urban voters apparently preferred Zajedno's respected local candidates to the corruption and arrogance associated with the officials in power. Suddenly, opposition-led city councils would be in a position to break the regime's crucial media monopoly, which Milosevic has always guarded fiercely. There was enough evidence of apathy and international indifference that it probably seemed possible to get away with even an extremely clumsy overturning of the results. But that proved too much to take--even for some moderate members of the "pozicija" (as

the "opozicija" sometimes calls the ruling party)--and led to the spontaneous and sustained eruption of latent discontent in cities throughout the country, particularly among the hard-hit middle class.

In sustaining demonstrations for more than two months (at this writing), protestors can call upon past experience: it is not often remarked that the Serbian regime has been shaken twice before by mass demonstrations. On March 9, 1991, some 150,000 gathered in Belgrade to protest the ruling party's control of television and radio. Violent attempts by police to suppress the demonstration left two dead and galvanized civic opposition. University students led the way, occupying the central Terazije square and turning it into an alternative

"Parliament," a week-long mass gathering addressed by anti-regime intellectuals, journalists, and opposition deputies. Milosevic had felt threatened enough by the initial protest to order army tanks onto the streets of Belgrade. Over the next

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few days, there was a heady sense that Belgrade was belatedly joining Prague, or perhaps Bucharest. But the opposition leaders' specific demands were relatively minor, and in a move much debated then and since, they called off the protests after well-timed concessions by Milosevic (reminding some of Tito's deft handling of student demonstrations in Belgrade in June 1968).

The failure of Western governments to encourage Milosevic's opponents and reward their moderate politics in the last half of 1992 has been a sore point for the opposition, part of a larger criticism that the West, despite all the contempt it expressed for the Belgrade leadership, has done little to support a democratic alternative.

The demonstrations of the last two months may signal a change in Western attitudes. International support has been very heartening to the students, who have suffered from a sense of isolation. At the same time, they--along with nationalists as well as the antiwar movement--have reacted with dismay to warnings in the American press of the opposition's nationalism and of Milosevic's importance to regional stability. Throughout Serbia, one can find a good deal of nationalist resentment, some anti-nationalist backlash, and a whole lot of confusion and disagreement about the (continued on page 5)

## 1997 CREES SUMMER FELLOWSHIPS/GRANTS FOR GRADUATE STUDENTS

### SUMMER ELAS FELLOWSHIPS

US Department of Education Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowships for all levels of intensive language study in most languages of Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union. The fellowships provide summer tuition plus a \$1500 stipend.

### CREES TRAVEL AND RESEARCH GRANTS

The Center for Russian and East European Studies can offer modest support for travel and research in Eastern Europe or E.S.U.

### MACARTHUR FELLOWSHIPS AND GRANTS FOR SOVIET AND POST-SOVIET STUDIES

Modest support is available for dissertation travel and research, language study and conference travel.

**DEADLINE FOR ALL APPLICATIONS: April 11, 1997.**

For applications contact CREES, Littlefield Center 14 (Level G), Stanford, CA 94305-5013, (415)725-2563, hf.ree@forsythe.stanford.edu.

Applications available: March 14, 1997.

# New Democracy Fellows Arrive at Stanford

By Libusha Kelly,  
Reprinted from the *Stanford Report*,  
February 5, 1997

Alexei Sitnikov came to Stanford in search of a political science program, something he could not find in his home country of Russia. Andrey Kounov was drawn to Stanford by the academic resources, such as the Center for International Security and Arms Control. And Rozita Dimova was curious to see how American methods of teaching and doing anthropology differed from European methods.

All three are members of the first group of five New Democracy Fellows at Stanford. The program, which was established to train scholars from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, was started in 1995 at the initiative of Provost Condoleezza Rice.

Rice said she believes that a large teaching institution like Stanford plays a role in helping make the transition to democracy as smooth as possible.

"We focused on a segment of education, the social sciences, which was largely destroyed during communism," Rice said. "The social sciences were primarily turned to the promotion of the communist agenda."

Rice added that the social sciences are often the foundation of public policy, noting the influence of sociology on health care and educational policy in the United States as examples.

She said she hopes that the fellows eventually will become the future professors of the social sciences in their respective homes. "Bringing them over for six months or a year is not enough," Rice said. "They become the future of the discipline and train others; it's a multiplying effect."

According to Kate Kuhns, program associate with the Institute for International Studies, which facilitates the fellowships, students are admitted to graduate programs at Stanford. If they are successful in their first year and the departments accept them into doctoral programs, the Fellows program funds their doctoral studies.

## Notes from Moscow

*Louis O'Neill is a 1992 graduate of the REES M.A. program. After leaving Stanford, he spent time in Russia before entering Harvard Law School. He is currently working in Moscow for the Harvard Institute of International Development, Legal Reform Project, helping to create draft legislation for the Duma in all areas of commercial law. Here are excerpts from recent e-mail messages describing his experience in current-day Russia.*

Dear CREES,

... Moscow has become an incredibly easy place to live: amenities are everywhere (24-hour American diner, 24-hour supermarkets, etc.), Luzhkov [Mayor of Moscow] is busy as a beaver with building projects, and people are very optimistic. The city is also incredibly polluted; there are now 1.2 million officially registered cars, compared with about 200,000 in 1990. ...

... I make it a point to visit regional centers and towns, and there, as you have heard, things are not so good. It is still possible to travel back in time a decade or more (without the optimism of 10 years ago) by driving several hundred kilometers. ...

... As to whether there is a place for foreigners in Russia, that is changing too. Five years ago any American could get a job here and make more money than his Russian counterpart, just on the strength of his citizenship. Now, largely only foreign specialists are needed. I suspect that they too will be squeezed out eventually.

As an interesting side point, I'm glad that I lived at [Moscow] University and really learned Russian 6 years ago, because now it is very hard to do. Everyone and everything is in English, and people are much less patient with halting foreigners. ...

... [D]evelopment of the rule of law will take a long time, requiring a mentality shift of national proportion. When we read Gogol, we see that before 1917 the same problems plagued Russia (I just saw a great version of *Revisor* called *Khlestakov* at the Teatr im. Stanislavskogo), so perhaps they are inherent, although I don't believe that.

Perhaps when the 10,000 young people who work hard at the 14 McDonald's restaurants here are 40-year-old middle-managers, then things will really be cooking with gas. But again, that is all in Moscow, which, like New York or Berkeley, is not exactly part of the surrounding nation. ...

Lou.

The program is currently funded by gifts from donor Donald Kendall and the E.L. Wiegand Foundation, Kuhns said. Alexander Dallin, professor emeritus of history, serves as faculty adviser.

Selection is competitive, she said, with 176 students applying last year and only five accepted. A selection committee read the applications, and 25 students were chosen for interviews.

After interviews in Moscow and Budapest, eight semifinalists were chosen. These students were given regular graduate student applications for the departments in which they were interested. Departments had the final say in admissions.

"It's a very rigorous program," Kuhns said. "They are the cream of the crop and that's really what we're looking for."

Rice agreed that the fellows bring a special perspective to the university, having had experiences that are quite different from the majority of the students. "Stanford should not have national boundaries," Rice said. "The best that we can do is to bring people from all different kinds of backgrounds together."

## Opportunities for Language Study

Stanford students now have greater opportunities to study *other Slavic languages* (Czech, Serbo-Croatian, Ukrainian and others) as well as other *languages of the Former Soviet Union* through the new configuration of the Special Languages Program in Stanford's Language Center. Upon request, the Language Center will fund course materials and a native-speaker tutor for students requesting language study not ordinarily included in the Stanford departmental curricula; the tutorial will be overseen by a philologist of the relevant language family. For further information, contact Elizabeth Bernhardt, Director, Language Center (Building 30) at 725-9221.

(SERBIA, from pg. 3)

nation and its interests. Although problems having to do with these differences lie ahead, right now the protesting students, intellectuals, and political parties are united by a genuine commitment to democratic principles, a commitment which will help in addressing future flashpoints as well as in coming to grips with the past.

I couldn't accept my friends' invitation (made via a protest postcard of a ringing alarm clock which reads five past twelve) to hop on a plane with noisemaker and wool cap and join them for New Year's, but the internet has been the next best thing to being there: Radio B92 and the opposition paper *Demokratija* provide daily news, and student web sites offer on-the-spot reports (<http://www.siicom.com> is a good starting place). They convey an impressive sense of enthusiasm, imagination, and humor (a particularly disarming weapon), combined with realism, determination and organization.

Still, it is sobering to remember that previous moments of civic mobilization were followed by disillusionment and apathy. One of the challenges now will be to channel the energy of street protests into building lasting institutions of civil society. ■

## Visiting Faculty

Visiting Faculty for the 1996-97 academic year include **Professor Thomas Emmert** in History and **Lecturer Przemyslaw Turek** in Slavic Languages and Literatures. **Emmert**, a Stanford alumnus, arrived winter quarter from Gustavus Adolphus College, Minnesota, to work on the history of Serbia for the Hoover Press' "Nations and Nationalities Series." His primary interest is 19th- and 20th-century Balkan Nationalism, on which he is teaching one course at Stanford. **Turek** is visiting from the Jagiellonian University in Poland and is currently teaching Polish language as well as a course on Polish Cinema. He is interested in the use of computer software for language instruction.

## New Study Group

CREES is pleased to announce the formation of the Inner Asia/Silkroad Study Group, comprised of faculty, students, and community members with a shared interest in the region. The first event of the 1997 IASSG Lecture Series took place on January 29 at Stanford. It was a slide-illustrated talk entitled "Muslims in Mongolia: The Nomadic Kazakhs of the Altai Mountains," given by Dr. Jeannine Davis-Kimball, Executive Director for the Center for the Study of Eurasian Nomads. The lecture was co-sponsored by the Silkroad Foundation. Suggested reading lists for future events will soon be available on-line. For further information on the IASSG, contact CREES at (415)725-6852.

## Upcoming Events

■ **Friday, March 7, Annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference, "Invention of Tradition in Post Communist Societies."** To be held at UC Berkeley, Lipman Room, Barrows Hall, 8th Floor, 9:30 am - 5:00 pm. Sponsored by CREES and Berkeley's CSEES. For further information, call the Center for Slavic and East European Studies (510)642-3230.

■ **May 13, 14, 15, 1997 Kendall Lectures Series.** Professor Laura Engelstein of the Department of History, Princeton University, will give the annual three-day series on the topic, "Castration and the Heavenly Kingdom: A Story of Folk Religion in Tsarist and Soviet Russia."

■ **Mondays, 3:30-5:00 pm, 1997 CREES Seminars in Russian History.** Room 307, Lane History Corner (Bldg. 200).

**Feb. 24, Randall A. Poole, Visiting Scholar, Hoover Institution.**  
"The Idealist Defense of Liberalism in Russian Philosophy."

**Mar. 10, Dolores Davison Peterson, Doctoral Candidate, University of Illinois, Chicago.**

"An Alternative Society: Old Believer Women at Leksa"

**Mar. 31, James D. Perry, Visiting Scholar, Hoover Institution.**  
"The Soviets and the Missile Crisis"

**April 14, Lesley A. Rimmel, Visiting Scholar, Hoover Institution.**  
"Popular Opinion and the Stalin Terror in Leningrad"

**April 28, John Connelly, Assistant Professor, Department of History, UC Berkeley.**

"The Sovietization of Higher Education in East Central Europe, 1948-1954"

**May 12, Thomas Emmert, Visiting Professor, Department of History, Stanford University.**

"Separating Fact from Myth: The Serbian Experience"

**June 2, Douglas Northrup, Ph.D. Candidate, Department of History, Stanford University.**

"Stalin's Central Asia? Uzbek Family Relations in the 1930s"

Co-sponsored by the Center for Russian and East European Studies and the Department of History, Stanford University. Free and open to the public. For more information, please call CREES at (415)725-2563 or e-mail [hf.ree@forsythe.stanford.edu](mailto:hf.ree@forsythe.stanford.edu)

## Notable Speakers

■ On **Tuesday, November 19**, the Honorable Alexander N. Yakovlev spoke at the Wattis Room of Littlefield Management Center, on Stanford's campus. Yakovlev, the chairman of Russian President Boris Yeltsin's Commission for the Rehabilitation of Victims of Repression and chairman of Russia's Public Television, spoke on the topic "**The Fate of Democracy in Russia After the Presidential Election.**" The event was co-sponsored by CREES, the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, the Center for International Security and Arms Control, the Institute for International Studies, and the Hoover Institution.

■ **REES graduate** Matthew Bencke visited Stanford on February 10 to give a seminar entitled "**The Space Age Outlives the Cold War: US/Russian Interaction in Space.**" Bencke, Manager of Business Development, Boeing Defense and Space Group, graduated from Stanford with a Master's in Russian and East European Studies in 1995. His book, **The Politics of Space: U.S.-Soviet/Russian Cooperation and Competition**, was published by Westview Press in 1996.

# 1997 SPRING QUARTER COURSES IN RUSSIAN AND EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES

## Anthropology

- 127A/ *Indigenous Siberia*. Nikolai Ssorin-Chaikov. 3-5 units. TTh 9-10:30.  
227A.

## History

- 120C. *History of the Soviet Union*. Amir Weiner. 5 units. MTWTh 11.  
204K. *Sophomore Seminar: Cultural Revolution in 18th-Century Russia*. Nancy Kollmann. 3-5 units. Th 1:15-3:05.  
223/323. *Colloquium: Insult and Anger--Resolving Conflict in Early Modern Europe*. Nancy Kollmann. 4-5 units. M 1:15-3:05.  
224/324. *Colloquium: Stalinism in Eastern Europe*. Norman Namimark. 4-5 units. T 1:15-3:05.  
261/361. *Colloquium: Nuclear Weapons and International Relations (same as Political Science 246)*. David Holloway, Barton Bernstein. 5 units. Th 2:30-5:05.  
320B. *Graduate Colloquium: Problems in Imperial Russian History*. Terence Emmons. 4-5 units. Day and time to be announced.

## Political Science

- 123M. *Seminar: Political Economy of Postcommunism*. Michael McFaul. 5 units. M 1:15-3:05.  
220M. *Research Seminar: Post-Communist Institutional Change*. Michael McFaul, John Earle. 5 units. W 1:15-3:05.  
226H. *The Yugoslav Wars (same as History 220/320)*. David Holloway. 5 units. T 3:15-6:05.

## Slavic Languages and Literatures\*

90. *Sophomore Seminar: Eugene Onegin: From a Novel in Verse to an Opera*. Lazar Fleishman. 3 units. T 4-6.  
119C. *Sophomore Seminar: Russian Life, Language and Culture*. Richard Schupbach, Sima Radivilova. 2-3 units.  
120. *Russia, Russian, Russians*. Richard Schupbach. 1 unit. Th 7:00 pm.  
147/247. *Russian Literature and Culture in the 20th Century*. Gregory Freidin, Jack Kollmann. 4 units. MWF 10.  
147B. *Russian Cinema (to be taken concurrent with 147/247)*. Gregory Freidin. 2 units. M 4-6.  
185/285. *Writing Russia in the Age of Catherine the Great*. Monika Greenleaf. 4 units. T 10-11:50.  
188. *Russian Poetry of the 20th Century*. Gregory Freidin. 4 units. MWF 12.  
277. *Gogol and Russian Culture in the 1830's*. Stephen Moeller-Sally. 4 units. TTh 1:15-3:05.

\*For Russian and Polish language courses, see Slavic Department courses. For lesser-taught languages, contact the Language Center.

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Littlefield Center, Room 14  
Stanford University  
Stanford, CA 94305-5013, USA

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