



# Center for Russian & East European Studies

Building 40, Main Quad, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305-2006

## NEWSLETTER

Fall/Winter  
1998-1999

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## A NATIONAL RESOURCE CENTER

### *Letter from the Director*

As the Director of CREES, it is a pleasure to inform about the busy year so far at our Center. Last year, I served as the Acting Director during the Fall Quarter, while Director Nancy Kollmann was at our Moscow Campus. When I was invited to be Director this year, while Nancy has a year off at the Humanities Center, I accepted without hesitation.

This year has seen significant additions to the faculty in REES. The Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures has welcomed two new members: Assistant Professor Gabriella Safran, whose fields are 19th-century Russian and Polish Literatures; literature and national identity; East European Jewish culture and Yiddish literature. Oksana Bulgakowa, Visiting Professor from Berlin, is an expert in Russian film and drama and author of many articles on Kasimir Malevitch, Sergej Eisenstein, and Stalinist period film. This spring, Maxim Braterskij will be visiting us from the Stanford-in-Moscow Campus, teaching an undergraduate seminar "Russian Politics" in the Department of Political Science. In addition he will teach the "Crash Course" in the Slavic Department — a course designed to prepare students for the Intensive Language Course (and aspects of life itself) in Moscow.

In the History Department, we welcome to Stanford Tom Simons, Jr., former Ambassador to Poland and Pakistan, who is a Consulting Professor. He is teaching two courses, "Poland and Pakistan in the Post Communist World" and "Great Movements of the Twentieth Century: Socialism and the Islamic Revival." Visiting Professor Istvan Deak from Columbia University, will teach a colloquium "Collaboration, Resistance & Retribution in Europe (especially Eastern Europe) During World War II" in the spring. History Professor Norman Naimark, the former Director of CREES, is on leave and is a Fellow at the Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences. Assistant Professor of History, Amir Weiner, is a National Fellow at the Hoover Institution this year.

The Directors of the Area Centers once again collaborated on a course in the Winter Quarter, "Design and Methodology for International Field Research." The course assists graduate students in all H&S departments, as well as the other schools, such as Earth Sciences and Engineering, to think through their research proposals and methods in their work abroad. The course addressed such topics as fieldwork in developing countries, gaining access to archives, the ethics of research, and issues of confidentiality.

A conference on Russian culture at the end of the twentieth century was held at Stanford in November. Organized by Slavic Department Chair, Professor Gregory Freidin, the conference drew participants from the Former Soviet Union and other American universities as well as Stanford's own faculty. The keynote speech was delivered by Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott. Co-sponsored by CREES, the Institute for International Studies, the Dean of Research, and other Stanford organizations, the conference was taped and broadcast on the Stanford Channel.

April 12-17, 1999, a major conference will be held at Stanford for the Pushkin bicentennial. Please check the Center's web pages for details of scheduling and a list of participants.

In closing let me say that, over the last year or so, we at Stanford have observed something of a resurgence of interest in, and enthusiasm for REES. One hopes that this is not just a temporary blip, but an indication of a new sense of seriousness and urgency with regard to events in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union. We must keep reminding ourselves what, if I am not mistaken, Wallace Stegner once said, that there is a "Doppler Effect" with regard to history and historic events: they sound very different approaching than they do receding.

*-Richard Schupbach*

## Pushkin Bicentennial Conference:

# "Alexander Pushkin and Humanistic Study: Methodological Assumptions, Issues of Translation, East-West Dialogue"

April 12-17, 1999

Contact the Slavic Department for further information:

See our web page <http://www.stanford.edu/dept/slavic> or call (650) 723-4438

Co-sponsored by Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, CREES, The Pushkin Legacy, The Soros Foundation, University of Wisconsin at Madison.

## Travels to Russia and Eastern Europe

Each year CREES invites students to apply for summer travel and research grants administered by the Center. Eleven students received CREES research/travel grants in 1998. Here, five offer reflections on their experiences abroad.

### Marci Shore

Graduate Student, History  
Warsaw, Poland

I thought perhaps of titling this report "My summer in Warsaw"—which fails, fortunately or unfortunately, to effect quite the same tone as, say, "My summer in Paris." People from time to time do ask whether I've "had fun in Warsaw," and I always find the question vaguely oxymoronic. Warsaw is bleak and grey and imposing; it feels like what it is—a city that was burnt to ashes and rebuilt in Stalinist architecture. Perhaps, though, this is why I first went there and why I continue to go back—Prague is beautiful and elegant, Kraków remains quaint and medieval, but Warsaw uniquely offers immersion in the totalitarian aesthetic.

With the support of CREES, I made a trip to Warsaw this summer to do preliminary research for my dissertation, which hopes to tell the story of various circles of leftist Polish intellectuals, posing the questions of how and why they came to embrace Marxism at different moments and what were the implications of those choices. The individuals I will focus on come from the generation born roughly around the turn of the century and the circles in which they move have fluid boundaries. The point of focalization amongst these stories is the act of opting for Marxism—the existential moment of choice.

Among these Marxist intellectuals are the Berman brothers, Jakub and Adolf. The former (the "star" of Teresa Toranska's famous book of interviews with aging Polish communists titled *Oni*, or in English, *Them*) became the czar of the notorious postwar Stalinist security apparatus and the latter became a labor Zionist leader in Poland as well as, after his departure from Poland in 1950, a member of the Israeli Knesset. I ventured to Warsaw this summer specifically in the hopes of gaining access to the Jakub Berman collection at Warsaw's Communist Party (formally the United Polish Worker's Party) housed at Archiwum Akt Nowych by the tram stop "Battle of Warsaw" and surrounded by a communist-era style market. The year before I had made a previous, unsuccessful attempt to see certain of Jakub Berman's files. (Most people who have worked in the former Soviet bloc archives would probably agree that archivists in Eastern Europe are not there to facilitate your access to

**"I'll tell you an old Russian joke, it goes like this: If you're thinking something— don't say it. If you say something— don't write it down. If you write something—don't sign it. And if you sign it— then it's time to get the hell out of there."**

information, but rather to guard the information from you. That is, the general attitude is not one especially predisposed towards *giving away* information.) At the time I had taken an assertive approach with the rather intricate archival hierarchy. Given that this hadn't proven terribly efficacious, this time I invoked a pleading, subjunctive-laden Polish and a supplicating approach. This second attempt was far more

successful, and the well-guarded *teczki* (files) materialized a few days later. In the end I was somewhat disappointed (partially as the result of my perpetual conviction that inaccessible material must be infinitely more exciting than whatever material is actually available). It seemed—and still seems—to me that those files, which in the end did include all that were catalogued or, stated differently, all that officially existed—could not be the only ones which had ever been in existence. My next question then became whether more files existed "behind the scenes," whether the files had become the personal possessions of someone who had been close to Jakub Berman, or whether at some critical point or points in time (1956? 1968? 1989?) someone had gone through Berman's papers with a match or a paper shredder or both. With these questions I went to see Professor Tomaszewski, Warsaw's grandfatherly authority on Polish history. He served me tea and cookies and smiled and said, in Polish, "I'll tell you an old Russian joke, it goes like this: If you're thinking something—don't say it. If you say something—don't write it down. If you write something— don't sign it. And if you sign it— then it's time to get the hell out of there." He added, "Jakub Berman was not a stupid man."

Perhaps he was not. Later in the summer, in September, I followed Jakub Berman's brother's, Adolf's, paper trail to Tel Aviv. There I searched for, amongst other things, a correspondence between the brothers. Jakub



Berman, however, had apparently decided against corresponding with his Marxist Zionist brother after the latter's emigration to Israel in 1950. Neither did Jakub Berman's files contain any letters from his brother in Tel Aviv. What I did find there, though, was Jakub's own letter, in his own handwriting, to the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the United Polish Workers' Party, Wladyslaw Gomulka. The letter was dated May 9th, 1960—three years after Jakub had been expelled from the Party in the post-1956 purges. In this letter Jakub writes of having spent the past three years, just as he had the previous thirty or so, feeling "indissolubly connected to the Party." He begs to have his membership card returned to him, writing that he wants only "to be able to devote myself to that which has been the essence of my whole life."

Jakub Berman was perhaps neither an innocent man nor a very nice person. On the contrary, his responses to Toranska's accusing questions about the atrocities of Stalinism could be characterized by the attitude that 'this was, after all, a revolution and not a tea party'—the Leninist-era dictum about the necessity of breaking some eggs in order to make an omelet. Yet I confess that when I found that letter (two different drafts of that letter, actually) this summer, I found something poignant about it. I believe that Jakub Berman was sincere. For better or for worse. My thanks to CREES.

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**Marianna Landa**  
*Graduate Student, Slavic  
Languages and Literatures*  
St. Petersburg, Russia

In the Summer of 1998, I received a grant from CREES which made it possible for me to accomplish the indispensable dissertation research in the archives of Russia. I arrived at my mother's house in Saint Petersburg in the middle of June and was pleasantly surprised at the beauty of the newly restored palaces and at the semblance of relative prosperity of the Russians. The stores were brimming with food and goods from all over Europe. The TV transmitted serials from France, Germany, India, Venezuela, Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, etc. The American influence on Russian culture seemed pervasive although not always positive. While I discovered all modern American serials on the Russian TV, I was also appalled at the influx of low quality, violent films which misrepresented American culture to Russian teenagers. My 16 year-old nephew told me that when he goes to visit me in America, he

will immediately get acquainted with the cool "bad guys" in the slums of the city. I think I will hold off on inviting him!

I am writing my dissertation on the Russian literature of 1900-1930, and in a way I belong to that epoch. In the Petersburg Public Library and archives, I found people like myself—the historians who live in a different historical time zone. I discovered that there are many people in Russia today who are interested in the history of the 20th century and who want to reevaluate the Soviet experience. The interest toward recent history is evident in the renaissance of the historical research and publications. Every bookstore is filled with new books on the cultural heritage of the 20th century and people literally buy them out. This excitement about history inspired me greatly in my dissertation work. I wrote during the day and discussed the meaning of my work with my friends at night. This professionally stimulating environment changed abruptly with politics suddenly bursting into the private lives of the Russian

people. In August, Yeltsin fired the whole Russian government! The country was left without any government for several weeks. Meanwhile, the Russians discovered that the government was devaluating the American dollar. The salaries and pensions, though, would not increase. The banks immediately froze all accounts and everyone with money in the banks, which includes every small business, lost everything. The prices in the stores and pharmacies went up dramatically. Now I spent my days going to the stores and pharmacies together with the crowds of people trying to collect a small supply of food and medication. Very soon the stores became empty. I worked on my dissertation and grieved for Russian people who are treated like useless garbage by the corrupt and dishonorable politicians. After I returned to Stanford I called my friends in Russia who said: "Oh, yes, there is no food and the salaries have not been paid for half a year, and we cannot buy textbooks for our children... But we are OK, we are fine!" I thought, what a great example! May all of us feel fine, however hard our lives.

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**Alexei Sitnikov**  
*Graduate Student,  
Political Science*  
Russia

With the help of CREES Travel and Research grant I was able to undertake field research in the Russian regions. My goal was to conduct a series

of interviews with local public officials and representatives of the business community on the subject of administrative reform and effectiveness of public bureaucracy in times of transition from state socialism to market economy. This issue is becoming increasingly important for Russia as new reforms require more effective government and call for the establishment of solid and confident relationship between the branches of power and the business community. Only after this trust is established, the attempts to bring about stable market mechanisms and effective democratic institutions will succeed.

The results of my research showed that the issues of government effectiveness and relationships with the business community are of great concern only to a small number of local government officials. In some cities in central Russia, I discovered that local administrations monitor these relationships closely and attempt to establish better and clearer understanding of government policies to those who are dependent upon the results of government decisions.

Unfortunately, only a small fraction of local administrations is engaged in these activities. To most officials, issues of government effectiveness mean simple matters of control and administrative supervision within the bodies of power and do not extend to relationship with either business community or political organizations. In my interviews I found that this situation is caused by (1) the lack of appropriate educational skills among civil servants (2) weak organizational structure of local bodies of power and (3) a great degree of apathy among the rank and file administrative officials. Many of the offices are overstaffed with unskilled personnel, who are not able to adapt to new methods of administrative work.

Many public offices seem to continue to operate under the conditions of soft budget constraint, regardless of the fact that many local budgets are consistently under financed. There is apparent evidence of clear mismanagement of government property and disregard for proper use of available sources of revenue. In many of the public offices, the people work on new projects and initiatives and try to carry out existing programs (both federal and local). However, the majority of these projects are either under financed or not financed at all (e.g. social protection and family support programs). Another characteristic feature of bureaucracy in Russia is the termination of constructive relationships between the federal and local bodies of power. What used to be a  
(see SITNIKOV page 4)

***"I worked on my dissertation and grieved for the Russian people who are treated like useless garbage by the corrupt and dishonorable Russian politicians."***

(SITNIKOV from page 3)

coherent centrally controlled system now resembles a disjointed, randomly organized apparatus with total absence of vertical control and absolute lack of attention to local initiatives.

The situation appears very serious but it is not hopeless. My research brought some good results as well. First, there is a clear "generation shift" in the cohorts of local officials. As local governments become "younger," the level of bureaucratic efficiency slowly increases. Second, there emerges coordination among the bodies of local governments derived from the need to work without clear guidelines from the federal center.

It will most definitely take years of serious work to achieve the quality of administration needed in modern society in Russia. I am convinced that the real improvement can be achieved faster on the regional rather than on the federal level. As the features of Russian federalism start to emerge, local governments display greater influence on the course of economic policy and political process.

The careful study of administrative reform should help to understand and assist the process of change. I am very grateful to the Center for Russian and East European studies for the opportunity to be a part of this very much needed endeavor.

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### Mikolaj Kunicki

Graduate Student, History  
Warsaw, Poland

I spent last summer conducting research on the trial of the assassins of Father Jerzy Popieluszko, a young Warsaw priest killed by a group of security police officers in 1984. Since the court transcripts were available after the 1985 Torun trial, I focused my project on the debates in the official and underground press. My research aimed at presenting various representations of Popieluszko's murder and the subsequent trial of his assassins. To borrow the phrase from Akira Kurosawa's brilliant film classic, I intended my project to follow a *Rashomon* pattern in which different narrators tell the story of the same event. Their accounts, of course, vary due to diverse perspectives. For my project I concentrated on the Polish communist party, the Roman Catholic Church and political opposition, the three leading actors on the political map of Poland in the 1980s. Nevertheless, in the course of the research I realized that this tripartite narrative would help me to identify the goals of all participants, namely how Poland's politicians attempted to utilize the crime and its subsequent resolution for their own

purposes. While the General Jaruzelski government used the trial of Popieluszko's murderers to improve its image at home and abroad, the Solidarity movement presented the crime as the proof of terrorist practices of the communist state. The church used the affair to elevate itself to the status of victim, something far from obvious countering the *realpolitik* of Primate Jozef Glemp who advocated good relations with the Jaruzelski government.

As my research progressed, this approach was later expanded by other factors. As a result, I produced a 38-page article that not only examines various accounts of the Popieluszko case, but also presents previously neglected facts as well as attempts to answer more complex questions, such as:

- How consistent were the policies adopted by the communist government during the affair?
- To what extent was Solidarity united in its response toward the crime?
- How did the Popieluszko case reflect political divisions among the Polish clergy?
- What was the nature of the General Jaruzelski regime?

My research consisted mostly of a survey of the Polish press, using a number of various periodicals: Polish *samizdat* serials and the church publications. I conducted my research in Warsaw (the National Library and the KARTA research center) and in Budapest, where the facilities of the Open Society Archives provided an excellent opportunity to use the records of Radio Free Europe. Unfortunately the Polish part of my research also demonstrated numerous difficulties that face historians investigating the communist party of this country. The files of the former Minister of Internal Affairs either remain unavailable or simply do not exist. This difficulty was exacerbated by the failure of the Polish government to establish an Institute of National Memory, which would partly disclose the security police file. This predicament demonstrates that Poland's past has not been left to historians; it still features prominently in Polish politics.

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### Jennifer Daniell

Graduate Student, Political  
Science  
Russia

The simple objective of my dissertation is to reevaluate the claim that Russia is an unstable federalism, at risk of disintegration due to threats of regional separatism. I argue that the emphasis in much of the literature on Russian federalism on the posturing of the regions and the reactions of

## CREES Welcomes New Students

**Christian Eversull**, a Stanford B.S./M.A. coterminal student, from Nibley, Utah, graduated in January. While applying to medical school, Chris is working at Medtronix AneuRx in Sunnyvale.

**Katherine Kerns** graduated from Mt. Holyoke in 1998, majoring in Russian Studies. She next plans to attend law school.

**Alexander Klaitis** comes to Stanford after 2 years with the Peace Corps in Kyrgyzstan. A FLAS fellowship recipient, he received his B.A. in History from Vassar.

**Shawn Salmon** has been awarded a FLAS fellowship. As a Stanford undergrad she majored in history and was a member of the women's varsity crew team.

**Carolyn Sleeth**, coterminal B.A./M.A. student, majored in history & served as editor of the student newspaper, Stanford Daily, while an undergrad.

**John Smith**, U.S. Army Major in the Foreign Area Officer Program, came to Stanford last spring from the George C. Marshall Center for Security Studies in Garmisch.

**Emira Tufo**, a coterminal B.A./M.A. student from Bosnia, majored in History and International Relations as an undergraduate.

the center overstates the centrifugal shift in the balance of power. A closer look at the relations, particularly fiscal relations, between the central government and the constituent units suggests that Moscow is still the source of funds and policy decisions, and thus, arguably, control. This spring/summer I spent 3 months in Russia. Part of that time was spent in Moscow, collecting data from libraries and institutes, and meeting with Russian academics, policy analysts, and officials. Another part of my field work included visits to regions, meeting with officials and reading the local press to get a sense of relations with Moscow. I have

picked four regions, two "donor" regions and two "recipient" regions (referring to their contributions to the federal budget): Nizhni Novgorod, Bashkortostan, Udmurtia and Ulyanovsk. Two are republics and two are oblasts, reflecting the different status of regions within the Russian Federation. During my trip this spring and summer, I traveled to Udmurtia and Ulyanovsk, the recipient regions, and to Nizhni Novgorod.

Ulyanovsk was the first. I had potentially a great interview set up before going, with the head of the finance department of the regional administration. I was excited to get the interview be-

cause the region is known for secrecy among researchers. Unfortunately, we spoke for 10 minutes. He was flying to Moscow on business the next day and was busy. He suggested we try again when he got back. He did not want to delegate but wanted to meet with me himself. On the appointed day, I waited outside his office for several hours with no luck. He suggested we meet in Moscow, since he travels there once a week. I note this piece of data: the head of regional finance department travels to Moscow once a week. The other data I got was from his secretary—I waited so long in his office that I just started asking her for information. Then I went into the hall and copied the divisions of the department from a plaque posted on the wall—no one even wanted to draw me an organizational chart of the department without the boss's permission so I had to play Nancy Drew. Newspapers, however, were available and supported what the finance head's frequent trips to Moscow would suggest—an eye to Moscow for financial support.

Despite my frustrations with the regional administration, I liked the city of Ulyanovsk. It was like stepping back in time. It is neat and orderly, a peaceful provincial city. But, there is very little commercial development. All stores appear to remain state owned, or at least have not changed their operating style. It was difficult to find goods other than those produced in Ulyanovsk. It was even hard to find a Snickers and a Coke. Back in 1992 in Moscow, Snickers and Coke were some of the only western products, and in Ulyanovsk, they are not even there yet. But, people are very friendly and the city is in a beautiful location on a hill, at a bend in the Volga. One of the highlights of

my trip was a morning swim.

My second trip was ten days in Izhevsk, Udmurtia--the capital of one of the Russian republics, just to the west of the Urals. The region was completely closed to foreigners until 1992 because of its high concentration of military industry, and they are still (even in 1998) very curious and incredibly hospitable. Aesthetically, however, the city leaves a lot to be desired. Its center is a large crumbling, concrete square surrounded by equally crumbling and concrete buildings. Very communist in architecture and plan.

My research in Izhevsk went incredibly well, especially in contrast with Ulyanovsk. I had a great contact in the republican Ministry of Finance, who spoke freely of the financial and political situation of the republic, and provided me with budget data and numerous republican laws. He also arranged for me to meet with other officials in the administration and with representatives of the tax service. I couldn't have asked for a better contact.

The third trip was to Nizhni Novgorod. De-

spite an excellent contact, the trip was not very productive. There was a noted reluctance on the part of administration officials to talk about fiscal relations with Moscow. Although I did manage to arrange a visit with the deputy head of the regional finance department, he was less than forthcoming in his responses. I did, however, get copies of budgets and other regional laws, and was able to scan several years of regional newspapers. The "feel" of the region was quite different from the others, more prosperous but at the same time much more guarded.

After three trips to the regions with various degrees of success, I decided to postpone the fourth trip. The remainder of my time in Russia was spent scouring the libraries for material on the evolution of fiscal relations and meeting with Russian researchers in Moscow. Here I met with more success. One journal, in part sponsored by the Ministry of Finance, included a number of interviews with high level officials, which will be very useful but would have been difficult to conduct myself. And, my sources of political and economic data, researchers at the Carnegie Moscow Center and the Institut Ekonomiki Goroda, were invaluable. I will now start to write up my dissertation, sifting through the data and documents from my trip. The trip was, on the whole, both productive and fun.

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## **1999 CREES SUMMER FELLOWSHIPS/ GRANTS FOR GRADUATE STUDENTS**

### **SUMMER FLAS 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 \$2400 stipend.

### **CREES TRAVEL AND RESEARCH GRANTS**

The Center for Russian and East European Studies can offer modest support from CREES' Mellon, Kendall and McDonnell Funds for travel and research in Eastern Europe or the Former Soviet Union.

**DEADLINE FOR ALL APPLICATIONS: APRIL 12, 1999**

For applications contact CREES, Building 40, Main Quad,  
Stanford CA 94305-2006, (650) 723-3562, [rosemary.schnoor@stanford.edu](mailto:rosemary.schnoor@stanford.edu).



# A Father and Son Look at World War I

Reprinted with permission from the *Palo Alto Daily News*  
By Don Denevi

In a heartfelt tribute to his father, Jan Triska, a professor emeritus of political science at Stanford, has personally seen to the publication of "**The Great War's Forgotten Front: A Soldier's Diary and A Son's Reflections**" (Columbia University Press).

By honoring his dad in such a worthy way, we have gained fresh appreciations, as well as new insights, about the first modern war fought on a gigantic scale that killed millions, shattered nations, and destroyed an old world order.

Most understand that conflict in terms of France and Germany. This rare account, the best single personal memoir of the war on the Austro-Italian front to appear in more than half a century, explains complex matters with personal vignettes and stories.

A Czech conscript in the Austro-Hungarian Imperial and Royal armed forces, the elder Triska vividly describes his initial ordeals in the hopeless war between the Habsburg monarchy and the Kingdom of Italy on the Piave River. But when provided with an opportunity, he changed his allegiance and volunteered to serve in the newly formed Czechoslovak Legion in Italy.

Surrounded by death, he fights in Slovakia against the invading army of Bela Kun and thus helps his new homeland, Czechoslovakia, secure its borders.

Via daily entries, topical descriptions, biographical sketches, maps, drawings and illustrations, as well as a totally absorbing rapid-fire narrative, Jan forges his father's numerous diaries into a rich, detailed story of action on the various fronts in that theater of war. Cruelties, miseries and absurdities

commingle with anecdotes to substantiate what we already know: regardless of how brave, or what they believe is their duty, good men often die when led by foolish, incompetent commanders.

Jan assists the unusual diaries by providing his own commentaries on the background and experiences of his dad. In addition, he gives us a frame of reference for the times, places and events mentioned or described. Jan's reflections present us with a new meaning of World War I. For example, he says, "World War I was a great existential divide that not only changed the world forever, but has defined much of the twentieth century. Ironically, the war to end all wars ushered in the most turbulent and bloody century mankind has ever seen."

Jan, who grew up in Prague, has published numerous books and articles on international relations and the comparative politics of East Central Europe. He lives with his wife, Carmel, in Menlo Park. The couple have two sons and four granddaughters.

Because of the scarcity of World War I eye-witness accounts, especially on the Austro-Italian front, "**The Great War's Forgotten Front**," a book about both Triskas more than a biography of one, is a God-send to military buffs since it places the 1914-1918 years in the context of those between 1939-1945.

For the general reader, the book, with all its first-person observations and feelings, is an unforgettable, once-upon-a-time combat role few have or will ever encounter. The experience is difficult but satisfying.

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