

# Newsletter

2003 Spring/Summer

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## Letter from the Director

Nancy S. Kollmann

This has been a great year for CREEES. We have tried to respond to the changing focus of "Russian, East European and Eurasian" studies in America by sponsoring activities reflecting the broad geographical range of the field and the increasingly broad range of disciplines being applied to studying it. From contemporary security issues to historical Polish manor houses, from Hungary to "the Stans," our activities reflected the dynamism of our field.

This year we sponsored a range of diverse conferences that you will read about in this issue. One was devoted to security issues in Central Asia, and brought together experts from around the world. Another conference, that we co-sponsored with the other Area Centers at Stanford, was devoted to internet resources for teaching less commonly taught languages. In our world area that includes Polish, Croatian, Czech, Hungarian, Uzbek, Turkish and others. And we sponsored an intensive conference in workshop format to honor the work of our colleague, Terence Emmons, who retired this year. More than 30 of his former students and colleagues gathered to present papers on key themes in Imperial Russian history that Terry had focused on – historiography, identity and society.

We also sponsored several successful series of lectures devoted to particular areas. In this issue you will see enumerated the seven-lecture series on Ukraine, past and present, that was featured in Winter and Spring quarters, the many lectures in our series on Central Asian topics, the focused series on wartime Central Europe and the Jews, and our series of lectures by distinguished visitors on Lithuania. All this in addition to the regular schedule of lectures and workshops that you will find summarized inside.

It was a banner year for accomplishments – we underwent a rigorous process of University review of our one-year interdisciplinary M.A. program in REEES and passed with flying colors. The Faculty Senate voted unanimously to extend the program for the usual five year renewal period, and commended the academic rigor of the

program and the impressive placement record of its graduates. Furthermore, we were successful in the national competition to be named a National Resource Center by the Department of Education, as we have been in the last several grant cycles. Not a routine renewal, the competition starts afresh every three-year cycle, and we were gratified that the high quality and diversity of Stanford's resources – teaching, research, library, outreach – was recognized. In addition to programmatic funding as an NRC, the grant provides fellowship funds for Stanford graduate students studying REEES languages and topics.

One CREEES activity of which we are particularly proud is our outreach program for teachers, particularly high school teachers, to provide curricular material on topics in our field. Associate Director Mary Dakin does a superb job designing and carrying out this program, which includes two parts. One is a series of lectures and hands-on workshops on curricular materials, held over several Saturday mornings in Winter Quarter, and the other is the actual development and publication of curricular guides related to the theme of the workshops. Working with the Stanford Program in International and Crosscultural Education (SPICE), this year CREEES supported the development of a curricular unit called "Understanding Islam." In addition, CREEES joined with the other Area Centers to support the production by SPICE of a curricular unit on "Regional Wars and Peace Keeping," paralleling the theme of a joint faculty/graduate student workshop that the four Centers have sponsored for the last two years. We also run a successful Lending Library of video documentaries on REEES topics, which is used extensively by high school and college teachers throughout the western United States. If you are interested in learning more about our curricular units, consult the SPICE webpage at <http://spice.stanford.edu/>; for our video library, consult the CREEES homepage.

We had a wonderful group of visiting scholars and guest professors gracing the halls of CREEES in Building 40 this year. Two visiting scholars, both historians – (Continued on Page 3)



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# CREEES 2002~03 Lectures & Co-Sponsored Events

## SPECIAL THANKS TO OUR CO-SPONSORS

*Asian Religions and Cultures Initiative*  
*Bay Area Global Education Project*  
*Center for African Studies*  
*Center for East Asian Studies*  
*Center for Latin American Studies*  
*Center for International Security and Cooperation*  
*Department of Art and Art History*  
*Department of History*  
*Department of Music*  
*Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures*  
*Institute for International Studies*  
*Institute of Slavic, East European & Eurasian Studies, UC Berkeley*  
*Robert and Florence McDonnell Chair in East European Studies*  
*The Silkroad Foundation*  
*Special Languages Program*  
*Society of Afghan Professionals*  
*Stanford Lively Arts*  
*Stanford Program on International & Cross-Cultural Education*  
*Taube Center for Jewish Studies*  
*World Affairs Council of San Francisco*

## LECTURES

10/8/02

**Vlado Azinovich**, *Radio Free Europe South Slavic Service; Osher Fellow, Hoover Institution.* "US Policy in Bosnia: A Decade of Reluctant Involvement"

10/9/02

**Wolf Schmid**, *Professor of Slavistics, University of Hamburg.* "Nemtsy v proze Pushkina" (in Russian)

11/5/02

**Andrei Codrescu**, *MacCurdy Distinguished Professor of English, Louisiana State University; NPR Columnist.* "Notes from Romania in Transition"

11/12/02

**Anatol Shmelev**, *Archivist, Hoover Institution Archives.* "Neo-Pagan Revivalism and National Mythmaking in Russia and Ukraine: The Case of the Book of Vles"

11/25/02

**Julie Corwin**, *Regional Specialist, Russia, RFE/RL, Washington, DC; Osher Fellow, Hoover Institution.* "PRshchiki: The Russian Spin Doctors"

11/26/02

**Martina Winkler**, *CREEES Visiting Scholar; Fellow, Leipzig University.* "Cultures of Property in Russia before 1861"

12/2/02

**Dimitre Minchev**, *Chief, Military History Center, G.S. Rakovski Defense and Staff College, Bulgaria; Fulbright Scholar.* "The Macedonian Question as a Source of Regional Tension in the Balkans"

12/2/02

**Istvan Deak**, *Visiting Professor of East European History, Stanford University; Seth Low Professor Emeritus, Columbia*



Martina Winkler on a Humboldt from Germany and Gunnar Opeide on a Fulbright from Norway – participated in our active “kruzhok” of historians and carried out their research. Dimitre Minchev, a Fulbrighter from Bulgaria, visited in the Autumn to study twentieth-century foreign policy. Our first CREEES Post-Doctoral Fellow in Central Asian Studies, Eric McGlinchey, taught a wildly successful course on post-Soviet political change in “the Stans”; we wish him best of luck in his new appointment at Iowa State University. CREEES also hosted courses taught by Istvan Deak (History), Gail Lapidus and Meredith Heiser (Political Science), Dietmar Hochmuth (German Studies) and Jack Kollmann (History and Religious Studies). We thank them for their stimulating contributions to our curriculum.

supported by Publicity Coordinator Molly Quan and Academic Coordinator Jack Kollmann, with grace and competence. It was an unusually challenging year from an administrative point of view, and a phenomenally successful one due to Mary’s and Rosemary’s professionalism, commitment and talents. Thank you both!

Finally, we wish a happy 90th birthday to Wayne Vucinich, Emeritus Professor in History, one of the founding figures of CREEES and beloved by many generations of Stanford students and alumni travelers. Our Vucinich Fund honors “Uncle Wayne” and supports our many activities. Wayne’s birthday was celebrated in June by a large and warm gathering of former students, colleagues and friends. Happy Birthday, Wayne!

I can’t conclude without a big word of thanks to our two key staff members, Associate Director Mary Dakin and Administrator Rosemary Schnoor. With a busier than usual schedule of conferences and lectures, plus two major reports and various other challenges, expected and unexpected, they were called upon to work well beyond the call of duty. They both stepped in, ably

University. "Bucharest-Budapest-Vienna: Three Capitals on the Itinerary of the Soviet Red Army in the Last Year of World War II"

1/23/03  
**Kathryn Stoner-Weiss**, Assistant Professor of Politics and International Affairs, Princeton University. "The Business of the State: Sources of Reform and Resistance in Post-Soviet Russia"

1/27/03  
**Farhad Azad**, Chair, Arts & Humanities Committee, Society of Afghan Professionals. "Afghanistan: A Cultural Journey"

2/11/03  
**Susanne Lotarski**, Director, Office of Eastern Europe, Russia and the Independent States, US Department of Commerce. "Trade as an Instrument of Diplomacy and Economic Growth"

2/18/03  
**Serhy Yekelchuk**, Assistant Professor of Russian History and Culture, University of Victoria. "A Refresher Course in Sovietness: Stalinist Political Education in Kiev, 1943-44"

2/25/03  
**George Liber**, Associate Professor, Department of History, University of Alabama at Birmingham. "Alexander Dovzhenko: A Life in Soviet Film"

2/27/03  
**The Honorable Stephen Sestanovich**, George F. Kennan Senior Fellow for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Council on Foreign Relations; Former US Ambassador at Large for the New Independent States.

2002-2003 Alexander Dallin Lecture in Soviet and Post-Soviet Affairs "New War, New Allies: If the US Can't Go It Alone, Whom Should It Go With?"

3/3/03  
**Leonid Gibianskii**, Senior Researcher, Institute for Slavic Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow. "The Cold War and the Formation of the Soviet Bloc: New Russian Historiography"

3/4/03  
**Brian Pinto**, Lead Economist, Economic Policy Department, Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Network, World Bank. "Lessons from the 1998 Russian Crisis"

3/11/03  
**Alexander Golts**, Senior Editor, *Ezhenedel'nyi Zhurnal*; Visiting Fellow, Center for International Security and Cooperation, Stanford University. "Anti-Terrorist War and Military Reform in Russia"

4/9/03  
**Donald Rayfield**, University of London. "Was Stalin Even More Diabolical Than We Thought?"

4/10/03  
**Donald Rayfield**, University of London. "Vyacheslav Menzhinsky: Poet, Clown, and Mass Murderer"

4/10/03  
**Ivan Berend**, Professor of History, UCLA. "Post-Communist Transformation and the European Union"

4/16/03  
**Alexander Zholkovskiy**, University of Southern California. "The Poem Unchained: Voice as a Blueprint of Boris Pasternak's Poetics"

4/22/03  
**Sergei Varshavsky**, Chairman and CEO, EVIDENCE Clinical and Pharmaceutical Research. "Clinical Research in Russia: Past, Present and Future"

4/28/03  
**David Onoprishvili**, Center for Economic and Political Development Studies, Tbilisi, Georgia; Former Minister of Finance of Georgia. "The Republic of Georgia: Pipelines and Geopolitics"

4/29/03  
**Jan Kavan**, President, United Nations General Assembly; Former Deputy Prime Minister and Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic. "The Role of the UN in Maintaining Peace & Security"

4/30/03

**Zaza Shatirishvili**, *Georgian University, Tbilisi*. "Negative Experience and 'The Void in a History' -Discourses on Holocaust and Gulag: Elie Wiesel and Varlam Shalamov"

5/1/03

**Andrzej Rottermund**, *Director, Royal Castle Museum, Warsaw, Poland*. Slide-illustrated lecture "Polish Manor Houses and Country Estates"

5/6/03

**A. Ross Johnson**, *Research Fellow, Hoover Institution; Former Director, Radio Free Europe*. "An Assessment of the Decade of Western Peacekeeping and Nation-Building in the Balkans"

5/7/03

**Ben Hellman**, *Professor, Helsinki University*. "The Image of Lenin and Stalin in Soviet Children's Literature"

5/13/03

**Stephen G. Wheatcroft**, *Assistant Professor of History, University of Melbourne*. "The Yezhovshchina in Perspective"

5/15/03

**Timothy Snyder**, *Assistant Professor of History, Yale University*. "The Causes of Ukrainian-Polish Ethnic Cleansing, 1943"

5/21/03

**Alexei Kurbanovsky**, *Curator, State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia*. "Malevich's Mystic Signs: From Iconoclasm to a New Theology"

6/3/03

**Sigma Ankrova**, *Professor of Literary and Cultural Studies, University of Latvia*. "Identity Crisis and Postcolonial Syndrome in the Baltic States"

## LECTURE SERIES

### Lectures on Lithuania

1/8/03

**Tomas Venclova**, *Professor of Slavic Literatures and Languages, Yale University*. "Vilnius/Wilno/Vilna: The Myth of Division and the Myth of Connection"

1/9/03

**Tomas Venclova**, *Professor of Slavic Literatures and Languages, Yale University*. "Lithuanian Verse and Polish and Russian Poetry Traditions"

1/15/03

**Vytautas Landsbergis**, *Former President and Member of Parliament in Lithuania*. "Lithuania in Europe Today"

1/16/03

**Vytautas Landsbergis**, *Former President and Member of Parliament in Lithuania*. "Mikalojus Ciurlionis, Painter and Composer: A Precursor to European Modernism"  
*A Lecture and Recital with participation by Grazina Landsbergiene*

2/25/03

**Rima Praspaliauskiene**, *Research Fellow, Vilnius University*. "Changing Discourses: The Women's Movement in Lithuania, 1988-2002"

2/26/03

**Karina Firkaviciute**, *Director, Lithuanian Institute*. "National Minorities in Lithuania: History and Cultural Heritage of the Karaites"

### CREEES Lecture Series "Ukraine: Emerging Nation"

2/10/03

**Michael McFaul**, *Associate Professor of Political Science, Stanford University; Peter and Helen Bing Research Fellow, Hoover Institution*. "Ukraine's Place in the World: Domestic & International Factors"

2/24/03

**Olexiy Haran**, *Professor of Political Science, University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy*. "Democratization & Authoritarian Reaction in Ukraine"

3/10/03

**Frank Sysyn**, *Professor of History, University of Alberta*. "Mykhailo Hrushevsky's Vision of the 'Crucial Epoch' in Ukrainian History, 1626-1650"

4/7/03

**The Honorable Yuri Scherbak**, *Ukrainian Ambassador to Canada*. "Ukraine: Geopolitical Challenge for the 21st Century"

4/21/03

**Laada Bilaniuk**, *Assistant Professor of Anthropology, University of Washington*. "The Politics of Language in Ukrainian Popular Culture"

05/19/03

**George Chopivsky**, *CEO, Ukrainian Development Corporation*. "Business in Ukraine: Opportunities and Realities - Lessons from Personal Experience"

6/2/03

**Adrian Karatnycky**, *Counselor and Senior Scholar, Freedom House*. "Ukraine After Kuchma: Political Contestation and Democratic Reform"

## CREEES Lecture Series on Contemporary Central Asia

10/10/02

**Gail Lapidus**, *Senior Fellow, Institute for International Studies*. "Caucasian Cauldron: Recent Developments in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia"

10/16/02

**Martha Brill Olcott**, *Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*. "Central Asia: Looking Ahead"

11/2/02

**Alma Kunanbaeva**, *University of Wisconsin/Madison*. Symposium on Central Asian Music "Interpreting Nomads: Some Thoughts after the Silk Road Festival Experience"

**Bo Lawergren**, *Hunter College*.

"Before Folklore: Silk Road Music in Images"

**Hafez Modirzadeh**, *San Francisco State University*.

"In Search of Makam X: Aural Archetypes in Asian Modal Practices"

11/3/02

**Al Dien**, *Professor of Chinese, Emeritus, Stanford University*. "Life and the Arts Along the Silk Road"

11/14/02

**Kathleen Collins**, *Assistant Professor of Government & International Studies, University of Notre Dame*. "Regional Security Issues in Central Asia"

11/19/02

**Eric McGlinchey**, *CREEES Post-Doctoral Fellow on Central Asia and Islam, Stanford University*. "Central Asia: Democracy Derailed"

1/30/03

**Coit Blacker**, *Deputy Director and Senior Fellow, Institute for International Studies, and Director, Center for Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law*. "The Development of U.S. Relations with the Countries of Central Asia, 1992-2002"

2/4/03

**Julian Pankow**, *Researcher, Institute of Political Studies, Warsaw*. "Economic Reform in Post-Soviet Central Asia"

2/6/03

**Carl Gershman**, *President, National Endowment for Democracy*. "Strategies for Promoting Democracy in Central Asia in the Post 9/11 Political Context"

4/17/03

**Devin Deweese**, *Associate Professor, Central Eurasian Studies, and Director, Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, Indiana University*. "The Kazakhs and Islam: The Legacy of Soviet and Sovietological Interpretations of Religion"

05/27/03

**Hannah Bloch**, *Pakistan Bureau Chief, Time Magazine; Knight Fellow 2002-03, Stanford University*. "Pakistan, Afghanistan and the War on Terror"

## Shattering an Ethnic Mosaic: Central and Eastern Europe During the Last Years of World War II May 5, 6, 8, 2003

**Istvan Deak**, *Seth Low Professor Emeritus of History, Columbia University*

Lecture I "The Holocaust in the Context of 150 Years of Ethnic Cleansing"

Lecture II "The Siege of Budapest and Europe's Only Surviving Ghetto, November 1944-February 1945"

Lecture III "Collaboration and Retribution in Central Europe During and After World War II"

## SYMPOSIUM

### POST-CONFLICT PEACEKEEPING & STATE-BUILDING

May 17, 2003

**Peter Duus**, *Department of History, Stanford University*. "The American Occupation of Japan and Korea"

**Abdul Sinno**, *Center for International Security and Cooperation, Stanford University*. "The Risks of Selling Policy with False Analogies: Why State-Building in Afghanistan and

Iraq Will Be Very Different From the Experiences of Post-War Japan and Germany"

**Jody Ranck**, *Sustainable Sciences Institute*. "Post-Genocide Rwanda: Rethinking the Limits of Humanitarianism and Human Rights"

**Ivo Lupis**, *Center on Democracy, Development and Rule of Law, Stanford University*. "Lessons from International Communities: Peacekeeping, Peace-Building and Reconstruction Efforts in Post-Conflict Bosnia"

**Michel Nabti**, *Hoover Institution*. "Is Iraq the Issue?"



# SCHOLARLY WORKSHOPS

## "Shaping Memory, Shaping Identity in Russian History"

*Shaping Memory, Shaping Identity in Russian History*, a workshop honoring Professor Terence Emmons on the occasion of his retirement. Co-sponsored by the Hoover Institution and the Department of History.

**March 21-22, 2003**

**Robert Crews**, *Stanford University*. "The Liberal Promise of Empire: Muslims, Jews, and the State in Russia's East."

**Jeffrey Brooks**, *Johns Hopkins University*. "How Tolstoyevsky Pleasured Readers, Surpassed Writers, and Re-Wrote a Russian Mythology."

**Nicholas Riasanovsky**, *University of California, Berkeley*. "Some Remarks on Writing and Teaching Russian Intellectual History"

**Gary Hamburg**, *University of Notre Dame*. "Wounds of War in Tolstoi's (Non)Fiction"

**Larissa Zakharova**, *Moscow State University*. "Remembering the Spent Century: D. A. Miliutin's Memoirs, 1816-1899"

**Reginald Zelnik**, *University of California, Berkeley*. "The Troubled World [or "Life"] of Anna Pankratova, Labor Historian."

**Oleg Budnitskii**, *Russian State Humanities University*. "Russian Liberalism and the Jewish Question (1914-1920)"

**Semion Lyandres**, *University of Notre Dame*. "A.D. Protopopov and Duma Politics on the Eve of the Revolution: Another Look at P.N. Miliukov's 'Stupidity or Treason' Speech of November 1, 1916."

**Charters Wynn**, *University of Texas at Austin*. "The Making of a 'Right Deviationist': Mikhail Tomskey"

**Joan Neuberger**, *University of Texas at Austin*. "Eisenstein's Circular Books: Ivan the Terrible as a Theory of History"

**Carolyn Pouncy**, *Swarthmore*. "Creating a Revolutionary Identity: Ballet in 1930s Leningrad"

**Stuart Finkel**, *University of Texas at Austin*. "Sociology and Revolution: Pitirim Sorokin and Russia's National Degeneration"

**Terence Emmons**, *Stanford University*. "Emigre Bibliography Project"

**Raul Garcia** "Vladimir Korolenko and the Russian Revolution, 1917-21"

**Mark Von Hagen**, *Columbia University*. "How General Pavel Skoropadskii of the Russian Imperial Army Became Hetman Pavlo Skoropads'kyi of the Ukrainian State"

**Martin Malia**, *University of California, Berkeley*. "Remarks on Terry Emmons' Place in Russian Historiography"

**John Dunlop**, *Hoover Institution*. "Aleksandr Dugin's 'Neo-Eurasian' Textbook and One Ambivalent Response to It"

**Norman Naimark**, *Stanford University*. "Post-Soviet Russian Historiography about the Establishment of 'People's Democracies' and the Emergence of the Soviet Bloc in Eastern Europe"

## CREEES/CISAC Workshop: Regional Security in Central Asia

**May 1-2, 2003**

### PANEL I: "ISLAMIST ACTIVISM IN CENTRAL ASIA AFTER 9/11"

Chair: **Gail Lapidus**, *CISAC*

Presenters: **Vitaly Naumkin**, *Russian Center for Strategic Research and International Studies, Moscow*

**Olivier Roy**, *Centre National des Recherches Scientifiques, France*

**Anara Tabyshalieva**, *Institute for Regional Studies, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan*

Discussants: **Quinn Mecham**, *CISAC*

**Khalid Medani**, *CISAC*

### PANEL II: "POST-CONFLICT PEACE-KEEPING AND REGIONAL SECURITY: LESSONS FROM AFGHANISTAN"

Chair: **Stephen Stedman**, *CISAC*

Presenters: **Barnett Rubin**, *Center on International Cooperation, New York University*

**Abdul Sinno**, *CISAC*

**Rifaat Hussain**, *CISAC*

**Abbas Milani**, *Hoover Institution, Visiting Scholar*

Discussant: **Fiona Adamson**, *CISAC*

### PANEL III: "US POLICY IN CENTRAL ASIA: DOES THE WAR ON TERROR UNDERMINE HUMAN RIGHTS?"

Chair: **John Lewis**, *CISAC, Stanford University*

Presenters: **Michael Ochs**, *Staff Advisor, Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, US House of Representatives*

**Steven Mann**, *former US Ambassador to Turkmenistan and Senior Advisor for Caspian Basin Energy Diplomacy*

**Eric McGlinchey**, *CREEES*

Postdoctoral Fellow, *Stanford*  
Discussants: **Anara Tabyshalieva**, *Institute for Regional Studies, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan*

**Nathan Barrick**, *Major, US Army*

# 2003 TEACHER WORKSHOP SERIES

## ISLAM & POLITICS IN THE 20TH CENTURY

Presented by the Center for Russian, East European and Eurasian Studies at Stanford University and The Bay Area Global Education Project

1/11/03

**Ahmad Dallal**, Professor of History, Stanford University. "Islamic Religion and Culture: An Overview"

**Terry Haugen**, Teacher Trainer, BAGEP. Curricular Workshop: "Web Resources and Curricula on Islam"

1/25/03

**Joel Beinin**, Professor of Middle East History, Stanford University, and President, Middle Eastern Studies Association. "The Formation of the Modern Middle East State System"

**Curricular Workshop** -- Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education presents a module from their new curriculum unit *Understanding Islam*.

2/8/03

**Gail Lapidus**, Senior Fellow, Institute for International Studies, Stanford University. "Islam in Soviet and Post-Soviet Central Asia"

**Ivo Lupis**, Research Associate, Center for Democracy, Development and Rule of Law, Stanford University. "Islam in Former Yugoslavia"

2/22/03

**Edward Walker**, Executive Director, Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies, UC Berkeley. "The Cold War and Afghanistan"

**Terry Haugen**, Teacher Trainer, BAGEP. Curricular Workshop: "Web Resources and Curricula on Afghanistan"

3/1/03

**Jacqueline Armijo-Hussein**, Visiting Professor, Department of Religious Studies, Stanford University. "Women and Islam"

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## CONFERENCES

### XXVIIITH ANNUAL BERKELEY-STANFORD CONFERENCE

Jointly presented with the Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies at U.C. Berkeley

### THE POWER OF IDEAS AND IDEAS OF POWER IN EASTERN EUROPE AND EURASIA

March 7, 2003

#### Panel I: Before World War I

Chair: **David Frick**, University of California, Berkeley

**Nancy Kollmann**, Stanford University  
"The Idea of the Autocratic Tsar"

**Monika Greenleaf**, Stanford University. "The Changing Idea of Autobiography in Catherine the Great's Memoirs"

**Reginald Zelnik**, University of California, Berkeley. "The Idea of the Worker on the Russian Left"

#### Panel II: The Communist Era

Chair: **Yuri Slezkine**, University of California, Berkeley

**Francine Hirsch**, Hoover Institution /Stanford University. "The Ideas of Nationality and Race in the Soviet Union, 1918-1941"

**Norman Naimark**, Stanford University. "The Idea of People's Democracy After World War II"

**George Breslauer**, University of California, Berkeley. "Ideas and the Collapse of the Soviet Union"

#### Panel III: After Communism

Chair: **Andrew Janos**, University of California, Berkeley

**Julia Bader**, University of California, Berkeley. "The Idea of Suffering in Recent Hungarian Cinema"

**M. Steven Fish**, University of California, Berkeley. "Ideas of Power, Nation, and Democracy in Eurasia"

**Gregory Freidin**, Stanford University. "The Idea of the 'Other'"

### WEB-BASED INSTRUCTION FOR THE LESS-COMMONLY TAUGHT LANGUAGES

June 6-7, 2003

Thirty specialists in language instruction from all over the United States presented at this conference on teaching and learning methods and technology.

Sponsored by the Special Languages Program of the Stanford Language Center, the Center for Latin American Studies, the Center for African Studies, the Center for Russian, Eastern European and Eurasian Studies, and the Center for East Asian Studies.



# Scholars Draw Lessons From Past U.S. Peacekeeping Efforts

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by Francine Miller  
*Stanford Report*

As the dust of war settles in Iraq, U.S. policymakers have immersed themselves in the formidable task of peacekeeping and rebuilding the state anew -- yet how likely they are to succeed depends entirely on whether they heed the lessons of the past, experts said at a symposium Saturday.

The symposium, mediated by Richard Roberts, Professor of African history and Director of the Center for African Studies, assembled a panel of historians and sociologists to discuss how the United States had managed post-conflict peacekeeping and state-building policies in the past.

In his opening remarks, Roberts made mention of the current situation in Iraq, where chaos and looting reigned shortly after military action ended, only to be replaced by internal disagreement among administrators over plans to govern the country. By examining past conflicts, argued Roberts, U.S. policymakers could learn invaluable lessons. "Each world has its own idiosyncrasies, but by comparing we can inform and enlighten the other," he said.

But Peter Duus, the William H. Bonsall Professor of History, added a caveat to these remarks, stating that however much the past is studied, the future remains unpredictable. "There is the

assumption that if we did it before, we can do it again. But history never repeats itself in quite the same way," he said, referring to the relative success of state-building policy applied to Germany and Japan after 1945.

Korea, for example, proved immune to the same strategies -- and there are fundamental reasons why, he argued. Whereas the U.S. administration had carefully planned post-conflict state-building in Japan -- including radical changes to the constitution, education and the military -- the Korean operation largely depended on ad-hoc policy that resulted in confusion and inconsistency.

Military officers were given special training on Japanese culture and language, but the same opportunity was not afforded to troops entering Korea. In fact, many of the officers serving in Japan were transferred to Korea and could only communicate with the natives in Japanese, which according to Duus proved to be the ultimate faux-pas in cultural insensitivity: "Japanese, of course, being the language of the colonial oppressor in the minds of Koreans."

In the absence of clear-cut goals and cultural understanding, the United States lost control over the political situation in Korea, said Duus, indicating that there were obvious comparisons with recent events in Iraq.

Abdul Sinno, a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Center for International Security and Cooperation, presented his views on peacekeeping strategies in Iraq from the perspective of conflict resolution in Afghanistan. Looking into the past to predict future outcomes was useful, argued Sinno, but only if fair comparisons were made. Whereas similarities existed between the global context, experience of occupation and economies of Japan and Germany after 1945, the same cannot be applied to Iraq and Afghanistan. "Indeed, it is very difficult to foresee what will happen," he said.

Calling current state-building policy in Afghanistan a "charade," Sinno suggested that U.S. plans to "democratize" the country had failed entirely, and that the power of the Hamid Karzai regime does not extend beyond Kabul. "Far from the shining example of Japan, democracy is not on the horizon for Afghanistan," he said.

To seek viable lessons in peacekeeping and reconstruction, policymakers should turn toward the example of Bosnia, argued Ivo Lupis, a Research Associate at the Center for Democracy, Development and the Rule of Law. Highlighting the relevant failure of international intervention during the Bosnian conflict of the 1990s, Lupis warned that the same mistakes could occur again in Iraq.

Disagreement between policymakers



## 2003 CREEES Summer Fellowships and Grants

### CREEES Research & Travel Grants for Graduate Students:

**Stuart Burnham** (Music)  
**Lyubov Golbert** (Comparative Literature)  
**Emily Greble** (History)  
**Steven Lee** (Modern Thought & Literature)  
**Tomas Matza** (Modern Thought & Literature)  
**Erika Monahan** (History)  
**Sandra Staklis** (Education)  
**James Ward** (History)

### Faculty Research/Conference Travel:

**Dietmar Hochmuth** (German Studies)  
**Nancy Kollmann** (History)  
**Oksana Bulgakowa** (Slavic)

### Foreign Language & Area Studies (FLAS) Fellowships for intensive language study

**Andrew Berger** (History)  
Middlebury College Intensive Russian Program  
**Jesse Driscoll** (Political Science)  
Summer Program in Turkish, Bogazici University, Istanbul  
**Jesse Kauffman** (History)  
Intensive Polish at University of Washington  
**Iga Zelazny** (REEES)  
School of Russian & Asian Studies, Moscow

in Bosnia resulted in "an atmosphere of inefficiency and ineffectiveness," Lupis said, warning that the current rift between the Pentagon and the State Department may result in devastating consequences for Iraq.

Similarly, the international tactic of "disengaged presence" in Bosnia meant that there was no immediate crackdown on local obstructionists and criminals. "This reluctance to act sent a message to nationalists and thugs that terrorism and violence would go unpunished," he said. In the same way, Baghdad was "plunged into chaos" in the days following military action because of inadequate plans to implement reform.

Perhaps the greatest lesson to be learned, concluded Lupis, was that administrations should not make promises they cannot ultimately deliver. In the case of Bosnia, President Bill Clinton pledged that he would bring

back troops within 18 months, yet such an unrealistic goal "severely undercut the ability of policymakers to properly fulfill the goals," he said. Consequently, the population lost faith that the international community could successfully reconstruct their country. Likewise, the two-year timetable for Iraq is simply too short, Lupis argued.

Aside from historical perspectives, policymakers should be turning toward the reaction in the Arab world, argued Michel Nabti, a former curator of the Middle East and Islamic collections at the Hoover Institution, who said that the region is currently undergoing "a large period of lamentations over U.S. policy and behavior in the Middle East."

In the Arab press, the United States has been lambasted as "unjust," "blinded" and "one-sided" said Nabti. "From Morocco to Iran and beyond, the Arab

people are questioning how we can bring this wild animal back to sense. They are concerned about America, who they once called their friend."

Bringing the symposium to a close, Roberts remarked that there are clear failings in both past and present U.S. policy, which, if left unresolved, could bring dire consequences to conflict resolution around the globe. "Instead of quelling terrorism, U.S. policy is actively encouraging it," he said.

The one-day symposium was sponsored by the Center for African Studies, the Center for East Asian Studies, the Center for Latin American Studies, the Center for Russian, East European and Eurasian Studies, and the Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education at Stanford University.

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# Workshop: Regional Security in Central Asia

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This research workshop, jointly sponsored by the Center for Russian, East European & Eurasian Studies and the Center for International Security and Cooperation, was held at Stanford University May 1-2, 2003. Below is a summary of the major presentations, prepared by Ted Callahan. Funds for this workshop were provided, in part, by the U.S. Department of Education (Title VI) and the Hewlett Foundation.

## PANEL ONE: "ISLAMIST ACTIVISM IN CENTRAL ASIA AFTER 9/11"

**Vitaly Naumkin** (*Russian Center for Strategic Research and International Studies, Moscow*) began his presentation by asking where and what is the relation between security and Islam in Central Asia, stating that the issue of Islamic terrorism is often a pretext for security arrangements, both domestic and international, within the region and is thus often over-exaggerated. Naumkin then asked what is "real Islam" in Central Asia and in response posited several dichotomies of Central Asian Islam: traditional vs. modernist, radical vs. modern/traditional, reformist vs. modern/traditional, Sufi vs. non-Sufi, official vs. unofficial and political vs. apolitical. Naumkin gave examples of three types of Islamic movements:

1. Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU): a radical, militant group willing to use violence to achieve their goals, now greatly weakened and dispersed as a result of US military action in Uzbekistan.

2. Hizb-ut-Tahrir (HuT; the Islamic Liberation Party): a transnational group (based largely in Europe) dedicated to reestablishing the caliphate, though by peaceful means. HuT has used other issues, unrelated to Islam (such as interethnic tensions) to further their agenda and gain recruits.

3. Islamic Renaissance Party (IRP) in Tajikistan: IRP is the only Central Asian example of an Islamic political party engaged politically with the state. Following the June 1997 ceasefire, 30% of government positions were given to IRP members and IRP fighters were incorporated into the national military. In doing so, the IRP lost the trust of radical Islamist parties in Tajikistan, who believe that the former has "sold out."



*Olivier Roy (Centre National des Reserches Scientifiques, France)*

**Olivier Roy** (*Centre National des Reserches Scientifiques, France*) stated that the US military campaign in Afghanistan served to accelerate trends that already existed in Central Asia, including the decline of the region as a base for international Islamist militants (save for Pakistan). The US victory against the Taliban and IMU signaled a general defeat of Islamists, whom Roy defined as "those who want to establish an Islamic state" based on the *Shari'a*. While militants are still present in the region, they have realized that military confrontation with the West and/or the US is a "losing strategy," having witnessed the "total failure and defeat" of Bin Laden's strategy. According to Roy, this strategy was centered on an immediate call for  *jihad*  rather than mobilizing public support for such an action first. Roy cited the example of HuT, which is now trying to mobilize community support among Central Asian Muslims, recruit members among uneducated and disillusioned youth, avoid being listed by governments as a terrorist organization (save for Uzbekistan, which has already outlawed HuT), and co-opt local religious figures so as to further their aims. Roy also stated that the US military presence in Central Asia, which he described as "light," is not a source of tension in the region.

**Anara Tabyshalieva** (*Institute for Regional Studies, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan*) stated that following independence in 1991 (which she claimed was generally unwanted, as evidenced by the lack of national independence movements, unlike in the Baltic states), Muslims became a majority in Central Asia for the first time since being incorporated into the Russian empire, which she



called a "return to a normal situation in Islamic society." Tabyshalieva stated that since any protest movement in the region is labeled a terrorist movement, extremism needs to be distinguished from fundamentalism. In addition, political movements need to be distinguished from religious movements. To wit: IMU is a political movement, since they have no religious ideology other than the re-establishment of the caliphate, which itself is a "basically political" goal. Tabyshalieva then explained that "foreign missions" in the region, such as HuT, are destined to fail because they deny and ignore local traditions and culture, including "traditional Islam." According to Tabyshalieva, this was the Achilles heel of the Soviet Union and if, given all of the resources that the Soviet Union could muster for this task, they still failed, then why should "comparatively broke" movements such as IMU or HuT have any more success? Tabyshalieva used the example of HuT to demonstrate why such movements are unlikely to succeed.

The intolerant attitude of groups like HuT towards other religions goes against Central Asian traditions of inter-religious respect. For example, increasing violence/discrimination against Christians (such as instances in the Ferghana Valley of converts to Christianity being forced to return to Islam, which Tabyshalieva said was tied to conflict over "mixed" cemeteries) is self-defeating since, in Kyrgyzstan alone, more people have converted to Protestantism than have joined HuT and of the 800 foreign missions operating in the country, only 200 are Muslim (and the Christian ones are both well-organized and well-funded). In addition, there are no inherent anti-Semitic sentiments in the region and so the population is unlikely to be responsive to such platforms.

Tabyshalieva says that Islamist groups often "miss the target," such as by going to Kyrgyzstan with leaflets calling for the overthrow of Uzbek

President Islam Karimov. Finally, she argued that the leaflets and platforms of such groups are "basically boring" and fail to address the needs of the target population, promising only a utopian state.

## Panel Two: "Post-Conflict Peace-Keeping and Regional Security: Lessons from Afghanistan"

**Barnett Rubin** (*Center on International Cooperation, New York University*) addressed the question of what lessons the US experience in Afghanistan might have for Iraq. In Rubin's opinion, he would not in fact look to Afghanistan for lessons and even if one were inclined to do so, he believes that it is too soon to say. Rubin characterized Afghanistan as lacking any sort of nationalism based on a shared ethnicity, which allowed other states in the region to secure influence to safeguard their own interests. Rubin stated that one goal of the US was (and still is) to prevent neighboring powers from competing within Afghanistan, to which these states have acquiesced in their own interest. However, the instability of the present government, which is dependent upon the US military presence for its continued existence, has created a pessimistic attitude among the neighboring powers regarding the longevity of the current peace. Thus, there is considerable low-level activity to secure influence, such as India's establishment of consulates in Afghanistan. The US military actions in both Afghanistan and Iraq have served the interests of Iran while allowing Iran to denounce these actions. Pakistan's balance of trade has shifted to Iran, which is one reason why Ismail Khan, a warlord based in the western city of Herat, has become the most powerful man in

Afghanistan. Rubin suggested that maintaining security remains of paramount importance, in addition to increasing threefold the amount of aid heretofore pledged and the need to bring civil services to Afghanistan so as to "incentive reliance" on domestic rather than international institutions and the drug trade.

Rubin stated that neither a federalized (decentralized) or a strong central government is likely to succeed because Afghanistan currently lacks sufficient "political coherency" for either and that it is a mistake to assume that the "lack of a state is the same thing as decentralization." The current government is opposed by the security sector (the former is predominantly Pashtun; the latter is dominated by Tajiks), and the increasing control of the finance ministry over the military is based on the payment of wages -- the finance ministry, lacking sufficient funds and no longer able to simply print additional currency to offset shortages, claims that the generals will be paid once the tax revenues collected by the warlords are submitted to the government. This will produce one of two possible outcomes: the generals will either force their cronies to turn over the tax revenues or else they will overthrow the government.

Rubin added, in later discussion, that reconstructing Afghanistan is a genuine multi-lateral effort (unlike the largely unilateral American war effort), led by the United Nations (UN) and governed by the UN Security Council, which is responsible for the implementation of the Bonn Agreement. Rubin stated that the Loya Jirga, rather than installing an American puppet government, succeeded in putting forth a demand for national unity, though the Karzai government has lost legitimacy since then because of what it hasn't done, namely curbing the power and influence of the warlords. In Rubin's opinion, the Bonn Agreement, constrained by the language of the peace agreement, raised

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expectations too high by promising more than any Afghan government could possibly deliver. Rubin also stated that multi-lateral operations are very bad at setting a goal and then achieving it because, in the event of coming up short, blame can be shifted, a situation that does not occur with the unilateral approach.

**Rifaat Hussain** (*Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad*) stated that Afghanistan has yet to move into a post-conflict phase in part because the warlords, with about 100,000 militia under their total control, still control much of the country and are now more powerful than they were prior to 9/11. In addition, there is no viable national military or professional soldiery to oppose the warlords. Hussain cited four factors working against the success of the current Afghan government: ethnic strife, increasing Islamism, a lack of legitimate (oil and natural gas transport) versus illegitimate (drug trade) investment, and Afghanistan's long history of conflict, exacerbated by clan-based rule and ethnically random borders. Hussain suggested three steps to make Afghanistan a viable state: 1) replace the "top-down" vertical hierarchy approach with a "people-centered" approach, the latter being more amenable to the clan-based system of local government; 2) eliminate the disconnect between the magnitude and costs of repairing Afghanistan and the amounts of aid pledged; and 3) move away from "proper nouns" to "common nouns" (for example, "development, democracy, defense"). Two additional problems must be addressed: the widespread ethnic fighting and, in popular opinion, the illegitimacy of the Karzai government, as evidenced during the Loya Jirga. Hussein added in later discussion that there is still too little information regarding the "on-the-ground" situation to make any firm judgments. Hussain stated that the impact of the conflict in Afghanistan was generally good for Pakistan until the last election, in

which Islamist groups won a number of seats and who now control the provinces bordering Afghanistan. Emboldened by their success, these groups are now unwilling to cut deals with the Musharraf government. This situation is complicated by the fact that recent security efforts in Pakistan's Northwest Frontier Province represent the first time that the writ of the central government in Islamabad has been extended to this region. Hussain also stated that Karzai needs to be seen as an independent actor and to decouple himself from American influence.

**Abdulkader Sinno** (*CISAC, Stanford University*) stated that the goals of the US in Afghanistan and Iraq are "neither coherent nor realistic" and comparisons with post-war reconstruction in Japan and Germany are pointless since the only commonality shared by all four countries is that of the lack of a democratically elected government prior to conquest by the US. Sinno stated that the main weaknesses of the Karzai regime are its general weakness and lack of widespread support. In fact, according to Sinno, it is not Karzai's government but rather three factors relating to the US that keep the warlords in check: fear of America's military might, a debt of gratitude to the US, and continued "subsidization" of the warlords by the US, which for Sinno recalled an old saying: "you can never buy an Afghan, you can only rent him at a very high price." Sinno explained that current Afghan government's future prospects are bleak for two reasons: in order to extend the writ of the central government, the US would have to undermine local leaders, thereby risking revolt; and further, because of the historical inability of a foreign power to install any sort of long-standing "puppet" government in Afghanistan.

**Abbas Milani** (*Hoover Institution*) focused his presentation on the role of Iran in Afghanistan, stating that Iran has mixed feelings about America's involvement in the region. It is viewed

positively because US-sponsored regime change in the region is usually to Iran's benefit but the possibility of America eventually campaigning for regime change in Iran tempers their enthusiasm. Milani identified several issues which complicate Iran's foreign policy choices vis-à-vis Afghanistan: Afghan refugees living in Iran, many of whom have acculturated, such as by taking Persian spouses; Iran's role as a major transit country for drugs, which brings the related problems of AIDS and "gangsterism"; water issues, centered around the Helmand River; and the rise of ethnic tensions in Iran among ethnic minorities, including incipient signs of pan-Turkism among Turkic minorities, who are encouraged and sometimes funded in their efforts to achieve autonomy and/or independence by Turkey. Milani added in later discussion that just as the Soviets discovered in Afghanistan that socialism needs certain prerequisites in order to succeed, so too will democracy, which is why the "bottom-up" approach will fail, lacking any sort of civil society upon which to build. Milani stated that two reasons the Taliban failed were that they went against historical patterns (Milani claimed that the 1979 Iranian Revolution was a historical anomaly and thus irreproducible) and because they tried to impose and enforce 800 year-old laws.

## Panel Three: "US Policy in Central Asia: Does the War on Terror Undermine Human Rights?"

**Michael Ochs** (*Staff Advisor, Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe*) began his presentation with an overview of the political regimes of the five Central Asian nations. He then tied these observations together by



identifying several region-wide trends, which include the rule of "super-presidents" who dominate the political process, fraudulent elections, and media repression. Such leaders, though having agreed to various human rights frameworks, have yet to fulfill their obligations. Ochs identified this trend as part of the increasingly authoritarian trajectory of the Central Asian executive branches, headed in every case by presidents who, prior to 1991, did not expect to rule an independent nation. Once these leaders "got a taste of power", however, they became increasingly determined to maintain a firm hold on their continued rule. Hence, according to Ochs, the trajectories these countries have followed, such as opting for authoritarian rather than democratic government, are the result of executive decisions. Corruption similarly stems from on high and is largely the result of the Central Asian leaders putting their family members into positions of power. This nepotism, combined with their own corruption, precluded these leaders from having non-servile people in power for fear of having the extent of their corruption discovered and made public. Thus, the dual patterns of corruption and authoritarianism are mutually reinforcing. In terms of foreign influence upon the human rights situation in Central Asia, Ochs stated that the OSCE is basically just a "shaming organization" which lacks the ability to impose sanctions and tends to defer the raising of human rights issues to the US. Prior to 9/11, the Central Asian countries viewed America's commitment to democratization and human rights in the region as rhetorical and so flaunted US concerns without fear of reprisal. However, despite America's greatly increased presence in the region post-9/11 and the basing of its commitment to human rights and democratization on strategic concerns and national security, the desire to maintain status quo relations with these states has led to little more than continued rhetorical support for human rights and democ-

ratization. In later discussion Ochs commented on the Central Asia presidents, referring to their mutual hatred for each other, the region's "equal-opportunity authoritarianism", and the problematic notion that the region should develop in a certain direction. Ochs stated that, among the leaders, precedent is critical, since they all tend to ape one another after waiting to see the results of a particular course of action in one of the other nations. Ochs claimed that since the precedent has been hitherto negative, trying for a positive direction might be a viable strategy, especially if the leaders saw each other benefiting from doing so. Ochs was skeptical that the next generation of leaders will be any better solely because they are western-educated. If anything, they might prove only to be more adept at hiding their corruption than their parents were. Ochs also expressed concern that the mere fact of contact between Central Asian heads of state and President Bush is being used to the formers' advantage, regardless of the actual message contained therein.

**Steven Mann** (*Former US Ambassador to Turkmenistan and Senior Advisor for Caspian Basin Energy Development*) stated that democratic reforms in Central Asia are necessary and that the human rights situation throughout the region is generally poor. Mann stated that we take this position because of both American national values and national security concerns, especially concerning Islamic fundamentalism and organized crime. Mann stated that we should be focused and smart in what we press for concretely in terms of democratic progress and human rights; he stated that we have too often advanced off-the-shelf sets of demands that have not corresponded well to what is practical and desirable in a given country. Mann also noted that Afghanistan and the issue of military basing in Central Asia has given us a new and more complex optic through which to view our interactions -- yet our fundamental

national goals in the region remain consistent and have not changed in the post-independence years.

**Eric McGlinchey** (*CREEES Postdoctoral Fellow, Stanford University*) began his presentation by stating that since 9/11, there has been some progress towards human rights in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, though this has been somewhat offset by backsliding in Kyrgyzstan. McGlinchey chose to look at these three states because these are where US foreign policy vis-à-vis the war on terror has been focused, especially in terms of aid. McGlinchey cited greatly increased figures, post-9/11, for both foreign and military aid to these nations and then looked at what changes in the human rights situation have concurrently unfolded. He then provided an overview of the human rights situation in each of these three states and concluded that Kyrgyzstan has experienced the greatest deterioration in human rights in recent years, though McGlinchey qualified this point by mentioning that Kyrgyzstan also had the most room in which to backslide. McGlinchey then went on to address the interface between US security concerns and human rights in the region, stating that US actions demonstrate that the former clearly trumps the latter in terms of importance. This has led to a certain inconsistency in US policy in the region, especially concerning American dictates to these countries. However, according to McGlinchey, the American influence has not been confined to state actors but to entire Central Asian societies, where liberalism, as a language of mobilization, has become somewhat discredited because US policies are seen as being tied to the ruling regimes. The tainting of liberalism, because of its association with oppression and inconsistent implementation in the region (due to America's mixed signals), has the potential to radicalize the population, including a turn to radical Islam.

# Slavic and Hoover Present Exhibit ALPHABETICON

The Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures in conjunction with the DLCL Research Unit and the Hoover Institution Archives present a new exhibit *Alphabeticon: Russian Experiments with Text and Images in the Twentieth Century*. The exhibition, based on the collections of the Hoover Institution and the Stanford Libraries, examines the interplay of two paradigms of perception, the visual and the textual, through a broad range of Russian and Soviet artifacts, Futurist, Constructivist, and Conceptualist works, including posters, books for children, writers' manuscripts, and hand-written books. It will serve the investigation of the relationship between the written text and visual image in their various forms and manifestations: literature, visual arts, and performance.

The exhibit arose from a newly created research workshop on "Visuality, Corporeality and Literacy in the Culture of Modernity," convened by Monika Greenleaf, Oksana Bulgakowa and Anna Muza of the Slavic Department, under the auspices of the Division of Literatures, Cultures and Languages. "Visuality, Corporeality and Literacy" included a series of lectures by prominent historians of modern culture, photo-text, painting, film and theatre, including T.J. Clark, Erica Wolf, Mikhail Iampol'skii, Ben Brewster and Russell Merritt; workshops on the biomechanical body and its theatre with Gennadii Bogdanov and the Gardzienice Theatre Troupe; and a conference in April with papers presented by Slavic Department graduate students and faculty. The *Alphabeticon* exhibit, created jointly with Elena Danielson, Director of the Hoover Archive, was part of this year-long collaboration. Individual displays within the exhibit were curated by workshop participants including Greenleaf, Bulgakowa, Muza, Joshua Walker, Dustin Condren, Martha Kelly, Sara Pankenier, Glen Worthey, Dietmar Hochmuth, Matthew Morris and Heather Farkas.

*Alphabeticon: Russian Experiments with Text and Images in the Twentieth Century* will be on display in the Herbert Hoover Memorial Pavilion from May 8 to August 30. The pavilion, located adjacent to Hoover Tower, is open Tuesday through Saturday, 11 a.m. to 4 p.m. For further information, e-mail the Hoover Institution Archives at [archives@hoover.stanford.edu](mailto:archives@hoover.stanford.edu), call 650/723-3563, or check the exhibit web site at <http://alphabeticon.stanford.edu>



**The Division of Literatures, Cultures &  
Languages Visuality and Literacy  
Workshop Presents**

## ALPHABETICON

**Russian Experiments  
with Text and Image in  
the 20th Century**

**Hoover Exhibit Pavilion  
Stanford University  
May 8-September 3, 2003**

**<http://alphabeticon.stanford.edu/>**



## Yugoslav Historiography Volume Published

CREEES is pleased to announce the publication of *Yugoslavia and its Historians: Understanding the Balkan Wars of the 1990s*, a new collection of essays from Stanford University Press. The volume was edited by Norman Naimark, Robert and Florence McDonnell Chair in East European Studies in the Stanford Department of History, and Holly Case, a recent Ph.D. in East European history here at Stanford. Contributors to the volume include Dusan Djordjevich, Wendy Bracewell, Larry Wolff, Barisa Krekic, Wayne Vucinich, Charles Jelavich, Arnold Suppan, Andrew Rossos, Thomas Emmert, John Fine, and Gale Stokes.

*Yugoslavia and its Historians* is the result of a conference, "The Balkans, Past and Future," sponsored jointly by CREEES and the McDonnell Chair in East European Studies in April, 2000. The conference – as does the volume -- honored the scholarship and mentorship of Wayne S. Vucinich. We are all indebted to Wayne for his contributions, professional and personal, to the field.



Vartan Gregorian, president of Carnegie Corporation, and Wayne S. Vucinich, Robert & Florence McDonnell Chair in East European Studies, Emeritus, at the celebration of Wayne's 90th birthday

**CREEES congratulates "Uncle" Wayne on his 90th birthday, celebrated this June!**

## Conference Honors Terry Emmons

Friends and former students of Terence Emmons participated in a scholarly conference, honoring Terry as he retires. Emmons served as Professor in the Department of History at Stanford from 1965 to 2001, specializing in Imperial Russia. He authored several seminal works in the field, including *The*

*Russian Landed Gentry and the Peasant Emancipation of 1861; The Formation of Political Parties and the First National Elections in Russia; and Alleged Sex and Threatened Violence: Doctor Russel, Bishop Vladimir, and the Russians in San Francisco, 1887-1892.* Emmons edited the volume *Emancipation of the Russian Serfs* and co-edited *The Zemstvo in Russia: An Experiment in Local Self-Government* with Wayne Vucinich.

The conference, "Shaping Memory, Shaping Identity in Russian History," was hosted by CREEES March 21 – 22, 2003. The Hoover Institution and the Department of History at Stanford co-sponsored the event, which included presentations and tributes from many of the most prominent scholars of the history of imperial Russia. Presenters included Oleg Budnitskii, Jeff Brooks, Robert Crews, John Dunlop, Stuart Finkel, Raul Garcia, Gary Hamburg, Semion Lyandres, Martin Malia, Norman Naimark, Joan Neuberger, Carolyn Pouncy, Nicholas Riasanovsky, Mark Von Hagen, Charters Wynn, Larissa Zakharova, Reggie Zelnik, and Emmons himself. Titles of the papers presented are listed on page 6. CREEES Director Nancy Kollmann presided over the event, and Laura Engelstein, David Holloway, Katherine Jolluck, Jack Kollmann, Bert Patenaude and Tom Sanders chaired panels. Other colleagues and former students in attendance included Dorothy Atkinson, Steve Barnes, Lois Becker, Elena Danielson, Delano Dugarm, Kristen Edwards, Lazar Fleishman, Gregory Freidin, Monika Greenleaf, Richard Hernandez, Andy Jenks, Alison Katsev, Nellie Ohr, Dan Orlovsky, Wayne Vucinich and Amir Weiner.



Nancy Kollmann, Terry Emmons,  
Larissa Zakharova and Oleg Budnitskii

# Faculty News

**Bernard Black** (Law) recently authored several articles, including the following: Bernard Black & Anna Tarassova, "Beyond Privatization: Institutional Reform in Transition (A Case Study of Russia)" (working paper August 2002), forthcoming in *The Ecology of Corporate Governance*, edited by Thomas Heller & Lawrence Liu, 2003, and Bernard Black & Anna Tarassova, "Institutional Reform in Transition: A Case Study of Russia," in *10 Supreme Court Economic Review* 211-278 (2003), (available at <http://ssrn.com/abstract=311276>).

**Coit Blacker** (IIS/Political Science) has been appointed Director of the Institute of International Studies, beginning in September

**Oksana Bulgakowa** (Slavic) Co-organized (with Monika Greenleaf) the workshop and conference "Visuality/Corporeality/Literacy," here at Stanford during the 2002-2003 academic year. She was guest curator for the Pacific Film Archive series "Malevich in the Movie: Garbage and Kissing;" guest curator for the film series "Bodies in Motion" at Cantor Arts Center, and curator of the exhibit "ALPHABETICON Russian Experiments with Text and Image in the 20th Century," at the Hoover Institution, April - August, 2003. Recent publications include "Spatial Figures in Soviet Cinema of the 1930s" in *Another Landscape: Stalinist Cultural Space*, edited by Eric Naiman and Evgeny Dobrenko (University of Washington Press, 2003) and "Russians in Hollywood" in *Hollywood Exiles*, ed. Alastair Philips (London: BFI, 2003).

**Lazar Fleishman** (Slavic) wrote an introductory article for the 10-volume edition of Boris Pasternak's works to be published in Moscow by the pub-

lishing house "Slovo." His monograph *Boris Pasternak v dvadtsatye gody* originally published by Wilhelm Fink Verlag in Munich in 1981, was recently republished, together with several articles on the poet, by the St. Petersburg publishing house "Akademicheskii proekt". This past academic year Professor Fleishman organized a lecture series on Lithuania (co-sponsored by CREEES and IIS); speakers included Tomas Venclova and Vytautas Landsbergis. Fleishman also organized the *Workshop on Poetry and Poetology* together with Professor of Comparative Literature Haun Saussy. Workshop guests included Tomas Glanc of Charles University in Prague, Princeton Professor Michael Wachtel, Estonian ethnomusicologist Jaan Ross, Professor at Pisa University Stefano Gardzonio, Tomas Venclova, Latvian poet Uldis Berzinsh and others.

**Joseph Frank** (Emeritus, Slavic) contributed two reviews to the *New York Review of Books* - one on a Russian novel on the life of Dostoevsky, and the other on a biography of D.S. Mirsky.

**Gregory Freidin** (Slavic) gave a paper in March, "The Other, or How Russia Is Made In the Films of Alexey Balabanov," based on a chapter for a book he is co-authoring with Berkeley sociologist Victoria E. Bonnell, *Conjuring Up New Russia: Symbols, Rituals, and Mythologies of National Identity of the Russian Federation (1991-2002)*. Freidin's summer plans include finishing his critical biography of Isaac Babel, *A Jew on Horseback* and beginning work on the annotated edition of Isaac Babel's letters to his family (planned as a volume of *Stanford Slavic Studies*). During the next academic year, Freidin will be replacing Professor of History Nancy Kollmann as the director of CREEES.

**Serafima Gettys** (Slavic) is working on a dictionary for beginning English-speaking students of Russian, titled *Correct Russian for Everyday Use*. Her article "Incorporating Comparisons into Foreign Language Teaching" was accepted for publication in *Foreign Language Annals*. In March, after traveling to Moscow to conduct an OPI workshop for the faculty of the Moscow-in-Stanford Program, she participated in the annual philological conference at St. Petersburg University.

**Monika Greenleaf**, Chair of the Slavic Department, co-directed (with Oksana Bulgakowa and Anna Muza) the research workshop "Visuality and Literacy," a year-long study of the interrelationship between the visual arts, theater, and literature in the culture of modernity, and culminating in "Alphabeticon," an exhibit of experimental Russian texts and images on display at the Hoover Pavilion from May until September.

**Nancy Kollmann** (History) will be on leave next year as a Faculty Fellow at the Institute for International Studies at Stanford; her research year will also be supported by sabbatical grants from the National Endowment of Humanities and the American Philosophical Society. In October 2002 she gave the keynote speech at the official publication of the English translation of Mikhailo Hrushevsky's *History of Ukraine-Rus', Volume 7* at the Peter Jacyk Center for Ukrainian Historical Research at the University of Alberta, and in June 2003 she presented a paper in Vienna at an international conference on "Center-Periphery Relations in Muscovite Russia," entitled "Legal Practice in Beloozero and Arzamas: The Criminal Law."



# Book News

## NEW FROM STANFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS:

### *Yugoslavia and Its Historians: Understanding the Balkan Wars of the 1990s*

Edited by Norman M. Naimark and Holly Case

Most of what has been written about the recent history of Yugoslavia and the fierce wars that have plagued that country has been produced by journalists, political analysts, diplomats, human rights organization, the United Nations, and other government and intergovernmental organizations. Professional historians of Yugoslavia, however, have been strangely silent about the wars and the breakup of the country. This book is an effort to end that silence. The goal of this volume is to bring together insights from a distinguished group of American and European scholars of Yugoslavia to add depth to our historical understanding of that country's recent struggles. The first part of the volume examines the ways in which images of the Yugoslav past have shaped current understandings of the region. The second part deals more directly with the events of the recent past and also looks forward to some of the problems and future prospects for Yugoslavia's successor states.

320 pages, 1 map, 2003, ISBN 0804745943 cloth

### *Pain and Prosperity: Reconsidering Twentieth-Century German History*

Edited by Paul Betts and Greg Eghigian

The turn of the millennium has stimulated much scholar-

ly reflection on the historical significance of the twentieth century as a whole. Explaining the century's dual legacy of progress and prosperity on one hand, and of world war, genocide, and mass destruction on the other, has become a key task for academics and policy-makers alike. No surprisingly, Germany holds a prominent position in the discussion. What does it mean for a society to be so closely identified with both inflicting and withstanding enormous suffering, as well as with promoting and enjoying unprecedented affluence? What did Germany's experiences of misery and abundance, fear and security, destruction and reconstruction, trauma and rehabilitation have to do with one another? How has Germany been imagined and experienced as a country uniquely stamped by pain and prosperity? The contributors to this book engage these questions by reconsidering Germany's recent past according to the themes of pain and prosperity, focusing on such topics as welfare policy, urban history, childbirth, medicine, racism, political ideology, consumerism, and nostalgia.

288 pages, 2003, ISBN 0804739382 paper ISBN 0804739374 cloth

### *Identity Theft: The Jew in Imperial Russia and the Case of Avraam Uri Kovner*

Harriet Murav

This book offers the first full-length English-language biography of Avraam Uri Kovner, a fascinating and peculiar Russian-Jewish writer and criminal who lived at the end of the nineteenth century. It is also an examination of the Russo-Jewish identity in the modern period and of larger questions of hybridity and performativity.

264 pages, 2003, ISBN 0804732906 cloth

**Aron Rodrigue** (History) was elected J.B. and Maurice C. Shapiro Senior Scholar-in-Residence at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, in Washington DC.

**Gabriella Safran** has been tenured and promoted to the rank Associate Professor. She spent the 2002-2003 academic year participating in a research seminar at the Center for Advanced Judaic Studies of the University of Pennsylvania, where she has been working on a literary biography of An-sky. Safran received

the AATSEEL prize for Best Book in Literary/Cultural Studies, 2002 for her book *Rewriting the Jew: Assimilation Narratives in the Russian Empire*.

**Richard Staar** (Hoover Institution) is serving as distinguished visiting professor of political science at San Jose State University for the Spring 2003 semester. He teaches an upper division course on "Russian Politics and Foreign Policy."

**Steven J. Zipperstein** (History) is currently writing a cultural history of East European and Russian Jewry, a comprehensive study that will be published by Houghton Mifflin. Last fall, he served as J.B. and Maurice C. Shapiro Senior Scholar-in-Residence at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, in Washington DC. His reviews appeared in *The New York Times* and *Washington Post Book World*, and he wrote an introductory essay for a museum catalogue on the *Jews of Odessa* published by the Diaspora Museum of Tel Aviv.

# Student News

**Elif Batuman** (Comparative Literature) presented "Pan Pizar': Babel', Pacioli and the Poetics of Clerkship" at the 2002 AATSEEL conference in December.

**Dustin Condren** (Slavic) will spend the summer in intensive German language study at the Goethe Institut in Berlin.

**Amelia Glaser** (Comparative Literature) has spent most of the year in Kyiv, Ukraine, researching her dissertation on literary images of the East European marketplace, and working on her Ukrainian. She is spending the summer months in St. Petersburg and Moscow, continuing her writing and archival research.

**Luba Golburt** (Comparative Literature) presented a paper on Polish author Ignacy Krasicki at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies in Quebec, and a paper on Princess Dashkova's memoir at the 2002 AATSEEL conference. Luba will spend the summer conducting dissertation research in St. Petersburg.

**Erika Monahan** (History) has been awarded a Fulbright-Hays fellowship for the 2003-04 academic year for her dissertation research on merchants in Siberia in the 17th and 18th centuries.

**Eugene Mazo** (Law) is the recipient of a Paul and Daisy Soros Fellowship for New Americans for the 2003-04 academic year.

**Matthew Morris** (Slavic) completed his MA thesis, "The Iconography of the Soviet Literacy Campaign 1918-1932."

**Anne Eakin Moss** presented "Podrugi on the Screen and in the Audience: Viewing Women's Relations in Soviet Film of the Late 1930s" at the December, 2002 AATSEEL conference. Anne and husband **Ken Moss** (Ph.D. History, 2002) are the proud parents of a baby boy, Isaac.

**Lynn Patyk** was awarded both McLeod and Social Science Research Council write-up fellowships to work on her dissertation "Written in Blood: Revolutionary Terrorism and Russian Literary Culture, 1871-1917."

**Sara Pankenier** (Slavic) has been awarded a Fulbright Fellowship to conduct her dissertation research in Russia on child-oriented primitivism and the Russian avant-garde. Sara presented "Constructing the Soviet Child" at the 2002 AATSEEL conference in December. This summer Sara will spend a month conducting research at the Cotsen Children's Library Collection at Princeton, then participate in a workshop on theory by the Nordic Network for Children's Literature Research in Sweden.

**Marilena Ruscica** delivered the paper "Cultural Translation and Literary Self-reflection: Andrey Bely's Journey to Sicily in 1912" at the December, 2002 AATSEEL conference in New York. Marilena married Peter Wolfenden in July, in a ceremony in her hometown in Sicily.

**Kathryn Syssoyeva** (Drama) has been awarded a Mellon Dissertation Fellowship for the 2003-04 academic year for writing her dissertation.

**James Ward** (History) completed an MA in East European History; he is currently pursuing his dissertation research on Joseph Tiso.

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## GRADUATING AFFILIATES

**Steven Barnes** will complete his Ph.D. in History this August, with a dissertation on "Soviet Society Confined: The Gulag in the Karaganda Region of Kazakhstan, 1930s-1950s." For the 2003-04 academic year he will be a post-doctoral fellow at the Davis Center at Harvard University.

**Andrew Bautista** completed his JD at Stanford Law School this spring. He heads now to Chicago, where he will spend the summer researching international money laundering at the DePaul International Human Rights

Law Institute. This fall he will begin a position as associate in the antitrust department of the law firm Kirkland and Ellis.

**Ted Callahan** will complete his M.A. in East Asian Studies in August, with a thesis on "Islam on the Hoof: A Reinterpretation of the Islamization of the Kazaks." This fall Ted will begin a PhD program in sociocultural anthropology at Boston University, focussing on Central Asian pastoral nomads.

**Pei-yi Chu** completed a BA (with Distinction) and MA in History. Pei-yi was inducted into Phi Beta Kappa at

commencement, 2003. She is currently considering a career in government.

**Martin Dimitrov** will be completing his dissertation entitled "The Dark Side of Federalism: Legal Fragmentation, Administrative Decentralization, and Policy Implementation in Federal States" over the summer. From September to December 2003 he will be a post-doctoral fellow at Stanford's Center for Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law. From January to June 2004 he will be a post-doctoral fellow at Harvard's Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies and an associate at the Fairbank Center for East Asian Research, also at Harvard



## Alumni News

**Sarah Cameron** (AMREES 2002) will begin a Ph.D. program in the History Department at Yale University this fall.

**Andrew Curry** (AMREES 2000), currently associate editor at *US News & World Report*, will spend next year in Germany on a Robert Bosch Foundation Fellowship.

**James Earl** (AMREES 2002), currently in law school at the University of Michigan, will spend the summer as an intern in the Department of Institutional Integrity at the World Bank in Washington, DC.

**Andrew Jenks** (Ph.D. History, 2002) has accepted a position as Assistant Professor at Niagara University.

**Galena Kolchugina** (BA Symbolic Systems, 2002) will enter a master's program in International Policy Studies at the Monterey Institute for International Studies this fall.

**Amy Kovac** (AMREES 2000) will enter the master's degree program in the School of Journalism at Columbia University this fall.

**Crystal Sholts** (BA International Relations, 2002) spent last summer on a US Department of State internship in Tanzania; currently she is an intern in the office of Senator Edward Kennedy in Washington. This fall she will begin a State Department internship in Chisinau, Moldova.

**Marci Shore** published the article "Czysto Babski: A Women's Friendship in a Man's Revolution" in *East European Politics and Societies* this winter. She spent May and June at the Kulturwissenschaftliches Institut in Germany (Essen) as a participant in a project/study group "Europe and Love" run by Italian historian Luisa Passerini. She will spend July and August in Warsaw, working on her manuscript (*Caviar and Ashes: A Warsaw Generation's Life and Death in Marxism, 1918-1968*).

**Alex Shvartsman** (BS Slavic, 2002) will begin law school at the University of California at Davis this fall.

**Rachel Farber Turner** (REES '97) has joined the U.S. Trade & Development Agency as Country Manager for Russia, Ukraine & Moldova.

### What's your news?

Share your recent activities with us! Call (650) 723-3562 or e-mail [mdakin@stanford.edu](mailto:mdakin@stanford.edu). Please include full name, class year, and updated contact and career information.

*Pictures are always welcomed.*

**Timothy Meyer** graduates with both BA and MA in Soviet/EE History. Next year he will begin a Ph.D. program at the University of California at Berkeley in Jurisprudence and Social Policy as an IGCC IGERT Fellow studying international nuclear weapons policy. Tim was inducted into Phi Beta Kappa at commencement, 2003.

**Caitlin Murdock** completed her Ph.D. in History, and this autumn will begin a position as Assistant Professor of Central European History at California State University at Long Beach. Her dissertation was on "'The Leaky Boundaries of Man-Made States': National Identity, State Policy, and Everyday Life in the Saxon-Bohemian Borderlands, 1870-1938."

**Trevor Sutton** graduates with a BA in History (Honors, with Distinction). Trevor was awarded a Hofer Prize for Excellence in Undergraduate Writing for his paper "The Penitent's Pulpit: Alexander Radishchev and the French Enlightenment," written for Professor Nancy Kollmann.

**Hilary Teplitz** completed her Ph.D. in Slavic Languages and Literatures this spring. Her dissertation was entitled *Exile in America: Russian Emigration Fiction, 1925-1999*. Hilary and her husband are the proud parents of a baby boy, Yorgos; they will be living and working in Greece this next year.

**Jonathan Terra** completed his Ph.D. in Political Science in January, with a dissertation entitled *Influence, Assets and*

*Democracy: Who Got What after the Fall of Communism in East Central Europe?*

**Gregory Yardley** completed an MA in Russian History.

### CREEES Email List

CREEES has an email distribution list for announcements of its events, such as conferences, lectures, panel discussions.

If you would like to be added to our electronic mailing list, please send a request to [rschnoor@stanford.edu](mailto:rschnoor@stanford.edu).



## CONGRATULATIONS 2003 CREEES GRADUATES!!

### M.A. in Russian, East European & Eurasian Studies

**Nathan Barrick**, a Major in the US Army, completed the AMREEES degree this spring. Nate and his family are headed to Florida where he will assume the position of Desk Officer in the Central and South Asian Division of Central Command of U.S. Armed Forces.

**Brian Fonville** completed an AM in REEES and a JD at the Stanford Law School. He plans to pursue legal work in the Czech Republic.

**Eric Leyde**, a Major in the US Army, completed his AMREEES degree this March. Eric and his family have relocated to Kansas where he is currently attending Army Command and General Staff College in Leavenworth.

**Robert Person** completed the AMREEES program, following up on a 2002 BA in International Relations here at Stanford. This fall Rob will begin a Ph.D. program in Political Science at Yale University.

**Michael Schaefer**, a 2002 graduate of Michigan State University, completed his AMREEES with a focus on Central and Eastern Europe. Michael will continue as an Osher graduate fellow at the Hoover Institution this summer; he is considering pursuing further graduate study in history.

**Taleen Terzakian**, a 2002 graduate of UCLA, completed her AMREEES degree. This summer Taleen is headed to Armenia and Russia, and hopes to pursue a career in NGO or government work.

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