

Newsletter

2004 Spring/Summer

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Purdy Pelosi

Letter from the Director

Gregory Freidin

I am now completing my year as Acting Director at CREEES, and the year has been both challenging and satisfying. Perhaps, the greatest challenge was posed by the decision of the OSP, prompted by the budgetary pressures, to close down Stanford's Moscow Program, which has been for the last decade a centerpiece of our undergraduate curriculum (as well as a welcome research base in Russia for our faculty and graduate students). Nancy Tuma, Professor of Sociology, was faculty in residence in spring quarter 2003, the last quarter of the ten-year-old program. Much lobbying by many of you and half a dozen meetings later (Nancy Kollmann's involvement in this crisis—during her sabbatical leave—was especially generous), I am delighted to inform colleagues and students that OSP is now committed to reopen a restructured program in Moscow in 2005-06. The planning will resume this fall, and we look forward to assisting OSP in reshaping the Russian program. In the meantime, on behalf of the CREEES constituency, we wish to express our sincere gratitude to Maxim, Sasha, and other members of the Moscow Program staff, who have shepherded this program since 1993 with deftness, imagination and kindness during one of the most exciting and difficult decades in Russian history.

Sadly, the year was also marked by the tragic death of Reginald (Reggie) Zelnik, Professor of History at UC, Berkeley. A lead-

ing historian of imperial Russia, an authority on Russian and European labor movement, a social historian as well as a biographer, Reggie has been a central presence in our Stanford-Berkeley community. We will all miss his intellectual stimulation and engagement, his keen mind and broad-ranging erudition, his munificent wisdom and guidance as a mentor, and above all, his generosity of spirit. Norman Naimark, who knew Reggie well, wrote a tribute for this issue. Our community mourns the untimely death of this colleague, mentor, and friend. A memorial service at UC Berkeley is scheduled for Sunday August 29, 2004.

The most satisfying part of my year as acting director was the designing and planning of the lectures and symposia, especially the 28th Annual Stanford-Berkeley Conference, "Spatial Form" that brought together the wonderful diverse talent that graces both campuses—students of politics and art, literature and history, experts in European affairs and Central Asia. This year's theme of "Spatial Form" derives from the path breaking work of Professor Joseph Frank. The author of the majestic four-volume biography of Dostoevsky, Professor Frank has had a major impact on the study of Russian and comparative literature and intellectual history. The full program is listed on page 7, a story about the conference and Professor Frank is included on page 8.

(Continued on Page 2)



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Frank's interest in biography as a basis for literary, cultural, and political history is shared by his Slavic department colleagues, Lazar Fleishman and myself, and indeed 2003-04 was a banner year for this approach to Russian cultural history, with CREEES helping in mounting two major events: the Isaac Babel Workshop which I organized with the help of my colleagues Stephen Zipperstein and Gabriella Safran (conference, exhibition, and the US premiere of Babel's play *Maria*, covered in the Winter issue of the CREEES newsletter); and an international conference and exhibition on Boris Pasternak organized by Lazar Fleishman (see p. 16 for further details about Pasternak conference). CREEES has shown its continuing commitment to interdisciplinary study of the region by supporting these and other conferences that were major intellectual events on campus this year, including also a workshop on A Decade of the Taliban, spearheaded by Robert Crews (see pp. 10-13 for summaries of the workshop presentations).

The 2003-04 Alexander Dallin Lecture on Soviet and Post-Soviet Affairs was delivered this year by Yuri Levada, director and founder of VTsIOM and now of the Levada Center; we were honored to host such a pivotal figure in the development of sociology, the reform of social sciences, and understanding of democratization in the late- and post-Soviet eras. Our annual series on Ukraine included lectures by economist Roy Gardner, Harvard's George Grabowicz, journalist Olena Prytula and policy analyst Nadia Diuk. CREEES host-

ed panel presentations on "Georgia after Shevardnadze," and on the "Resource Curse" in the FSU. Other notable public lectures sponsored by CREEES this spring included presentations by Charles King, Robert Donia, Paul Gregory, Steve Smith, Klaus Segbers and Padraic Kenney. CREEES also mounted our annual teacher training workshop, this year on "Stalin and the Rise of Soviet Totalitarianism," with presentations by Stanford historians Amir Weiner, David Holloway and Bert Patenaude.

At the center of this issue is a listing of all CREEES events of the year, including dozens of public lectures, several major conferences, panel discussions, and our annual training teacher workshop. We were also fortunate to have a splendid crop of students in our MA program this year, who have graduated dispersed to various exciting new projects – you can read about their accomplishments, and those of other CREEES-affiliated students, on pp. 21-24.

Mary Dakin's support and advice, her wisdom and experience, her understanding of the region we study and her familiarity with our research community account for much of the success of the program this year. It's been a pleasure and privilege to work alongside her and to be able to benefit from the support of the CREEES team, Jack Kollmann, Rosemary Schnoor and Sue Purdy Pelosi.

Gregory Freidin

CREEES is designated a National Resource Center for the study of Russia, Eastern Europe and Eurasia by the U.S. Department of Education, and receives Title VI funds for educational and outreach activities. The center is a degree-granting program within the School of Humanities and Sciences at Stanford University. Further information about CREEES at Stanford is available at <http://CREEES.stanford.edu>

CREEES 2003 ~ 2004 Lectures and Co-Sponsored Events

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and Undergraduate Studies, Stanford*

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September 29, 2003

Marietta Chudakova, *Professor and
member of the Academia Europea,
Moscow Institute of Literature*

A New Look at Russian Literature of
the Soviet Period

October 9, 2003

Khassan Baiev, *Author, The Oath*
The Chechen Quaqmire: Any Way Out?

October 9, 2003

Khassan Baiev, *Author, The Oath*
Why Chagall Matters: Celebrating the
Marc Chagall Exhibition San Francisco
Museum of Modern Art and the publi-
cation of *Marc Chagall and His Times* and
Marc Chagall on Art and Culture
(Stanford University Press, 2003).

October 14, 2003

Steve LeVine, *Wall Street Journal;
Visiting Fellow, Center on Democracy,
Development & Rule of Law, Stanford
University*

Khanates around the Caspian: A Long-
time Resident's View of Central Asia
and the Caucasus

October 21, 2003

Victor Grossman, *Author, Crossing the
River: A Memoir of the American Left, the
Cold War, and Life in East Germany*

Comparing Development in East and
West Germany - Before and Since
Reunification

October 22, 2003

Valentina Izmirlieva, *Assistant
Professor, Columbia University*
The Lover as a Parrot: Humbert's
"Lolita-Lolita" List

October 23, 2003

Saulesh Yessenova, *Ph.D., Dept. of
Anthropology and Sociology, University
of British Columbia*

A Legacy of the Movement of Kazakh
People and Cultures: From Genghis
Khan to Post-Socialism

November 5, 2003

Michael McFaul, *Associate Professor of
Political Science, Stanford University*
Previewing Russia's 2003 Par-
liamentary Elections: Implications for
Russia's Democracy

November 5, 2003

Piotr Moncarz, *Ph.D., Corporate Vice
President & Principal Engineer Exponent
Corp., Menlo Park*

New Gold of the Old Silk Road:
Natural Gas

November 11, 2003

Ivan N. Tolstoi, *Journalist, Radio Free
Europe; Osher Fellow, Hoover Institution*
Radio Liberty and the Russian
Emigration

November 19, 2003

Taqnazar, *Vocalist from Central Asia*
A concert of Tajik popular music and
traditional Persian songs.

November 25, 2003

Thomas Goltz, *Journalist*
Chechnya Diary: A War Correspon-
dent's Story

December 1, 2003

Archil Gegeshidze, *Senior Fellow,
Georgia Foundation for Strategic and
International Studies; Georgia at the
Turning Point?*

2003~04 CREEES Events (Continued)

December 2, 2003

Jane L. Curry, *Professor of Political Science, Santa Clara University*

Poland's Ex-Communists: A Success Story Turned Sour?

December 3, 2003

Fiona Hill, *Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution*

The Siberian Curse: Does Russia's Geography Doom Its Chances for Market Reform?

February 5, 2004

Scott Levi, *Assistant Professor of History, University of Louisville*

Decolonizing Pre-Colonial Central Asia: A Transregional Approach

February 17, 2004

Artem Yermilov, *National Nuclear Center, Republic of Kazakhstan & Fulbright Fellow, University of Georgia*
Nuclear Science and Radio-Ecological Conditions in Kazakhstan

February 18, 2004

Vladimir K. Volkov, *Director, Institute of Slavic and Balkan Studies, Moscow*
Russian Foreign Policy in the Balkans

February 19-21 & 26-28, 2004

Maria by Isaac Babel

Directed by **Carl Weber**

Presented by the Stanford Department of Drama

February 23, 2004

Klaus Segbers, *Professor of Political Science, Institute for East European Research & Department of Political Science, Free University of Berlin; & CREEES Visiting Scholar, Stanford University*

Assessing Russian Reforms: A Fine Balance

February 24, 2004

Paul Gregory, *Cullen Distinguished Professor of Economics, University of Houston & Distinguished Visiting*

Fellow, Hoover Institution

The Economics of the Gulag

February 26, 2004

Dr. Boris Ilich Marshak, *Head of the Central Asia and Caucasus Section,*

State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; Visiting Faculty, Stanford University

Problems in Zoroastrian Art

February 29 - March 2, 2004

The Enigma of Isaac Babel

International Conference at Stanford

March 2, 2004

Meredith Heiser, *Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Stanford University; Professor of Political Science, Foothill College*

The Impact of Central European Support of Iraq

March 4, 2004

Jack Kollmann, *Lecturer, Department of History; Academic Coordinator CREEES*
The Magic of St. Petersburg

March 15, 2004

Steve Smith, *Professor of History, University of Essex, UK*

Heavenly Letters and Tales from the Forest: 'Superstition' as a Weapon Against Bolshevism

April 1, 2004

Padraic Kenney, *Professor of History and Director of Central and East European Studies, University of Colorado, Boulder*

Do Democracies Have Better Memories? History Conflicts in Central Europe

April 6, 2004

Charles King, *Associate Professor, Ion Ratiu Chair of Romanian Studies, School of Foreign Service and Department of Government, Georgetown University*

The Black Sea: A History

April 12, 2004

Venera Djumataeva, *Radio Liberty; Osher Fellow, Hoover Institution*
Central Asia: A New Geopolitical Role

April 13, 2004

Svetlana Vetrova *Folk Singer*

Brown Bag Concert – Original Russian Folk Songs

April 22, 2004

Robert Donia, *Department of History, University of California, San Diego*

The Stones of Sarajevo: Discerning Social Relationships through Spatial Paradigms. 1460 to Present

April 29, 2004

Andrey Voznesensky

The Stanford Humanities Center presents: An Evening of the Poetry of Andrey Voznesensky

May 4, 2004

Vanelin Ganev, *Assistant Professor of Political Science, Miami University of Ohio; 2003-2004 Campbell National Fellow, Hoover Institution*

Charismatic Leadership and Institutional Change in Simeon's Bulgaria: A Neo-Weberian Approach

May 11, 2004

Ross Johnson, *Senior Advisor, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty; Research Fellow, Hoover Institution*
Nation Building in Kosovo

May 25, 2004

Mette Skak, *Professor of Political Science, University of Aarhus, Denmark*
The Fake Dissolution of the Comintern and Its Broader Context

June 1, 2004

Jasminka Sohinger, *Full Professor at the Faculty of Economics, University of Zagreb, Croatia; Visiting Professor at the University of California Berkeley, Institute of European Studies, and UC Berkeley Extension*

Transforming Competitiveness in European Transition Economies: The Role of Foreign Direct Investment

2004 CREEES Summer Fellowships and Grants

CREEES Research & Travel Grants for Graduate Students

Jelena Batinic (History), Serbia
Malgorzata Fidelis (History), Poland
Martha Kelly (Slavic), Russia
Lynn Patyk (Slavic), Russia
Kris Salata (Drama), Poland
Kathryn Syssoyeva (Drama), Russia
Tom Roberts (Slavic), Russia
Adrian Coburn
Simon Ertz (tuition only)

Faculty Research/Conference Travel

Oksana Bulgakowa (Slavic)
Nancy Kollmann (History)
Karen Rondestvedt (Slavic Curator)
Amir Weiner (History)

Foreign Language & Area Studies (FLAS) Fellowships for Intensive Language Study

Julia Cohen (History), Bogazici University
Summer Turkish Program, Istanbul
Jesse Driscoll (Political Science), Middlebury
College Intensive Russian Program
Ryan Podolsky (CREEES)
Middlebury College Intensive Russian Program

CREEES Undergraduate

Summer Intensive Language Study Grants

Richard Barbour (Linguistics), Intensive
Croatian, University of Zagreb
Matthew Cusick (History), University of
Pittsburgh Intensive Russian Program
Carolyn Sinsky (Comparative Literature),
Middlebury Intensive Russian Program

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Your financial support is always greatly appreciated. Please make checks payable to Stanford University and send to:

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

CREEES Special Events 2003-2004

Symposium

"Famine in Ukraine: 70 Years After"

**A Symposium honoring Robert Conquest
for his contributions to the study of the famine**

Amir Weiner, Associate Professor of History, Stanford University

*Volodymyr S. Lozitskyi, Director, Central State Archives of
Public Organizations of Ukraine*

November 13, 2003

Roundtables

Rethinking the Resource Curse: Lessons from the FSU

Pauline Jones-Luong, Associate Professor of Political Science, Yale University

Erika Weinthal, Associate Professor of Political Science, Tel Aviv University

Terry Karl, Professor of Political Science, Stanford University, Discussant

February 12, 2004

Georgia after Shevardnaze

*Archil Gegesghidze, Senior Fellow, Georgia Foundation
for Strategic and International Studies GFSIS*

Dr. Eka Metreveli, Research Fellow GFSIS

Dr. Metreveli Tbilisi State University, Theories of Nationalism

Prof. Vladimer Papava, Senior Fellow, GFSIS;

Minister of Economy Georgia; and author

March 3, 2004

Annual Lecture

2003-2004 Alexander Dallin Lecture in Soviet and Post-Soviet Affairs

"Russia after the Presidential Election"

Yuri Levada, Director, Levada Center (Formerly VTsIOM-A)

May 19, 2004



XXVIII Annual Stanford/ Berkeley Conference on Russian, East European and Eurasian Studies

"Spatial Form: Centers, Borders, and Construction of Difference in Russia, Eastern Europe, and Eurasia"

Friday, April 16, 2004

Hosted by Stanford University; sponsored jointly by the Institute of Slavic, East European
and Eurasian Studies at the University of California at Berkeley

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Opening Remarks

Gregory Freidin, *Acting
Director, CREEES, Stanford
University*

Panel One "Centers, Old and New"

Chair: Monika Greenleaf, *Slavic
Languages & Literatures, Stanford
University*

David Frick, *Slavic Languages and
Literatures, University of California,
Berkeley*

"Neighborhoods and Networks in
Seventeenth-Century Vilnius"

Robert Crews, *History, Stanford
University*

"Cosmopolitanism at the Top of
the World: The Colonization of
Badakhshan"

Edward W. Walker, *Berkeley
Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet
Studies, and Political Science,
University of California, Berkeley*
"Empires, Nation-states, or

Multinational States? State and
Community in Post-Soviet Space"

Panel Two The Other: Constructing the Difference

Chair: Reginald Zelnik, *History,
University of California, Berkeley*

Victor Zhivov, *Slavic Languages
and Literatures, University of
California, Berkeley*

"Two Spaces of the Russian
Middle Ages"

David Holloway, *History and
Political Science, Stanford University*

"Old Debates about Russia's Place
in the World: What do They
Matter in an Age of Globalization"

Anne Nesbet, *Slavic Languages and
Literatures, University of California,
Berkeley*

"Architectural Space in Eisenstein,
Bely, Gogol"

Panel Three Borders, Drawing and Blurring

Chair: Mary Dakin, *Associate
Director, CREEES, Stanford
University*

Maria Gough, *Art and Art History,
Stanford University*

"El Lissitzky on Broadway"

Amir Weiner, *History, Stanford
University*

"Soviet Western Frontier and the
Eastern Bloc, 1956-1989"

Gabriella Safran, *Slavic Languages
and Literatures, Stanford University*

"Ansky's Stories from the
Borderlands"

Closing Remarks

Victoria Bonnell, *Director,
ISEEES*

For further information, contact CREEES
at 650-725-2563 or visit
<http://creees.stanford.edu> to view
photographs from the event.

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CREEES emails announcements of its events, such as conferences, lectures,
and panel discussions. Send a request to rschnoor@stanford.edu to join.

Annual Stanford-Berkeley Conference Honors Professor Joseph Frank

On April 16, 2004, Stanford CREEES hosted the Twenty Eighth Annual Stanford-Berkeley Conference on Russian, East-European, and Eurasian Studies entitled "Spatial Form: Centers, Borders, and Construction of Difference in Russia, Eastern Europe, and Eurasia." Panels included presentations by David Frick, Robert Crews, Edward Walker, Victor Zhivov, David Holloway, Anne Nesbet, Gabriella Safran, and Maria Gough. *For a full listing of presentations, see page 7.*

The following remarks are excerpted from the introductory tribute to Joseph Frank, Professor Emeritus of Slavic Languages and Literatures at Stanford delivered by Gregory Freidin, Dmitri Keuseff Professor of Slavic Cultures and Acting Director of CREEES, 2003-04.

As the title of the conference suggests, the initial source of inspiration for the conference was "The Idea of Spatial Form." This is a famous long essay written back in 1945 by my colleague Joseph



Professor Emeritus Joseph Frank

Frank, whose accomplishments we celebrate today. The essay deals primarily with the new literary form—in 1945 still radically new—of the high modernist novel of Joyce and Proust, and the effect they produced of simultaneity of the present and the past. This effect was all the more radical since language art is by nature sequential and, like music, is primarily temporal. But in the new novel—Frank grasped—the temporal was transfigured into the spatial with the result that spatiality began to define the entire work. The world

of Homer's Odysseus and the world of Stephen Daedalus merged in one day in Dublin. Such a radical transformation in this major art form involved—Frank remarked cryptically—"major changes in the sensibility of a particular cultural period."

Ultimately, the "major changes in the sensibility of that particular cultural period" that Frank alluded to had their objective correlative in the contemporary transformation of the European map. The romantic, profoundly historical consciousness of the tribes of Eastern and Central Europe, the Balkans—all of sudden found this map's spatial form in the multitude of the new or renewed nation states. Three quarters of a century later, we witnessed a similar "spatializa-

tion" of the national historical aspirations—regardless of their intensity—as communism collapsed, the Soviet Union fragmented, and the Warsaw Pact was dissolved to make space for some 27 new state formations. Borders have been redrawn, solidified, or erased, some centers have waned or disappeared altogether, long-time cosmopolitan, diverse enclaves, as in the former Yugoslavia, have been subjected to ethnic cleansing while other polities increased the ethnic diversity of their elites. All of a sudden the long-forgotten ethnically and linguistically mixed trans-national regions, like the Trans-Dniester Territory, Nagorno-Karabakh, the Gorny Badakhshan region, the Fergana Valley became regional or trans-national hot spots.



Victor Zhivov, Reggie Zelnik, David Holloway, Anne Nesbitt

(Stanford/Berkeley continued)

It is also important to mention globalization—a technological revolution in communications so pervasive that it has overlaid this reconfigured patchwork of states, confederations, and state-like entities with a network whose spatial dimensions are like those of God in Dante's *Divine Comedy*. The center of the global Internet universe

remote control button tuned to CNN. The Crusades I vaguely remember studying in the fifth-grade are the stuff of today's news, and Tolstoy's *Khadzhi-Murat* reads like a report in the *New Yorker*. And a middle-aged man dressed as a character from the *Arabian nights* presides over a non-state terrorist entity that for the last three years has kept the great modern powers in its thrall.

over the symbols of authority and power. Genealogies and histories have been revised to accommodate the new regimes and the new borders. Where Lenin's statues once stood, there is now one to Tamerlane. This switch will surely have implications one day far beyond the ones intended by the replacement.

Many of us remember the Gorbachev-Shervadnadze campaign during the perestroika to demystify the old Soviet "image of the enemy." But it did not take long for the Russian state and society to construct, sometimes simply reconstruct, a new Other. Even when the territory has not been reconfigured, as in the case of most of Russia, the new Russian state has to articulate it anew in order to establish its authority and create a symbolic order that defines a new relationship between the periphery and the center (Putin's famous "vertikal' vlasti").

I look forward to the conference panels. They should further our understanding of the region and its new political, cultural, and historical space.

— *Gregory Freidin*

All photos by Jack Kollmann, please visit <http://creees.stanford.edu/StanfordUCB%2004Conf.html> for a complete slide show.



Professors Grisha Freidin, Joseph Frank and Victoria Bonnell

is nowhere, its circumference everywhere, and its temporality is more like space. The new character of space-time Frank identified at the core high-modernist novel in the middle of the twentieth century has become—by the beginning of the twenty first—part of everyday life, available at the touch a

The reconfiguration of the post-WWII, Cold War geography that we have been witnessing over the last decade and a half has resulted not merely in a transfer of power—in some cases, as in Uzbekistan and elsewhere, the same people are at the helm—but in a radical revision of the symbolic order that has defined and sustained these new and renewed communities. And the contest in the political sphere often takes the form of a contest



Slavic Dept. Chair Monika Greenleaf



Students Michael Keiser, Mark Derber, Lenka Federova, Jackie Kerr

CREEES Scholarly Workshop

A Decade of the Taliban, 1994-2004

Thursday, May 6 and Friday, May 7, 2004

A decade after its appearance, basic questions remain about the character of the movement. Between the rise of the movement in 1994 and its loss of formal political power in Afghanistan in 2001, journalists, practitioners, and scholars offered insightful but necessarily partial snapshots of the Taliban at various stages in the movement's evolution. This conference sought to build on and revise these earlier accounts to arrive at a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon. It aimed to place the movement in a broader historical, cultural, and geopolitical context, while investigating the sources of its persistence in the wake of intervention by the United States and its coalition partners.

Panel One

Nazif Shahrani, *Indiana University*, "Taliban and Talibanism in Historical Perspective"

Neamat Nojumi, *Tufts University*, "The Rise and Fall of the Taliban in the Context of World Politics"

Mohsen Milani, *University of South Florida*, "Conflict and Confrontation between Two Islams: The Islamic Republic of Iran and the Taliban"

Panel Two

Alexander Thier, *CDDRL/Hoover Institute*, "How the Taliban Governed: Rhetoric and the Rule of Law"

Robert Crews, *Stanford University*, "'Moderate Taliban?': The Regime and Its Officials"

Senzil Nawid, *University of Arizona*, "The Origins of the Taliban Gender Policies"

Panel Three

David Edwards, *Williams College* and **Maliha Zulfacar**, *California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo*, "Perceptions of Taliban Rule: Interviews from 'the Afghan Street'"

Panel Four

Abdulkader Sinno, *Indiana University*, "Organization, Momentum and Perception: Explaining the Rise of the Taliban and the Failure of Others to Mobilize Afghan Pushtuns"

Nigel Allan, *University of California, Davis*, "The Taliban's Environment"

Amin Tarzi, *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, "The Neo-Taliban 2002-2004: Reinvention of a Movement"

Panel Five

Robert Canfield, *Washington University*, "Linkages between Fraternity, Power, and Time in Central Asia"

Thomas Barfield, *Boston University*, "The Taliban: Historical Breaks and Continuities in Afghan Political Organization and Governance"



Robert Crews, Stanford University

CREEES Presents Scholarly Workshop on the Taliban

May 6 & 7, 2004 CREEES hosted a scholarly workshop "A Decade of the Taliban, 1994-2004." This workshop, spearheaded by Professor Robert Crews of Stanford's Department of History, featured presentations around pre-circulated papers. The conference was co-sponsored by the Hoover Institution; the Stanford Institute for International Studies; the Office of the Dean for Graduate and Undergraduate Studies in the School of Humanities and Sciences at Stanford; the Abbasi Program in Islamic Studies at Stanford; the Stanford Department of History; the Center on Democracy, Development and Rule of Law; and the Department of Cultural and Social Anthropology. Summaries of the presentations, provided below, were prepared by **Jesse Driscoll**, a graduate student in the Department of Political Science at Stanford.

Thursday, May 6, 2004

Nazif Shahrani, (Indiana University) opened the conference by noting that the rise of the Taliban must be rooted in the internal dynamics of Afghan political culture and history. Rather than representing an anomaly, he argued, the Taliban was the legacy of the colonial and post-colonial history of the Afghan state. In particular, ethnic cleavages, a kin-based dynastic tribal culture that fosters distrust and divisions, and the hegemonic aspirations of the Pashtuns are all remnants of the past, traceable to the policies of the "Iron Amir," Abdur Rahman Kahn. The analogies between his rule and the rule of the Taliban are telling. In 1880, this Pashtun leader was contracted to engage in a nationalist state-building project by external benefactors (the British), and his strategy was to purify the country, driving out local leaders who did not agree with him. Once in power, the Amir maintained power through asserting Pashtun dominance and creating personalist institutions that centralized authority in Kabul. He legitimized his rule by emphasizing national unity and a conservative interpretation of Islam. Yet beneath the rhetoric of national unity, state policy exacerbated ethnic cleavages by centralizing ethnic rule into the hands of Pashtuns, alienating other ethnic groups from the state-building project. These scars of that era are visibly inscribed on contemporary Afghan politics.

Neamat Nojumi (George Mason University) suggested that while indigenous factors were clearly important, the rise of the Taliban could be best understood in the broader context of international politics. Several factors contributed to their rise. The invasion by the USSR disrupted segmented rural structures, radicalizing countryside groups by killing off local moderates. Afghanistan then became an arena for Cold War competition, which contributed to the rise of the mujahideen – with US dollars cementing ties to between Islamic groups in Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan. With these structural elements in place, three factors led directly to the rise of the Taliban. First, U.S. oil interests' concerns were assuaged by Pakistan, which promised that the Taliban would provide a settling, "tradition-based" influence to secure a pipeline across Afghanistan. Pakistani trucking companies and private merchants desired law and order along the roads they traveled, leading them to back whichever group could credibly promise to reduce banditry. Finally, Afghan refugees living across the border in Pakistan supplied zealous foot-soldiers to reinforce the Taliban. Nojumi conclude his talk by discussing the various failures of the Taliban as a force for governance, citing the lack of a clear ideology, policy incoherence, and ties to external actors (which left the Taliban vulnerable to charges of serving foreign masters).

Mohsen Milani (University of South Florida) also focused his talk on international influences for the rise of the Taliban, focusing on the proxy war between Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and Iran for the future of Afghanistan. After the withdrawal of the USSR, Saudi Arabia saw the country as a possible springboard for its Wahhabism, Pakistan saw the possibility of a stable trade route linking to Central Asia to the sea, and Iran hoped to see a broad-based government resulting in a calm eastern border. All three visions were potentially compatible, but all three states were conscientious about checking the growth of the others' influence. Massoud – Iran's ally – took control, but Saudi Arabia and Pakistan feared Iranian designs on the state and sought to replace him. They supplied fuel and money to the Taliban, as well as convincing the US that the Taliban represented an indigenous and legitimate government that could be used to fight "radical" Iranian influence. By the time Iran under

(*Taliban conference continued*) stood the scale of the Taliban's growing power and foreign support, it was too late to salvage a leveraged position.

J. Alexander Thier (CDDRL, Stanford) presented sections of his paper, "How the Taliban Governed: Rhetoric and the Rule of Law." He used this opportunity to assess the founding myth of the Taliban, which was the promise that they would return order and the rule of law to Afghanistan. He suggested that the Taliban actually succeeded — perhaps more than any other government in history — in providing an enforceable state apparatus, but failed to impose a stable rule of law. Though the Taliban passed over 600 decrees, there was variation across issues in the areas of enforcement and application of these laws. The law was applied vigorously mostly when enforcing prohibitions on the production and sale of opium, when implementing legal rulings on women's issues, and as an excuse to prosecute Shia. The failure of the Taliban to enforce its legal proclamations in an unbiased manner, however, meant that the "law" in Afghanistan did not structure citizen expectations in a stable way. The Taliban's highly politicized legal system lacked balanced governance structures, accountability for its agents (especially the well-known "vice and virtue" squads), and encouraged arbitrary interventions into the private lives of citizens.

Robert Crews (Stanford University) revisited the notion of "Moderate Taliban" in his talk. He noted provocatively that if Hamid Karzai is correct, all but 150 of the former Taliban are "moderates" who can be reintegrated into the state apparatus. It is critical for international actors wishing to influence Afghanistan's future to develop tools to evaluate such claims. Crews suggests that the current "moderates" have been framing themselves in this language since the early stages of Taliban rule, so that they could play a pivotal role as entrepreneurial professional bureaucrats, interfacing the Taliban state with the international system. One of the constant tensions in the movement was between the revolutionary Islamic ideology, and the imperative of setting up state institutions that can gain international recognition and do business with oil companies, the State Department, and aid workers. While the Taliban regime was inward-looking and laconic on many subjects, the Taliban radio and media outlets were actually quite obsessed with self-promotion, especially in promulgating themes of victimization. In this sense, observers should embed the question of "who are the real moderates" within larger considerations of state-

building in a post-revolutionary context, and the institutions that supported the Taliban's rule.

Senzil Nawid (University of Arizona) discussed gender aspects of the Taliban's rule, and the social bases that they used to legitimize their much publicized subjugation of women. She suggested that women played a vitally important role in Afghan society before the rise of the Taliban. The widespread popular support for implementing the Taliban's gender policies is thus all the more puzzling. She suggested that women's rights were actually an early target for both nationalist and religious political groups: Early Soviet-inspired feminist rhetoric and mobilization efforts became a focal point for Islamic elements in Afghan society, lending easy legitimacy to conservative fears. The tactics employed in the war brutally transformed society from above and below, shaming many men for their inability to protect women from the predation of warlords. Traditional notions of "Islamic" morality — a janus-faced myth that saw women simultaneously as a treasure to be protected, and as an evil and a temptation from which men must be protected —, filled the moral vacuum. There was a strong consensus on many of the publicized actions against women, before the Taliban's rise, including the closing of girls schools, veiling, and the state mandated seclusion of women.

David Edwards (Williams College) and **Maliha Zulfacar** (California Polytechnic State University) discussed their video project, which they presented in an open forum. Their work captures the narratives that Kabul's citizens use to relate to their own state's contemporary political travails. The project was inspired by the US media representations of Afghanistan, especially the simplified vision of "Afghan public opinion" after September 11th. They used local students to ask open-ended questions, in Dari, to a cross-section of respondents, hoping to elicit a diverse set of opinions. They made no claim to be conducting a scientific study with their project, but aimed instead to provide an experimental approach to integrating actual Afghan voices into western Academic conversations — conversations that too often treat the citizens of Afghanistan as objects of study, rather than human subjects. Themes that emerged from across a variety of interviews provided a set of narratives and frames that can map collective memory, and provide a useful snapshot of contemporary concerns of Afghanistan's citizens. David and Maliha paused the video occasionally to provide useful commentary and solicit opinions from the floor.

Friday, May 7, 2004

Abdulkader Sinno (Indiana University) began by noting that the key to ruling Afghanistan is mobilizing the Pashtuns, and asked why only the Taliban has been able to succeed in this task in recent times. Pakistan's oft-cited support of the Taliban could not be the primary explanation, as the Pakistanis had done similar things for other Pashtun groups that failed to succeed. Nor was there a political vacuum in southern Afghanistan that they easily filled, or an aura of piety and support for law and order sufficient to explain the Taliban's mobilizing potential. Instead, he suggested, the Taliban came to power by appealing directly to the followers of local leaders. In part, this answer does refer to the content of their message: the Taliban convinced many recruits to leave a life of banditry and predation by offering moral clarity, the desire for a just society, and the satisfaction of being part of a wider movement.

Just as important as the content of the movement was the fact that the movement altered everyone's future expectations. Once the Taliban had gathered sufficient momentum, the fragile power structures were undermined by the knowledge that the Taliban was approaching. Most importantly, the Taliban relied upon sophisticated strategies that demonstrated an appreciation of the complex tapestry of local power networks in Afghanistan, employing divide-and-conquer strategies, recruiting locals to gain critical information, and paying careful attention to "spinning" their message and choosing appropriate local allies.

Nigel Allan (University of California at Davis) addressed the physical environment of Afghanistan and the way in which geographical facts map on to intersubjectively rendered realities on the ground. He suggested that Afghanistan is divided into different sorts of *manteqas*, or "spatial cognition units." For much of the country, this orientation has led to a "domocentric" social order (oriented towards home instead of wandering) which has supported the rise of warlords and been reinforced by their divisive politics. The Pashtun portion of the country, however, features wider expanses of land – and this has resulted in a more aggressive and egocentric culture and a desire for ethnic hegemony. Geography, therefore, had a lot to do with the Pashtun success in ruling Afghanistan. He also noted that the Taliban had no published policy towards the environment, and he

chronicled some of the environmental effects of the Taliban's rule, including pollution in Kabul, the prevalence of mine fields, deforestation, and the destruction of some native plants.

Amin Tarzi (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty) addressed the current state of the Taliban. After the defeat of the Taliban, a general amnesty was granted, which allowed many leaders to survive. The tendency of the US and Afghan interim governments to attribute all social disturbances to the Taliban in order to attract funding is a problem, as it misidentifies the actual threat and leads to incoherent and self-defeating policies. This means that drug wars, the consolidation of private protection rackets, personal vendettas, and political assassinations are often justified in the name of hunting down "neo-Taliban." In reality, the neo-Taliban does exist, but is divided between at least two camps with multiple spokesmen. One camp sees itself as acting on the legacy of the al Qaeda-dominated Taliban, working for Pan-Islamic goals. The other looks further backward and models itself on the earlier, more moderate days of the Taliban, playing on Afghan nationalism and promising freedom from US occupation and influence. Eventually, these players will reemerge and look for policies and institutions that they can use to leverage their own power.

Robert Canfield (Washington University) presented a sweeping analysis of the social and cultural support network that gave rise to the Taliban. All humans crave a broad frame of reference that has the ability to tie the personal to the social and the unseen world, and he suggested that fundamentalist Islam played that role in the wake of horrific civil violence and the collapse of the USSR. The fifteen years preceding the rise of the Taliban had disrupted economic life, displaced common languages and symbols, and left an intellectual void for those voices that needed culturally authentic scaffolding for resistance to foreign humiliation. He also discussed the shifting sub-narratives that were used as the Taliban recruitment bases of the Taliban changed from local rural soldiers to foreigners from Pakistan to a much wider "global Islamic" constituency. He hinted that the resonance of the Taliban's message came from its defiant rejection of Western cultural forms, especially western capitalism and democracy, and it is no surprise to see this rhetoric re-appropriated by groups that share a frustration with their present situation and hold "the West" responsible.

(Conference Summaries continue on page 22)

Ukrainian Studies at Stanford

2004 Lecture Series on Ukraine

Ukraine's Economic Growth: Is It Sustainable?

Roy J. Gardner, *Henry Remak Professor of European Studies, Indiana University & Visiting Faculty, Stanford University*
February 19, 2004

Mass Media and the Electoral Process: Ukraine 2004

Olena Prytula, *Editor in Chief Ukrayinska Pravda*
Thursday, March 11, 2004

Taras Shevchenko as National Poet: A Comparative Approach

George Grabowicz, *Dmytro Chzhevs'kyj Professor of Ukrainian Literature, Harvard University*
Thursday, April 8, 2004

"Contemporary Politics in Ukraine: Oligarchs and Opposition"

Nadia Diuk, *Director for Europe and Eurasia, National Endowment for Democracy*
Thursday, May 13, 2004



Professor George Grabowicz



Journalist Olena Prytula

The 2004 Annual CREEES Lecture Series on Contemporary Ukraine was held this winter and spring, featuring lectures on economics, politics, journalism, and literary culture. Economist **Roy J. Gardner** discussed the very positive trends in economic growth in Ukraine in recent years. Gardner is Henry Remak Professor and European Studies and Chancellors Professor of Economics at Indiana University; he also directs the EERY graduate program in Economics at Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, a program funded by the Eurasia Foundation. This past year Professor Gardner was visiting faculty here at Stanford.

Journalist **Olena Prytula**, Editor-in-Chief and co-founder (with the late Georgyi Gongadze) of the controversial online newspaper *Ukrayinska Pravda*, discussed mass media and censorship in contemporary Ukraine. She focused particularly on questions of ownership and influence, and the role of the daily *temnik*. Ms. Prytula has been a visiting fellow at Stanford in the Knight Fellows program for professional journalists in the journalism program. She has returned now to Kyiv for the buildup to presidential elections in Ukraine.

Harvard's **George Grabowicz** discussed the role of Taras Shevchenko as "national poet" in Ukraine, comparing in particular the roles of national poets in Poland and Russia. Dr. Grabowicz is Dmytro Chyzhevsk'yj Professor of Ukrainian Literature, Harvard University.

Policy Analyst **Nadia Diuk**, Director for Europe and Eurasia, National Endowment for Democracy, discussed the role of oligarchs in Ukrainian politics in her May lecture. Two days prior to her lecture at Stanford, Dr. Diuk presented testimony on Ukrainian politics in a US Congressional hearing. CREEES also hosted a November 2003 symposium "Famine in Ukraine: 70 Years After," honoring historian Robert Conquest for his contribution to the understanding of the famine. Look for the 2004-05 series on Ukraine to begin in October. Speakers will include Karel Berkhoff, Valerii Vasil'ev, Voldymyr Kulyk, Andreas Kappeller, Blair Ruble, and others.

From the Director: Why Ukraine?

By Nancy S. Kollmann, *CREEES Director*
and William Bonsall *Professor of History*

The geographical purview of CREEES is indeed immense -- the huge Russian Federation, the 15 newly independent states of the Former Soviet Union, including those as diverse as Estonia and Uzbekistan, the emerging democratic states of Poland, Czech Republic, and other countries of what we used to call "Eastern Europe." Why, one might ask, should Stanford single out Ukraine for particular attention? After all, all these countries possess fascinating histories and rich cultural traditions and all pose crucial questions about the nature of change in a post-socialist world. Why Ukraine?

In some ways the answer is serendipitous. Other countries are indeed fascinating, and CREEES will always sponsor events, research and teaching on the many lands of the "post Soviet space." But we at Stanford are particularly interested in Ukraine for two reasons -- one, because of the accident of our faculty development and, two, because of the centrality of Ukraine in so many fundamental issues of the current social sciences and humanities. To speak to the latter point first, Ukraine is a country with a rich cultural heritage, a complex history, a huge economic potential, a highly educated, developed industrial society and great potential for change and modernization -- it presents a true laboratory for analysis of modern process of nation building and post-Soviet economic and political change. Our students and scholars benefit greatly from learning about this amazing country's past and present.

As for our faculty, it happens that we have a handful of faculty who have devoted considerable attention in our professional lives to the study of Ukraine. I had the good fortune of studying Ukrainian history at Harvard in the flagship Ukrainian studies program in America, with the best scholars (Omeljan Pritsak, Ihor Sevchenko). I have continued on to teach Ukrainian history in the context of my "Early Modern Eastern Europe" lecture course at Stanford, and I have been honored to serve three times on the Committee to Visit the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, chairing it twice. I have kept a professional hand in the development of Ukrainian studies in America since I left Harvard for Stanford in 1982.

Professor Amir Weiner of the History Department has written a book about Ukraine's experience of national self-identity in the wake of the Second World War, *Making Sense Of War*. He has done research in and teaches courses on Ukraine. Professor Michael McFaul in Political Science has been involved in comparative study of political transition in post-Soviet Russia and Eastern European countries including Ukraine; Professor David Laitin, also of Political Science, has used Ukraine as one case study in his book on language policy in the post Soviet environment. Professor Coit Blacker, working in the Clinton administration, devoted particular attention to U.S.-Ukraine relations. And there are others at Stanford -- such as Hoover's Robert Conquest -- who are engaged in studying Ukraine from contemporary or historical points of view.

All this means that we here at Stanford are committed to putting extra attention into the study of Ukraine -- in our undergraduate classes, in our graduate training, in the research projects sponsored by CREEES, in our public programs. We have been gratified by the warm reception our efforts in recent years have received. We are beginning fund raising to expand our teaching capacity by inviting visiting professors in Ukrainian studies; to train graduate students by raising funds for fellowships; to sponsor research by supporting postdoctoral researchers; to provide public lectures. You will read about the past year's activities and upcoming events on these pages. We appreciate the support of our local community and welcome your input.

CREEES to Host Chopivsky Scholar

CREEES will host a Chopivsky Visiting Scholar in the spring of 2005, thanks to a generous gift from the Chopivsky Family Foundation. Valeriy Vasylyev of the Regional History of Ukraine Department in the Institute of History of Ukraine will be a visiting researcher at Stanford for three months beginning in March, 2005. Professor Vasylyev is a Senior Researcher at the Institute of History, and has previously conducted research on several occasions at the University of Birmingham, UK. His work focuses specifically on Ukraine in the Stalin era.

International Conference and Exhibit on Boris Pasternak

Poet and Author of the Timeless *Doctor Zhivago*



Nobel laureate Boris Pasternak, the late poet and author of *Doctor Zhivago*, was the subject of a major international conference

scheduled May 3-7, 2004 on campus. The event, titled "Hostage of Eternity," featured presentations and discussions in English and Russian.

In conjunction with the conference, the Hoover Institution prepared an exhibit on Pasternak featuring original letters, a typescript with corrections of *Doctor Zhivago*, handmade books of poems and photographs from its extensive collection. The exhibit will be on display in the Herbert Hoover Memorial Exhibit Pavilion from May 6 to Aug. 27, 2004.

Pasternak, who lived from 1890 to

1960, is widely regarded as one of the greatest writers of the 20th century. He was awarded the Nobel Prize in literature in 1958, an honor that the Soviet authorities later forced him to decline due to the harsh depiction of life under Communism described in *Doctor Zhivago*. In 1987, the Union of Soviet Writers posthumously reinstated Pasternak, finally making it possible to publish the novel in the Soviet Union. In 1989, Pasternak's son, Evgeny, accepted his father's Nobel Prize at a ceremony in Stockholm.

More than 50 participants from the United States, Russia, England, France, Italy, Hungary and Germany discussed Pasternak's life and work during the conference at Tresidder Union. "One of the central themes of Pasternak's poetry as well as his magnum opus, *Doctor Zhivago*, is the destiny of man in revolutionary times," said conference coordinator Lazar Fleishman, professor of Slavic languages and literatures.

At the conference, key presenters included Evgeny Pasternak and his wife, Elena, the foremost experts on

the poet's literary legacy. The Pasternaks recently compiled a forthcoming 11-volume edition of the author's works, the largest ever completed. Ann Pasternak Slater, the writer's niece, discussed her uncle's translations from Shakespeare.

On May 4, Bliss Carnochan, the Richard W. Lyman Professor in the Humanities, Emeritus, chaired a special evening in English of recollections on Pasternak. Participants included Andrei Voznesensky, a Russian poet who belonged to Pasternak's closest circle of friends; Evgeny Pasternak; Vyacheslav Ivanov, professor of Slavic languages and literatures at the University of California-Los Angeles; Michel Aucouturier, an expert in Russian literature at the Sorbonne; Vittorio Strada, professor of Russian language and literature at the University of Venice; and San Francisco-based writer and artist Olga Andreyev Carlisle.

(This piece adapted from an article in the Stanford Report, April 28, 2004)



Professor Lazar Fleishman Honored

On May 5, 2004, Professor Lazar Fleishman of the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures was awarded the Boris Pasternak Prize. Renown poet and past Prize recipient Andrei Voznesensky presented Professor Fleishman with the award during the opening exhibit of Pasternak's works and rare editions on display at the Hoover Memorial Pavilion through August 27 as part of Hostage of Eternity: Boris Pasternak, 1890-1960. Established three years ago by the Gorbachev Foundation, the Boris Pasternak Prize is given to distinguished poets and literary scholars, though this is the first time the award has been given to a non-Russian citizen.

In Memoriam: Reginald Zelnik



By Janet Gilmore, 18 May 2004.
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University of California, Berkeley.;
photos courtesy of Jack Kollmann

BERKELEY – Professor Reginald Zelnik, a distinguished scholar in Russian and Soviet history at the University of California, Berkeley, who courageously defended students during the tumultuous Free Speech Movement and mentored countless young Russian history scholars, died on Monday (May 17) at age 68. He was killed when a delivery truck accidentally backed into him as he was walking on campus.

As faculty, students and campus staff struggle with the loss, they are remembering him as a teacher who was beloved by students, a scholar who was among the best in his field and a steadfast supporter of his colleagues and friends.

"This is a terrible tragedy for the campus that has left us greatly saddened," said Chancellor Robert M. Berdahl. "Reggie Zelnik was an

extraordinarily popular professor for over 40 years and a personal friend of mine. He will be terribly missed by the entire community."

Zelnik first joined the UC Berkeley faculty in 1964. A junior faculty member at the time, he supported student rights and defended the activists leading the Free Speech Movement. Support for students remained a constant throughout his career.

Colleague Yuri Slezkine, a Soviet history professor at UC Berkeley, noted that many Russian historians consider themselves students of Zelnik - whether they received their graduate degree under his supervision or came to UC Berkeley from other colleges and universities to take one of his classes.

"He devoted much of life to nurturing and teaching students," said Slezkine. "He has an incredibly large and an incredibly devoted following. A lot of people teaching Russian history in America today are Reggie's students or people who consider themselves Reggie's students. There are dozens and dozens of grateful students all over the world. He was really an unbelievable person."

Zelnik was a pioneer in the field of Russian labor history who produced numerous books in that genre. His 1971 book, *Labor and Society in Tsarist Russia: The Factory Workers of St. Petersburg, 1855-1870*, was extremely influential

among scholars in the then-emerging field. His 1999 book, *Law and Disorder on the Narova River: The Kreenholm Strike of 1872*, used that incident to analyze Russian social history in general and the life stories of Russian workers in particular. He continued researching and writing until his death.

Born May 8, 1936, in New York City, Zelnik received his bachelor's degree from Princeton University in 1956. After a two-year stint in the U.S. Navy, he began graduate studies at Stanford University, receiving a master's degree there in 1961 and his doctorate in 1966.

Friends and colleagues said Zelnik was an optimistic soul who enjoyed playing the mandolin; singing in German, Russian, and French; and following baseball.

Many of them recalled his integrity and generosity. When called on to assist with an assignment or help solve a problem, he rarely declined. Zelnik served as chair of the History Department in the College of Letters and Science from 1994 to 1997 and also as vice chair and acting chair during the 1980s and 1990s. In the late 1970s, he was chair of the campus's Center for Slavic and East European Studies.

In the spring of 1966, Reginald Zelnik chaired a UC Berkeley campus debate on the Vietnam War, attended by an estimated seven thousand students in a packed Harmon Gym. At the debate's end, students voted almost unanimously to condemn the war.

(Continued on page 18)

(Zelnik article continued)

During the 1960s, Zelnik, as a young assistant professor, was part of a group of faculty members known as the "Committee of 200." In support of UC Berkeley students, the professors advocated broader free speech rights - in opposition to campus administrators, many senior faculty and the UC Board of Regents.

In 2002, Zelnik co-edited with Robert Cohen of New York Uni-

versity, a collection of essays on the movement, *The Free Speech Movement: Reflections on Berkeley in the 1960s* (University of California Press). Zelnik included his own essay on student leader Mario Savio, who became Zelnik's lifelong friend, and another on the role that Zelnik and other faculty members played during the movement. He titled that essay "On the Side of the Angels: The Berkeley Faculty and the FSM."

The Free Speech Movement mark-

ed an important episode in the life of the UC Berkeley campus and in Zelnik's own life, colleagues said.

Zelnik is survived by his wife, Elaine Zelnik; daughter, Pamela Zelnik; son, Michael Zelnik; son-in-law, Mark Stuhr; and grandson, Jaxon Zelnik-Stuhr, all of Berkeley. He also leaves a brother, Martin Zelnik, of New York City.

2004 Dobro Slovo Initiates

CREEES and the Stanford Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures is pleased to announce the induction of the following students into the Stanford chapter of the Dobro Slovo National Slavic Honor Society this June.

Adrian Coburn (Music, Slavic)

Anne-Marie Corley (Slavic, Physics minor)

Julie Glasser (Comparative Literature)

Natasha Grach (Drama, IR, CREEES minor)

Jaelyn Kerr (CREEES)

Victoria Schwartz (Slavic Studies, Political Science and Mathematics)

Anya Vodopyanov (History, Political Science)

Dobro Slovo serves as a means for the recognition of academic excellence in the study of Slavic languages and literatures and provides incentive for scholarly interest in Slavic life and culture.

Student members become permanent members of the national organization, joining "a select group of young American scholars who early in their academic careers have demonstrated a seriousness of purpose, a self-discipline and a maturity of judgement in selecting and excelling in a difficult and challenging subject area," according to the national charter. 2003 initiates included **Pei-Yi Chu, Elizabeth Zeratsky, Timothy Meyer, Matthew Rojansky, Elaine Auyoung and Michael Keiser.**

Sue Purdy Pelosi Joins CREEES Staff

We at CREEES are pleased to welcome our new Publicity & Event Coordinator at CREEES, Sue Purdy Pelosi, who joined us in January. Sue comes to us from the Stanford Technology Ventures Program (STVP) in the School of Engineering, where she was Program Coordinator since 2001-2003. Sue holds a BA from Tufts University and previously worked in publishing and education. Her contributions are invaluable, and we are so pleased to have her on the team.



A Tribute to Reggie Zelnik 1936-2004

Along with his family, friends, Berkeley colleagues, and scholars and former students around the country, we at Stanford feel the sharp pangs of death of Reggie Zelnik on May 17 on the Berkeley campus.

Reggie was an important part of our community, as well. He received his Ph.D. from Stanford in 1966, working both with Anatole Mazour and with Wayne Vucinich, who became a life-long friend. Reggie was friend and colleague to numbers of Stanford historians, and he was a mentor to many Stanford graduate students and young scholars. He rarely missed a Stanford-Berkeley History Department dinner and colloquium. The annual Berkeley-Stanford Russian and East European Studies conference almost always featured him on the program, as a commentator or chair, if not delivering a paper. Any number of Stanford graduate students, past and present, myself included, owe a huge debt to Reggie, for painstakingly reading our manuscripts and finding a way to both criticize them and help make them better. That he won the Nancy Lyman Roelker Award of the American Historical Association in 1996 for his mentorship of younger historians only scratches the surface of what our profession collectively owes Reggie. His readiness to engage rigorously the ideas and work of others was matched by his openness to new ideas and ways of thinking about the Russian past. Whether in writing or verbally as a conference commentator, Reggie was the perfect constructive critic. His subtle wit and wonderfully humane sense of humor punctuated his serious and thoughtful commentary, enlivening scores of AHA, AAASS, and other conference sessions and workshops.

Reggie's four books on the problems of labor history in late Imperial Russia, starting with the first and pioneering *Labor and Society in Tsarist Russia* (Stanford, 1971), liberated the history of Russian workers from the stultifying paradigms of Soviet historiography, (he would later write about the career of one of the most famous historians of Soviet labor, Anna Mikhailovna Pankratova, as a way to analyze the contributions and limitations of

that historiography.) Both as individuals and in groups, workers became political and social actors, and not just in the revolutionary period of 1905 to 1917.

Reggie's gift was to explore the worker as a subject of Imperial Russian History, without idealizing his or her character. He did this in part by publishing and analyzing the autobiographies of Russian workers, like Semen Kanatchikov (Stanford, 1986) or Vasilii Gerasimov, in connection with his book on the Kreenholm strike of 1872 (UC Press, 1995). In his analysis, there was neither straightforward exploitation by "capitalists" and government, nor was there an uncomplicated relationship between workers and intelligentsia and the emergence of their mutual political goals. Instead, St. Petersburg workers, the subject of most of Reggie's work, crafted their own identities within the constantly changing political, legal, and economic landscape of the capital, and with unexpected allies and opponents. Most important, they were able to learn and change from their own histories in the factory and on the streets. What they read, what they heard, and what they experienced shaped the evolving social world in which they formed their identities and ambitions. This was the fascinating subject of Reggie's most recent research on the comparative Russian and European history of the meaning of strikes.

Reggie's life, his work, and his dedication to his family, friends, students, and colleagues were of a piece. His role as a young professor in the Free Speech movement at Berkeley and later in a book documenting its history (UC Press, 2002) has been widely praised. Kind and generous, fun-loving and gregarious, scholarly and serious, Reggie will be sorely missed by his many admirers here at Stanford, as well as throughout the world.

*Norman Naimark,
McDonnell Chair in East European Studies,
Department of History*

CREEES Faculty News

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Elena Danielson (Director of the Hoover Institution Library and Archives) was recently awarded *Romanians National Order for Merit* (rank of Comandor), for her role in the preservation and development of the extensive Romanian collections of the Hoover Archives, for her support to Romanian researchers, and for donating copies of I.G. Duca's and Titulescus's collections to Romania.

Joseph Frank (Slavic) published two articles in *The New Republic*, one on Racine's play *Esther* and the other for review of T.J. Binyon's life on Pushkin, as well as the introductions for two books.

Maria Gough (Associate Professor of Art History) and **Jeffery Schnapp** (*French and Italian/Comparative Literature*) are proud parents of Alexander Gough-Schnapp, born July 4, 2004. Congratulations!

Monika Greenleaf (Slavic) is co-director, along with **Oksana Bulgakowa** (Slavic) a collaborate research workshop through DLCL called "Visuality/Corporeality/Literacy." Her article, "The Multiple Memories of Catherine the Great (1756-96)" appeared in *Russian Review* (July 2004). Monika and **Jack Kollmann** (CREEES) will direct an Overseas Seminar "The Image of St. Petersburg in Russian Literature, Art, and Architecture" for Stanford undergraduates, September 1-20, 2004.

Gail Lapidus (CISAC) contributed a chapter "Transforming the 'National Question': New Approaches to Nationalism, Federalism and Sovereignty," Archie Brown, ed., *The Demise of Marxism-Leninism in Russia* (Palgrave 2004), and "The War in Chechnya as a Paradigm of Russian State-Building

Under Putin", to the March 2004 issue of *Post-Soviet Affairs*.

Nancy Kollmann (History) presented "Change and Continuity over the Petrine Divide: The Use of the Death Penalty under Peter the Great" at the VII International Conference of the Study Group on Eighteenth-Century Russia (23-29 July 2004, Wittenberg/Leucorea).

David Laitin (Political Science) and Princeton Economist Alan Krueger uncovered methodological flaws in the State Department annual "Patterns of Global Terrorism" report, leading State to revise its calculation of the number of people wounded or killed by global terrorism in 2003 to more than double the original report. Laitin and Krueger are studying patterns of terrorism; their findings were covered by *The New York Times* in June.

Michael McFaul (Political Science/ Hoover) authored several Op-Ed pieces in recent months, including "Veering from Reagan" in the Washington Post, June 18, 2004 and "Reagan's Unfinished Agenda: Democracy Still has a Long Way to Go in Russia," in the San Francisco Chronicle June 13, 2004. His most recent book is *Comparative Effects of Post-Communist Transitions in Russia and Eastern Europe*, together with Kathryn Stoner-Weiss (Cambridge University Press 2004).

Norman Naimark (History) authored "Stalin and Europe in the Postwar Period, 1945-53: Issues and Problems," *Journal of Modern European History*, Vol. 2, no. 1 (2004); and "Post Soviet Russian Historiography on the Emergence of the Soviet Bloc," *Kritika*, 5, 3 (2004). He delivered a speech in Berlin on the Forced Deportation of

Germans, which was reprinted in *Die Zeit*: "Strategische Argumente," 12 January 2004. Norman will spend the 2004-05 academic year on leave.

Eva Prionas (Special Languages Program) and **Professor James Fox** (Associate Professor of Anthropological Sciences) are joint editors of a new volume *Web-Based Instruction or the Less Commonly Taught Languages*, forthcoming in November from CSLI Publications. The volume is based in a conference by the same name held at Stanford in June, 2003, co-sponsored by CREEES.

Gabriella Safran (Associate Professor of Slavic Languages and Literatures) continues to work on her biography S. A. An-sky. In the last year she has presented portions of her work at Syracuse University, Berkeley, Stanford, Moscow (at a conference on Russian Jewish Studies), the University of Michigan, and Toronto (at the AAASS). The volume of essays and source texts on An-sky that she is co-editing with Steven Zipperstein is due out from Stanford Press in late 2004; currently, Gabriella is overseeing the production of a compact disc featuring songs from An-sky's oeuvre and collections that will go in the book.

Terry Emmons (History, Emeritus), published *Gaf! Gaf! Russian Dog Stories*, a collection of Russian dog stories, selected, translated and introduced by Terry. Selections include stories by Turgenev, Tolstoy, Chechov, Mamin-Sibiriak, Kuprin, Prishvin, and others. The book can be ordered at <http://www1.xlibris.com/bookstore/bookdisplay.asp?bookid=22812> Terry and Victoria are enjoying retirement in Oregon, spending time with their new twin grandchildren.



Student News

Emily Greble Balic received grants from Fulbright-Hayes and IREX to do research in Bosnia and Croatia. She will be examining the social and political history of Sarajevo during the Second World War. Emily married Vlatko Balic July 3, 2004 - congratulations to Emily and Vlatko!

Elissa Bemporad spent 9 months in Minsk, Belarus, conducting archival research for her dissertation, entitled "Between Constraint and Synthesis: Soviet Jewish Life in Minsk: 1918-1939," with the support of a Title VIII Research Scholar Fellowship from American Councils (ACTR/ACCELS). For 2004-2005 academic year Elissa has been awarded a Mellon Foundation Dissertation Fellowship. She is a contributor to the *YIVO Encyclopedia of Eastern European Jewry*.

Bonnie Bratnober completed her BA in Slavic Languages and Literatures with Distinction. Bonnie will continue at Stanford as a co-term student in the CREEES MA program.

Catalin Cosovanu (Political Science) is pursuing a JC at Columbia University. Recently he authored "Piracy, Price Discrimination and Development: The Software Sector in Emerging Markets" in the *American Intellectual Property Law Association Quarterly Journal* (Vol. 31, 2003) and *Columbia Science and Technology Law Review* (Fall 2003).

Malgorzata Fidelis (Ph.D. Candidate, History) authored "Equality through Protection: The Politics of Women's Employment in Postwar Poland, 1945-1956," published in the Summer 2004 issue of *Slavic Review*, (Vol. 63). Gosia also received the prize for Best Student-Designed and Taught Course in the Department of History. The course was "Women and Communism in Russia and Eastern Europe, 1917 to

the Present," Spring 02.

Amelia Glaser (Slavic) is completing her dissertation, which examines the marketplace as landscape for cultural exchange in Russian, Ukrainian and Yiddish literature in the 19th and early 20th centuries. She will spend Fall, 2004 at the Harvard Ukrainian Institute, and spring semester 2005 as a fellow at the University of Pennsylvania's Center for Advanced Judaic Studies.

Jesse Kauffman is currently doing research in Warsaw for his dissertation on the German occupation of Poland during World War I. He will study in Germany on a DAAD grant beginning Fall, 2004.

Dev Khalsa (History) completed her MA in History, and is spending the summer as an Osher Fellow at the Hoover Institution Archives, working with incoming RFE/RL materials.

Anne Eakin Moss (Ph.D. Candidate, Slavic) will be a Visiting Scholar in 2004-05 at the Johns Hopkins University. In the fall semester she will teach a course on "The Russian Novel."

Ekaterina Nekloudova (Slavic) and her husband Viktor are the proud parents of new baby Boris, born this winter. Congratulations!

Heili Pals (Ph.D. Candidate, Sociology) was awarded the Centennial Teaching Award and the Dornbusch Award in Social Psychology in June 2004. She received a Lieberman Fellowship for 2004-05 academic year. Heili and Professor Nancy Tuma co-authored "Entrepreneurial Activities in Post-soviet Societies: Impacts of Social Psychological Characteristics," for the *International Journal of Sociology*.

Sara Pankenier (Slavic) completed

her MA in Slavic Languages and Literatures in September, 2003, and has spent this past year on a Fulbright fellowship in St. Petersburg and in the Russian provinces. Sara has been awarded a Liebermann Fellowship for the 2004-05 academic year.

Robert Sheckler served as Residential Advisor for SlavDom 2003-04. Rob will be pursuing co-terminal masters degrees in Slavic and in Linguistics in 2004-05.

Carolyn Sinsky (Comparative Literature) was awarded the Galina Leytes Prize for best essay in Slavic Languages and Literatures, 2004, for her paper on Mandelstam's Noise of Time.

Kathryn Syssoyeva (Ph.D. candidate, Drama) traveled to Russia on a grant from CREEES to deliver a paper at the St. Petersburg conference of the International Federation for Theatre Research. The paper was entitled: "Toward an Art of the Actor in the Imagistic Theatre: the Founding of the Moscow State Institute for Theatrical Art (GITIS), 1922-1923."

James Ward will use fellowships from Fulbright-Hayes and IREX next year in Slovakia and Hungary to work on his dissertation, a biography of Josef Tiso.

Students and Alumni

What's your news?

Share your recent activities with us by call (650) 723-3562 or e-mail mdakin@stanford.edu; please include your full name, class year, and updated contact and career information.

Thomas Barfield (Boston University) also framed the Taliban in historical context, but rather than place them at the center of a global resistance movement against the West, his contention was that they understood themselves to be a response to local problems and localized politics. The Taliban is interesting not because they represent a new and credible vocabulary of cultural resistance to the expansion of Western hegemony, but because they represented something authentically new in the history of Afghan state-building. The Taliban was the first successful movement in Afghanistan both led and run by clerics, with the intention of achieving state power. The interesting question, therefore, is why Islam worked as an engine

of centralization at this particular historical juncture, briefly overcoming tribal divisions and the challenges of Afghan geography.

His answer was that a steady flow of recruits that had been indoctrinated into radical Islam in Pakistani refugee camps give the Taliban an innate organizational advantage. This initial advantage allowed them to offer up a credible "Hobbesian" bargain (order in exchange for loyalty), which allowed the various war-shattered communities of Afghanistan to cooperate with the Taliban as the best possible solution to unending war. Pakistan made the same judgment, providing logistical support under the assumption that Mullah Omar's brand of order was preferable to anarchy along their border.

CREEES Affiliated Graduates 2003-04

Barbara Barath completed her BA with Honors in International Relations, with a thesis on "Will the Big Fish Eat the Little Fish? Policy Options to Address Small Hungarian Farmers after Accession into the European Union." Her thesis was built on field research in rural Hungary, supported by a URO grant. Barbara will begin a master's program at Johns Hopkins this fall.

Holly Case was awarded her Ph.D. in History and Humanities in June. Holly has accepted a position as Assistant Professor of History at Cornell University.

Anne-Marie Corley graduates with a degree in Slavic Languages and Literatures, with Departmental Honors in International Security Studies and a Minor in Physics. Anne-Marie, a Captain in the US Air Force, will assume a position in Air Force Intelligence this fall. She was inducted into the Dobro Slovo National Honor Society this June.

Martin K. Dimitrov was awarded his PhD in Political Science April, 2004.

His dissertation was on "Administrative Decentralization, Legal Fragmentation, and the Rule of Law in Transitional Economies: The Enforcement of Intellectual Property Rights Laws in China, Russia, the Czech Republic, and Taiwan." Martin has accepted a position as Assistant Professor of Political Science at Dartmouth.

Rozita Dimova was awarded her Ph.D. in Anthropology in January 2004. Her dissertation was entitled "Lost Objects: Ethnicity, Consumption and Gendered Spaces in Macedonia." Rozita is now a post-doctoral fellow at the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology in the Integration and Conflict Department.

Brooke Fineberg completed her BA in Political Science, and is moving to Washington DC to pursue policy jobs.

Alexander Fishkin graduated with an MA degree in Slavic Languages and Literatures in March 2004. His MA thesis was entitled "Relativity of Time, Space and Language in Early Pasternak."

Julie Glasser wrote an honors thesis in Comparative Literature on "Imagining Post-Soviet Reality: Depictions of Justice and Gender in Dar'ia Dontsova's Detective Fiction," for which she received a Robert M. Golden Medal for Excellence in the Humanities and Creative Arts; Gabriella Safran was her thesis advisor.

Natasha Grach completed her BA with majors in Drama and International Relations, and a minor in CREEES. She completed an IR thesis "Chto Delat' I Kto Vinovat? A Cross-Regional Analysis of Corruption in Postcommunist Russia," for which she received departmental honors. Natasha was a participant in the Stanford-in-Moscow program during which she interned at the World Bank. Natasha was recently inducted into Stanford chapter of Dobro Slovo, the Slavic national honor society.

Niklay V. Marinov was awarded his Ph.D. in Political Science in September, 2003, with a dissertation on "Deter, Bargain, Destabilize: Explain-

(CREEES Affiliates cont'd)

ing the Initiation, Duration and Success Economic Sanctions."

Eugene Mazo completed his JD from Stanford Law School this June; he was awarded the Richard S. Goldsmith Award in Dispute Resolution for the best paper written by a Stanford student in a topic related to conflict or negotiation. In 2004-05 Gene will be a pre-doctoral fellow at the Center on Democracy, Development and Rule of Law at SIIS, writing his thesis toward a D.Phil. at Oxford. His article 'Russia' Russian Roulette" will appear in the Autumn 2004 issue of *Stanford Journal of International Law*.

Jonathan Morgenstein (MA International Policy Studies, 2004) is an officer in the Marine Corps 4th Civil Affairs Group whose responsibility is to help coordinate the smooth flow of daily government and civil society, to liaison between the US military and the local civilian leaders (religious, economic, political), International Orgs (UN,

World Bank), and NGOs (Red Cross, Doctors without Borders); his unit will be deployed to Iraq in September.

Victoria Schwartz graduated with a BA in three majors: Slavic Studies, Political Science and Mathematics. Victoria wrote a political science honors thesis on Western influences on the 1993 constitution, based in research conducted in Moscow last summer. She will attend Harvard Law School in the fall. Victoria was recently inducted into Stanford chapter of Dobro Slovo, the Slavic national honor society.

Stoyan V. Sgourev was awarded a Ph.D. in Sociology in April, 2004, with a dissertation on "Motivation for Improvement and Network Structure: Going the Extra Mile in Networks of Peers." Stoyan is currently Sloan Industry Center Fellow at the IMVP (International Motor Vehicle Program) at MIT.

Jane Vaynman completed her BA in International Relations with University Distinction; she was

also elected to Phi Beta Kappa. She wrote an Honors thesis in International Security Studies on "Nunn-Lugar Programs: Post-cold War Security Cooperation and an emerging Security Framework;" David Holloway was her thesis advisor.

Anya Vodopyanov completes her BA in History and Political Science, with honors. She completed an honors thesis in International Security Studies on "A Watchful Eye Behind the Iron Curtain: the U.S. Military Liaison Mission in East Germany," for which she received a Firestone Medal for Excellence in Undergraduate Research. David Holloway was her thesis advisor. As a sophomore, Anya was a recipient of a Stanford-in-Government/CREEES fellowship, for which she served as an intern at the Carnegie Center in Moscow.

Jessica Williams, completed her BA Economics with Departmental Honors. She has accepted a position with the World Bank in Washington DC.



Alumni News

Major Nate Barrick (AMREES 2003) is Kazakhstan and Tajikistan Desk Officer for the Policy and Plans Directorate at Army Central Command in Florida. In recent months he has participated in Bilateral Defense talks with the Kazakhstan Ministry of Defense, and assisted in conferences on "Disaster reponse in Central Asia," and on the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline.

Major Kathryn Ducceschi (AMREES 2003) is a Program

Manager in the International Counterproliferation Program at the Defense Threat Reduction Agency.

Jeannette Leeney (AMREES 2002) is a Project Manager at Impress Media in Moscow.

Galena Kolchugina (BA Symbolic Systems, 2002; REEES Minor) will pursue a Master of Public Policy Degree at UCLA School of Public Policy and Social Research this fall.

Tucker Mansager (AMREES,

1996), an officer in the US Army, is a National Affairs Fellow at the Hoover Institution, 2004-05.

Louis O'Neill, (AMREES 1992), is Assistant District Attorney, New York County District Attorney's Office, New York, NY; formerly he practiced law at White & Case, and worked on legal reform in Russia with Harvard's Legal Reform Project. Mr. O'Neill will be one of 12 White House Fellows in 2004-05



2003-04 AMREEES Grads (listed in order below from l-r)

Congratulations!

Michael Keiser, coterminial MA student, will graduate in August, with his MA in REEES and degrees in Slavic Languages and Literatures and Computer Science. In the fall he begins a Ph.D. program in Bio-Informatics at San Francisco State University. Michael was a recipient of a FLAS fellowship.

Iga Zelazny continues in the CREEES program and will complete her AMREEES and a BA in Economics.

Jackie Kerr graduated from Stanford in 2002 with double-major in mathematics and Slavic Studies; she returned to CREEES following an academic year in St. Petersburg on an IREX Young Leaders. Jackie was a FLAS recipient this year; after graduation she will pursue NGO or policy work, and is considering further graduate studies.

Mark Derber is a Major, US Army, Foreign Area Officer (FAO) program. A graduate of West Point, Mark specializes in former Soviet Affairs, and completed study at DLI in Monterey, the George Marshall Center in Garmisch, Germany, and a posting in Tajikistan. His new assignment is back to West Point, where he will be teaching Russian.

Matt Mettler, a graduate of Gustavus Adolphus, was a FLAS recipient, and studied East European and Soviet history this year. Matt will begin a Ph.D. program in History at University of Iowa in the fall.

Lenka Fedorova, a citizen of Slovakia, focused in East European history and politics, specifically EU integration. Lenka's studies at Stanford were supported by a Steve P. Rados Tuition Fellowship. Before arriving at Stanford she was an intern at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C.; she leaves us now to pursue doctoral studies in Munich.

Brendan Franich, a graduate of Georgetown University, was a recipient of a FLAS fellowship at Stanford, and flourished in courses across all disciplines. He has previously worked as intern and paralegal for the US Department of State. After graduation he plans to pursue work in Moscow, and is considering law school in the future.

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