

NEWS FROM THE
HARRIMAN INSTITUTE

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK
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TIMOTHY FRYE, DIRECTOR

MAY 2010

OF SNOWSTORMS, VOLCANOES, AND THE SPRING SEMESTER
FROM THE DIRECTOR

Before we all fully switch into a summer mindset, I'd like to look back on the highlights of the past few months and forward to events planned for next year. As is so often the case, it is only upon reflection that I realize how many exciting and worthwhile events the Harriman puts together each year. I am never quite sure how it all happens, but year after year it does.

This semester was full of great academic conferences. One personal highlight was the conference "Twenty Years after Communism: Achievement and Disillusionment Since 1989." The list of presenters was extraordinary, including Adam Michnik, Alfred Gusenbauer, Erhard Busek, Ira Katznelson, Archie Brown, Katherine Verdery, Stephen Kotkin, Stephen Sestanovich and Vladimir Tismaneanu among others. This may explain why 200 people were willing to trudge through 18 inches of new-fallen snow to attend. The video from this event is available at the Harriman Website and is well worth watching.

In addition, the Institute honored two of its most treasured professors. In February, the Slavic Department recognized former Harriman Institute Director, Robert

Belknap, for his years of service and scholarship with a terrific two-day conference "Formulations: Teaching 19th-Century Russian Literature," while in April, the Harriman and the Middle East Institutes worked together to organize "Eurasian Perspectives: A Conference Honoring the Teaching Legacy of Edward Allworth."

Other conferences focused more on current topics. "Ex uno plures: Post-Yugoslav Cultural Spaces and Europe" explored the cultural trends in the space of the former Yugoslavia as it confronts globalization. "Anthropologies of the South Caucasus" brought together a terrific group of young scholars working across disciplines. The Harriman Institute was also glad to sponsor "Power and Movement across Eurasia," which was conducted by two chapters of (OASIES), the Organization for the Advancement of Studies of Inner Eurasian Societies at Columbia University and Yale University. By all accounts this third annual student conference was a great success.

The Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Nationalities brought more than 600 scholars to campus for a three-day conference on all matters re-

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Adam Michnik and Michael Scammell at the "Twenty Years after Communism" conference (February 27, 2010).



Harriman Institute Director Timothy Frye presents Professor Michael Rwykin (Russian Institute, 1960) with a Certificate in honor of the 50th anniversary of his graduation from Columbia, and in recognition of his past service as President of the Association for the Study of Nationalities (ASN) .

lated to ethnicity, nationalism, and identity. For many of the European attendees, however, their stay in New York was extended due to the cloud of volcanic ash that swept Europe in mid-April. Thanks to Gordon Bardos for helping to keep the chaos at a manageable level. I think that all have returned home by now.

The Harriman Institute's Core Project on "New Modes of Communication in the Post-Soviet World" kicked into high gear in the spring with presentations on Soviet television by Jonathan Sanders and Donna Bahry and a talk highlighting generational differences in approaches to the internet by noted author Tatyana Tolstaya and her son, the notorious blogger, Artemy Lebedev. The three-day conference "The Etiology and Ecology of Post-Soviet Communication" in May proved to be a highlight of the semester.

As usual, the list of speakers on the 12th floor reads like a who's who of politics, culture, and academia in our region. Of particular prominence this semester were the speakers on human rights, including Karinna Moskalenko, Director of the International Protection Center, who is perhaps best known as the lawyer for Mikhail Khodorkovsky. In addition, the Human Rights course first created by Peter Juvilier and now taught by Tanya Domi and Catharine Nepomnyashchy hosted Nadia Azhgikina of the Journalists Union, the irrepressible Lyudmilla Alekseeva of the Moscow Helsinki Group, and Jeri Laber who helped found Human Rights Watch.

Some of the others who graced the 12th floor for individual presentations, included journalist and writer Yuliya Latinina, Minister of State for Reintegration of Georgia, Temur Yakobashvili, former Ambassador

Robert Barry, Adrian Karatnycky of Freedom House, Ljiljana Smajlovic, former editor-in-chief of Serbia's most important daily newspaper *Politika*, and the historian Dominic Lieven.

The Institute continued its cooperation with the Weatherhead East Asian Institute to host the Hugh Borton and Philip E. Mosely Distinguished Lecture on Eurasia by inviting Morton Halperin to present his views on "The Role of Nuclear Weapons in the 21st Century: China, Russia and the United States." Given his role advising Presidents Johnson, Nixon and Clinton on the topic, few people are better qualified to speak on the subject.

The Institute also hosted our first visitor in a new program co-sponsored with the Paul Klebnikov Fund that promises to bring young and exciting journalists, activists, and preservationists to New York every year. Roman Shleinov, the editor of *Novaya Gazeta*, and Anne Garrels, the former Senior Correspondent of National Public Radio, had a great discussion on the delicate task of writing about corruption in contemporary Russia. Thanks to the School of Journalism at Columbia and to Ann Cooper for hosting the event.

Culture was never far from view. The Institute sponsored a memorable performance of "Host and Guest" at the Miller Theater by the award-winning Washington, DC-based Synetic Theater company. Taras Prohaska discussed his recent novel "FM-Galicia," and the Institute continued to celebrate the *Ballets Russes* with a talk by Lynn Garafola.

The Institute welcomed Oksana Kis as the Petro Jacyk Visiting Professor this semester. In addition to teaching a course on gender and post-communism, she made numerous presentations on campus, including "Beauty Will Save the World" which analyzed the position of Yuliya Timoshenko in Ukrainian politics and society from a gendered perspective.

Short synopses of many of these events have been posted under the title "Event Reports" on the Harriman Institute's Website. Thanks to Masha Udensiva-Brenner for her great reporting.

Turning to next year, we are all looking forward to the core project on "Human Rights in the Post-Communist World: Actors, Strategies, and Outcomes," which will be led by Jack Snyder and Alex Cooley. They have gathered a terrific steering committee from across the university and seek to bring together practitioners, academics, and policymakers on human rights issues in a number of creative events next year. It should be a great project.

All the best for a safe, productive, and happy summer.

Best,
Tim

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE POST-COMMUNIST WORLD: ACTORS, STRATEGIES, AND OUTCOMES

Principal investigators: Alexander Cooley and Jack Snyder

The post-communist region offers a good test bed for advancing these empirical debates about the causes of variation in human rights outcomes and the consequences of different strategies for advancing rights agendas. Human rights outcomes have varied dramatically across these countries as well as within countries over time. Rights are flourishing as never before in some parts of the post-communist world. In other post-communist regions, however, assassinations of investigative journalists, political imprisonments, torture, stolen elections, and the dismantling of NGO networks demanding accountability have become routine elements of post-communist rule. Our project will ask how these variations are measured, what causes the variations, and what strategies have proven effective—and ineffective—in advancing human rights.

We will organize activities—workshops, speakers, conferences, courses, research, and publications—that will take advantage of the Harriman Institute's unique intellectual and physical location in a city that houses the headquarters of major human rights organizations as well

as academic researchers studying human rights strategies and outcomes. One set of activities will focus on debates evaluating human rights strategies, especially ones that hinge on empirical evaluation of outcomes. Another part of the core project will examine how indices of human rights outcomes and rankings of human rights performance are constructed—who does this, how they acquire the status of authorities, what the consequences are of the ranking enterprise, and how rankings and databases can be improved.

Professors Cooley and Snyder will be assisted in their project by Postdoctoral Fellow Linda Kirschke (Ph.D., Princeton University, 2010; dissertation: "Playing the Ethnic Card: Party Networks and Violence in the Balkans") and Visiting Research Scholar Lara J. Nettelfield, a Harriman alumna, who currently holds the position of Assistant Professor, School for International Studies, Simon Fraser University. Nettelfield is the author of *Courting Democracy in Bosnia and Herzegovina: The Hague Tribunal's Impact in a Postwar State* (Cambridge University Press, 2010).

HARRIMAN INSTITUTE HOSTS ANNUAL ASN CONFERENCE



This year's ASN convention set new records in terms of attendance, drawing 660 participants from forty-five countries. Over the course of three days, ASN delegates discussed problems and issues ranging from the Baltics to the Balkans, and from Poland to Central Asia (and beyond). The convention included special sections on History, Politics, and Memory, Interpretive and Cognitive Approaches in Ethnography, and The Resurgence of Russia: Domestic and Foreign Policy Implications. The convention also featured thematic panels on Islam and Politics, Genocide and Mass Killing, Ethnic Violence, Religion, Language Politics, Post-Conflict Reconstruction, Autonomy, Gender and Identity, EU Integration, NATO Expansion, Diaspora and Transnational Networks, International Law and Tribunals, Political Economy and the Nation, History and Nation-Building, and many more.

Especially noteworthy this year was the inaugural award of the Joseph Rothschild Prize in Nationalism and Ethnic Studies. The Rothschild Award, sponsored by the Harriman Institute, will be given annually by the ASN to an outstanding book published in the previous calendar year on Russia, Eastern Europe or Eurasia in which substantial attention is paid to questions of ethnicity and/or nationalism. It is named in honor of Joseph Rothschild, who was a longtime faculty member in the Political Science Department and the Russian/Harriman institutes, specializing in the study of East Central Europe. Rothschild was the author of several classic books, including *Return to Diversity: A Political History of East Central Europe Since World War II*, and *Ethnopolitics: A Conceptual Framework*. The recipient of this year's award was Professor Holly Case of Cornell University for her new book *Between States: The Transylvanian Question and the European Idea during World War II*.

Special thanks go to Harriman students Erin Carll and T. Ryan Whelan, who jointly served as convention directors in charge of organizing the proceedings.

Above: Gordon N. Bardos, ASN Convention Executive Director, welcomes participants at the opening night reception.
Photo by Kevin Eric Laney.

CONGRATULATIONS, GRADUATES!



MA in Regional Studies: Russia, Eurasia, and East Europe

Elvira Amantaeva
Brian Bachor
Kathryn Ilgizya Briskie
Erin Carll
Zasha Ganovskaya
Anastasiya Karpanosova
Elizabeth Najman
Maral Ryzakuliyeva
Konstantin Tcherngueiko
Ryan Whelan

SIPA Regional Concentration

Meaghan Casey
Irina Gambis
Eugenia Gusilov
Michael Hendley
Emily Nelson
Inoyathan Sadikova

Harriman Certificate

Erin Carll
Irina Gambis
Zasha Ganovskaya
Sewara Hamzaeva
Maksim Hanukai
Katharine Holt
John Miller
Mark Mozur
Emily Nelson
Benjamin Peters
Inoyathan Sadikova
Iva Savic
Marina Shport
Konstantin Tcherngueiko

Harriman Certificate East Central Europe

Ana Antic
Kathryn Ilgizya Briskie
Albana Karakashi
Martin Mahla

GIFTS

The Harriman Institute takes great pride and pleasure in acknowledging the recent generous gifts made to its various funds and endowments. For information on making a donation to Harriman Institute programs, please contact Frank Bohan, Business Manager, (212) 854-6217; fjb7@columbia.edu.

Iris Rogers Argento
Stephen Berk
Cole Blasier
Aubrey A. Carlson
Richard & Irene Coffman
Stephen F. Cohen & Katrina vanden Heuvel
Kevin T. & Nancy D'Albert
Robert H. Davis, Jr.
Mary Holland
Thomas Hoya
Ross G. Johnston
Stephen T. Kerr

Michael Luther
Melinda Maidens
Julie Rasmussen
Karl Ryavec
Carol Saivetz
George W. Simmonds
James Story
William Taubman

MEET OUR MA STUDENTS

BRIAN BACHOR



Brian Bachor received his BA in International Affairs from George Washington University in 2006. Following his undergraduate education, he spent an academic year in St. Petersburg, Russia under the Flagship program, a fellowship for the advanced study of the Russian language. Prior to beginning his graduate studies at Columbia in fall 2008, Brian worked as a Case Manager at Corporate Risk International in Washington, D.C., where he was responsible for managing pre-investment due diligence inquiries on companies in Russia and the former Soviet Union. During summer 2009 he also worked as a litigation intern at the James Mintz Group in New York City, where he conducted research in support of commercial litigation proceedings.

Brian's MA thesis focuses on the ideological evolution of Russia's policy towards the "near abroad." He argues that Russia's historical paternalism has been replaced by a more practical and commercially-driven approach. Upon graduation, he hopes to work in public service.

Brian was born and raised in the New York City area. When he is not busy thinking deep thoughts about Russian foreign policy, he enjoys training for triathlons and doing anything else he can to get outdoors.

MEGAN AUSEN

Megan Ausen graduated in the spring of 2009 with her BS in Industrial and Labor Relations from Cornell University, entering Columbia's MARS-REERS program in the fall of 2010. Megan focused much of her prior research in the post-Soviet space on Russian labor movements and worked with several experts both nationally and internationally to conduct an independent research project, "Modern Russian Labor: Russia's Labor Movement and Trade Unionism within Changing Constructs," under the direction of Professor Lance Compa in Cornell's Department of Collective Bargaining, Labor Law, and Labor History. Since starting at the Harriman Institute, Megan's interests in the area have expanded to rule of law, corporate governance, and energy.



Megan has continued to focus on post-Soviet labor, comparing in particular differences between Russian and Bulgarian movements during the 1990s. After taking Professor Tim Frye's course on Post-Soviet States and Markets and Professor Isabela Mares' Comparative Political Economy course, Megan hopes to conduct live research this upcoming summer in Russia and Bulgaria in order to compare the effect of trade union leaders' experience in Soviet trade unions on the strength of labor in tripartite bargaining structures in today's post-Soviet frameworks.

Upon completion of her studies at the Harriman, Megan hopes to work in policy, consulting, or political risk analysis before going to law school. Ultimately, Megan wants to practice international labor law focused on the region with a global firm, putting the knowledge and skills gained at the Harriman to use in her practice.



In the fall of 2009, Professor Frank Sysyn, Director of the Peter Jacyk Centre for Ukrainian Historical Research, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, taught two courses as visiting professor in the Columbia History Department. It hardly seems apt to describe someone who teaches so frequently at Columbia as a visitor (he has taught at Columbia for six semesters since 1998). Since 2007, when Professor Mark von Hagen, with whom Professor Sysyn worked closely in establishing the Ukrainian Studies Program at Columbia, departed for Arizona State University, he has served as the acting head of the program at the Harriman.

Professor Sysyn received his degrees at Princeton University (BA 1968), the School of Slavonic Studies, University of London (MA 1969) and Harvard University (PhD 1976). From 1976 to 1985 he taught East Central European History at Harvard and from 1985 to 1988 served as Associate Director of the Ukrainian Research Institute there. Since 1989 he has been at the University of Alberta, where he is director of the Jacyk Centre and professor in history. He also heads the Toronto office of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies and serves as a dean at the Ukrainian Free University in Munich. His major research interests are early modern Ukraine and Poland-Lithuania, and he has focused on such topics as the Khmelnytsky Uprising, history writing, and political thought. He also publishes on modern topics such as twentieth-century religious history and the Holodomor. He is editor in chief of the multivolume English translation of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's *History of Ukraine-Rus'*.

Professor Sysyn was instrumental in developing contacts between Mr. Peter Jacyk and the Petro Jacyk Educational Foundation and the Harriman, resulting in the establishment of the Petro Jacyk Visiting Professorship in Ukrainian Studies at the Harriman in 1997. He also played a major role in bringing support from the Ukrainian Studies Fund, Inc., and the Shevchenko Scientific Society for developing the program. From 2002 to 2005, as vice-president for North America, he assisted Mark von Hagen, president of the International Association for Ukrainian Studies, in planning the successful International Congress in Donetsk (2005). He has also strived to connect the Ukrainian program at Columbia with the Ukrainian scholarly and cultural institutions in New York (Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, Shevchenko Scientific Society, Ukrainian Museum, Ukrainian Institute)

Last semester Professor Sysyn taught History of Modern Ukraine and Culture and Society in Early Modern Poland-Lithuania, Ukraine and Muscovy Russia. He has seen his role in relating Ukrainian history to the broader geographic and civilizational zones of which Ukraine has been a part. He has been especially keen to ensure that study of the medieval and early modern Slavic history and culture is available to graduate students and undergraduates at Columbia, as well as providing the courses needed by the area studies MAs in MARS and SIPA programs.

Frank Sysyn sees the Ukrainian Program at the Harriman Institute and at Columbia generally as a major success story of great accomplishments on the basis of modest funding. He believes that housing the program at the Harriman has made it part of a broad network at Columbia and beyond. He has been impressed by the enthusiasm of the Columbia faculty in furthering the program, above all the directors of the Harriman Institute and the chairs of the Slavic Department. Above all, he is pleased that Columbia, which has a long tradition in Ukrainian studies dating back to the time of Clarence Manning and George Shevelov and which educated numerous specialists in Ukrainian studies in the 1950s and 60s, has once again become a leading center of Ukrainian studies.



Robert Belknap (fourth from right in the back) flanked by students and colleagues. Photo by Ethan Rouen.

Professor Robert L. Belknap, award-winning teacher and renowned scholar of Russian literature, has challenged generations of students to make sense of the material at hand by posing provocative questions and formulating insightful, productive approaches. This conference brought together former students, colleagues, and others to celebrate Professor Belknap's teaching legacy. Papers addressed the classics of 19th-century Russian literature from the perspective of those who teach them.

Robert Belknap Endowment

At the reception on the opening day of the conference, it was announced that an endowment in Professor Belknap's honor had been established. "Many of us are here to honor Bob because of his distinguished 50 years as a scholar, teacher, advisor and dean at Columbia. I'm pleased to announce that

of Bob's many admirers, two alumni—Jay Lindsey '75CC and his wife Julia, a Barnard alumna—have established a generous lead endowment in Bob's name that we hope with other gifts will grow to become a professorship or lectureship in Bob's honor. This gift is now an endowed scholarship in Bob's name at the College."

For more details on the endowment and information on how to contribute, please contact Jim McMenamain, Director of Principal Gifts and Senior Advisor to the Dean, Columbia University, Columbia Alumni Center, 622 West 113th Street, MC 4518, New York, NY10025 212-851-7965; jtm2@columbia.edu



After Communism: Achievement and Disillusionment Since 1989

Presented by The Harriman Institute at Columbia University in association with the Polish Cultural Institute in New York, Romanian Cultural Institute New York, and Austrian Cultural Forum as part of Performing Revolution in Central and Eastern Europe, a performing arts festival marking the 20th anniversary of the fall of Communism in Central and Eastern Europe, presented by The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts in partnership with key New York City cultural organizations and academic institutions, November 2009-March 2010.

The symposium brought together scholars and officials from across the Atlantic to assess the meaning of the revolutions of 1989 for Eastern Europe and the world. Panels explored the demise of communism, the nature of post-communism, the legacy of dissent, the promise of democracy in the region, and the creation of narratives about the communist past.

For video of the conference: <http://vimeo.com/album/200603>.

FACULTY NEWS

Rafis Abazov (SIPA) is currently working on his new book, *A History of Central Asia*, scheduled for publication in Palgrave's Essential Histories series in 2011. He contributed to the discussion paper "The Economic and Financial Crisis in CEE and CIS: Gender Perspective and Policy Choice" (UNIFEM 2009), which was presented at a UNIFEM conference in November 2009. Abazov organized a reading by Olzhas Suleimenov, one of the most influential writers and intellectuals in contemporary Kazakhstan, at Columbia University, as well as a series of events in New York City. With support from the Harriman Institute, selected poems by Suleimenov were translated and published for the first time in English.

István Deák (History, Emeritus) gave special lectures on World War II at the University of Budapest and on the Hungarian Radio. He also served as keynote speaker at the annual convention of the Jewish Studies Association in Los Angeles. His recent publications include: *Mai presus de nationalism: O istorie politica si sociala a corpului de ofiteri habsburgici, 1848-1918* (Cluj-Napoca: Academia Romana, 2009)—the Romanian version of Deak's book on the Habsburg Officer Corps (1990); "Three Brave Officers" (Guidó Görgöy, Imre Reviczky, and Jenő Thassy) in *The Hungarian*

Quarterly (Autumn 2009); "The Holocaust in Hungary," in Randolph L. Brahm, *The Holocaust: Essays and Documents* (The Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies; Columbia University Press, 2009); "Hungary and the Holocaust," in Murray Baumgarten, Peter Kenez, and Bruce Thompson, eds., *Varieties of Antisemitism: History, Ideology, Discourse* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2009); "Honor's Gap" [on the German resistance], *The New Republic*, May 20, 2009; "Heroes from Hungary," *The New York Review of Books*, Nov. 19, 2009.

Anna Frajlic-Zajac (Slavic) was invited by the Polish Studies Program of the University of Washington to deliver a lecture in May 2010 on "The Ghost of Shakespeare in Szymborska." The Polish Program also sponsored two readings of Frajlich's own poetry.

Timothy Frye's (HI Director) new book, *Building States and Markets after Communism: The Perils of Polarized Democracy* (Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics) will be published by Cambridge University Press this summer.

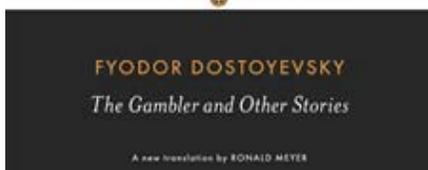
Boris Gasparov (Slavic) was on a Fellowship this past academic year at the Wissenschaftskolleg, Berlin. He received a federal grant in Russia for 2009/2011 to supervise research work in RGGU, Moscow. He is co-editor of the book *The Soviet Past and Contemporary Russian Culture*, which was published by Ural State University Press (Yekaterinburg). He has lectured at Oxford, Lausanne, Frei University and Humboldt University, Berlin, Stockholm, Lund, and Moscow.

Lynn Garafola's (Dance) new publications include "Workshop of the Muses: Diaghilev and Monte Carlo," in *A Feast of Wonders: Sergei Diaghilev and the Ballets Russes*, ed. John Bowlit (Milan: Skira, 2009) and a review of *Stage Fright: Politics and the Performing Arts in Late Imperial Russia* by Paul du Quenoy in *The Russian Review* (Jan. 2010). Garafola delivered the keynote lecture "Crossing Borders, Transcending Boundaries: Diaghilev's Ballets Russes and the Birth of Ballet Modernism" at The Ballets Russes

Project: A Centennial Celebration (Macalester College, Dec. 2009). Other presentations include "The Legacies of the Ballets Russes," keynote address delivered at The Spirit of Diaghilev Conference, Boston University, May 2009, and "Serge Diaghilev and the Adventure of Ballet Modernism," Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, May 2009. She was the guest curator for the exhibition "Diaghilev's Theater of Marvels: The Ballets Russes and Its Aftermath," New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, June-Sept. 2009. Garafola was curator and presenter of the "Ballets Russes Movie Marathon," a five-hour program, Bruno Walter Auditorium, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, 17 Oct. 2009. Last September she was moderator of the panel discussion "The Ballets Russes: Collaborations among Designers, Choreographers, Composers, and Performers," New York City Center, Fall for Dance Festival, with Christopher Wheeldon, Alexei Ratmanský, Simon Morrison, and Juliet Bellow.

Valentina Izmirlijeva's (Slavic) book *All the Names of the Lord. Lists, Mysticism, and Magic* (University of Chicago Press, 2008) has been reviewed in the *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* ("a fascinating and quite original book," the *Journal of Theological Studies* ("an impressive amount of scholarship on primary sources in libraries around the world") and *Slavic Review* ("erudite and well-written book").

Rebecca Kobrin's (History) new book, *Jewish Bialystok and Its Diaspora* was published by Indiana University Press in April 2010. Kobrin gave the following invited lectures "Jewish Bialystok and its Diaspora: Dispersal and Home in East European Jewish History" (Stanford University); "Exceptional Failures: East European Jewish Immigrants, New York and American Economic Development" (Center for Jewish History, New York); "Destructive Creators: East European Jews, Financial Failure and the Reshaping of American Capitalism" (Instituut voor Joodse Studies, Antwerp, Belgium).



REBECCA KOBRIN
JEWISH BIALYSTOK AND ITS DIASPORA

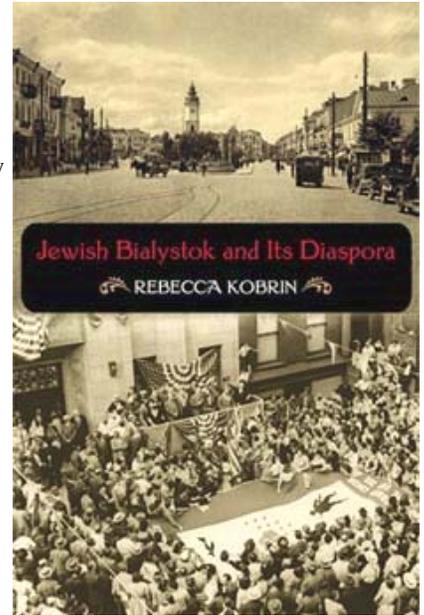
The mass migration of East European Jews and their resettlement in cities throughout Europe, the United States, Argentina, the Middle East and Australia in the late 19th and early 20th centuries not only transformed the demographic and cultural centers of world Jewry, it also reshaped Jews’ understanding and performance of their diasporic identities. Rebecca Kobrin’s study of the dispersal of Jews from one city in Poland—Bialystok—demonstrates how the act of migration set in motion a wide range of transformations that led the migrants to imagine themselves as exiles not only from the mythic Land of Israel but most immediately from their east European homeland. Kobrin explores the organizations, institutions, newspapers, and philanthropies that the Bialystokers created around the world and that reshaped their perceptions of exile and diaspora.

“A work of truly extraordinary scope, driven by admirable intellectual ambition. It is exhilarating to come across a work of such imagination and originality.”
 —Jonathan Frankel, author of *Crisis, Revolution, and Russian Jews*

“Challenges and refines long-standing assumptions about Old World/New World dynamics generally and Jewish immigrants to America in particular. . . . Original and smartly conceived, grounded in careful, extensive research and thoughtful analysis.” —Jeffrey Shandler, Rutgers University

Indiana University Press, April 2010

http://www.iupress.indiana.edu/catalog/product_info.php?products_id=190706



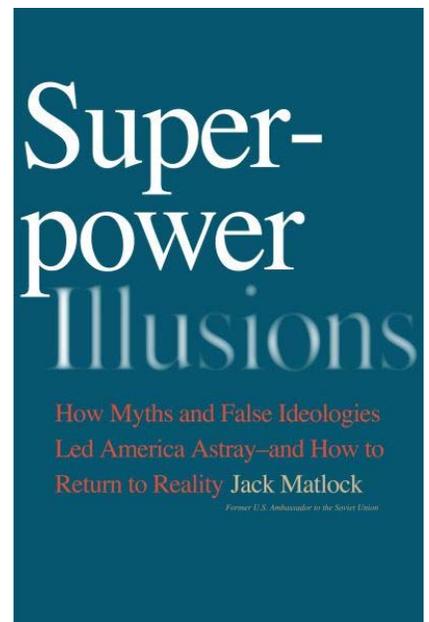
JACK F. MATLOCK, JR.
SUPERPOWER ILLUSIONS
 How Myths and False Ideologies Led America
 Astray — And How to Return to Reality

Former U.S. Ambassador to the USSR Jack F. Matlock refutes the enduring idea that the United States forced the collapse of the Soviet Union by applying military and economic pressure—with wide-ranging implications for U.S. foreign policy. Matlock argues that Gorbachev, not Reagan, undermined Communist Party rule in the Soviet Union and that the Cold War ended in a negotiated settlement that benefited both sides. He posits that the end of the Cold War diminished rather than enhanced American power; with the removal of the Soviet threat, allies were less willing to accept American protection and leadership that seemed increasingly to ignore their interests.

Matlock shows how, during the Clinton and particularly the Bush-Cheney administrations, the belief that the United States had defeated the Soviet Union led to a conviction that it did not need allies, international organizations, or diplomacy, but could dominate and change the world by using its military power unilaterally. The result is a weakened America that has compromised its ability to lead. Matlock makes a passionate plea for the United States under Obama to reenvision its foreign policy and gives examples of how the new administration can reorient the U.S. approach to critical issues, taking advantage of lessons we should have learned from our experience in ending the Cold War.

Yale University Press, December 2009

<http://yalepress.yale.edu/yupbooks/book.asp?isbn=9780300137613>



MICHAEL SCAMMELL

KOESTLER

The Literary and Political Odyssey of a Twentieth-Century Skeptic

Based upon over 100 interviews and a wealth of new sources (private diaries, unpublished letters, archives of the CIA, MI5, the French Sureté, the German and Soviet communist parties), *Koestler* is a nuanced account of its subject's turbulent public and private life: his drug use, manic depression, the frenetic womanizing that led to an accusation of rape, and the shocking suicide pact with his third wife in 1983. It also makes the case for Koestler's stature as a major autobiographer and essayist as well as novelist. The result is a complex and indelible portrait of a brilliant, unpredictable, and talented writer, memorably described by one MI5 interrogator as "one-third blackguard, one-third lunatic, and one-third genius."

"Scammell is able to reconstruct complicated scenes from Koestler's life with real historical and literary flair.... The main characters are shown from every angle, with all of their faults and virtues. Koestler himself seems so alive he might leap off the page."

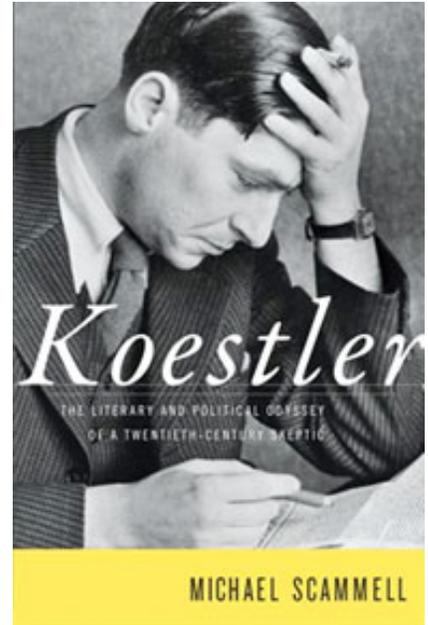
—Anne Applebaum, *The New York Review of Books*.

"Readers looking for a terrific biography, as well as a gripping work of intellectual history, shouldn't miss this record of "the literary and political history of a twentieth century skeptic." Every page is enthralling...."

—Michael Dirda, *The Washington Post*.

Random House, December 2009

http://www.randomhouse.com/gm/results.pperl?x=0&y=0&title_subtle_auth_isbn=scammell



MARK MAZOWER

NO ENCHANTED PALACE

The End of Empire and the Ideological Origins of the United Nations

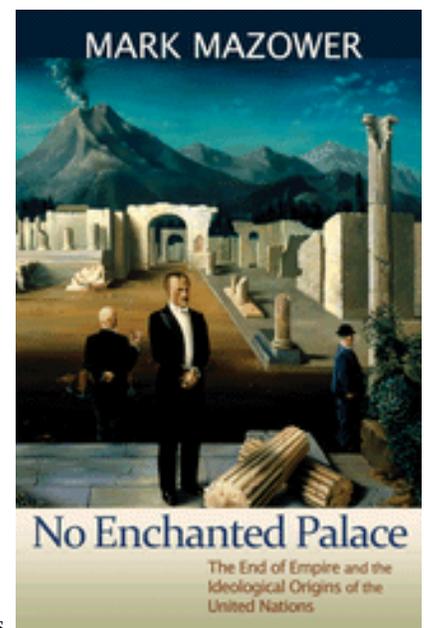
No Enchanted Palace traces the origins and early development of the United Nations, one of the most influential yet perhaps least understood organizations active in the world today. Acclaimed historian Mark Mazower forces us to set aside the popular myth that the UN miraculously rose from the ashes of World War II as the guardian of a new and peaceful global order, offering instead a strikingly original interpretation of the UN's ideological roots, early history, and changing role in world affairs.

"[Mazower] has identified a gigantic contradiction in the United Nations' very DNA that may explain how the ambitious, well-intentioned body evolved into Mess-on-East River."—Marc Tracy, *New York Times Book Review*

"Mark Mazower sets out to challenge two notions: first, that the UN's creation in 1945 was uncontaminated by association with the League; and second, that it was above all an American affair . . . This book offers interesting glimpses of the UN's origins."—Adam Roberts, *Times Literary Supplement*

Princeton University Press, 2009

<http://press.princeton.edu/titles/8974.html>



ALEXANDER COOLEY & HENDRIK SPRUYT
CONTRACTING STATES:

Sovereign Transfers in International Relations

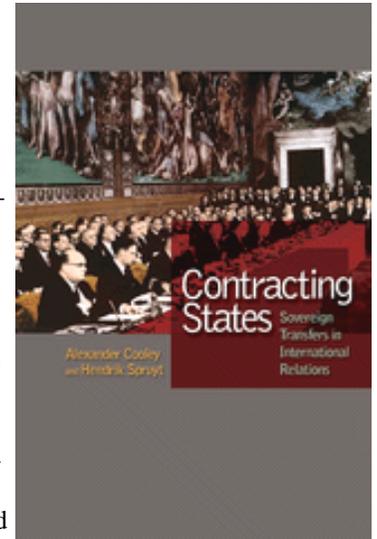
Building on important advances in economics and law, Alexander Cooley and Hendrik Spruyt develop a highly original, interdisciplinary approach and apply it to a broad range of cases involving international sovereign political integration and disintegration. The authors reveal the importance of incomplete contracting in the decolonization of territories once held by Europe and the Soviet Union; U.S. overseas military basing agreements with host countries; and in regional economic-integration agreements such as the European Union. Cooley and Spruyt examine contemporary problems such as the Arab-Israeli dispute over water resources, and show why the international community inadequately prepared for Kosovo's independence.

“*Contracting States* is a brilliant and original book—a long-overdue addition to international relations theory. Extending insights from incomplete contracting theory and conceiving of sovereignty as a bundle of ‘tradable’ rights, Cooley and Spruyt offer a unified analytical framework that sheds fresh light on seemingly disparate key events, including regional integration, state formation, and territorial fragmentation.”

—Walter Mattli, St. John's College, University of Oxford

“*Contracting States* is an extraordinary undertaking that challenges us to see the foundations of successful international cooperation in a new light. This is likely to be a seminal work that defines the terms of the debate about sovereignty and governance for years to come.”—Philip G. Roeder, University of California, San Diego

Princeton University Press, 2009; <http://press.princeton.edu/titles/8932.html>

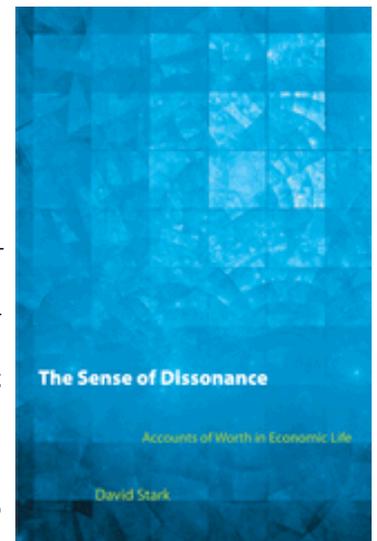


DAVID STARK
THE SENSE OF DISSONANCE
Accounts of Worth in Economic Life

What counts? In work, as in other areas of life, it is not always clear what standards we are being judged by or how our worth is being determined. This can be disorienting and disconcerting. Because of this, many organizations devote considerable resources to limiting and clarifying the logics used for evaluating worth. But as David Stark argues, firms would often be better off, especially in managing change, if they allowed multiple logics of worth and did not necessarily discourage uncertainty. In fact, in many cases multiple orders of worth are unavoidable, so organizations and firms should learn to harness the benefits of such “heterarchy” rather than seeking to purge it. Stark makes this argument with ethnographic case studies of three companies attempting to cope with rapid change: a machine-tool company in late and post-communist Hungary, a new-media startup in New York during and after the collapse of the Internet bubble, and a Wall Street investment bank whose trading room was destroyed on 9/11. In each case, the friction of competing criteria of worth promoted an organizational reflexivity that made it easier for the company to change and deal with market uncertainty. Drawing on John Dewey's notion that “perplexing situations” provide opportunities for innovative inquiry, Stark argues that the dissonance of diverse principles can lead to discovery.

“In this book, Stark takes the reader on a fascinating journey of discovery, from the socialist factories of Eastern Europe to the new media companies and financial trading floors of Manhattan. *The Sense of Dissonance* is equally a book about how organizations really work and how we should think about the problem of organization—a great accomplishment.”—Duncan Watts, author of *Six Degrees: The Science of a Connected Age*

Princeton University Press, 2009; <http://press.princeton.edu/titles/9070.html>



EURASIAN PERSPECTIVES: A Conference Honoring the Teaching Legacy of Edward Allworth



A conference was held on April 14th to celebrate the teaching legacy of Edward Allworth, Professor Emeritus of Turko-Soviet Studies at Columbia University's Harriman Institute and Middle East & Asian Languages and Cultures Department, organized by his former students and colleagues. The conference was co-sponsored by the Middle East and Harriman institutes. Participants included: Robert Davis, Seymour Becker, Caroline Sawyer, Maliheh Tyrrell, Zulkhumor Mirzaeva, Gulnar Kendirbai, Susan Heuman, Martha Merrill, Eden Naby, Alexander Motyl, Anna Procyk, Catharine Nepomnyashchy, Allan Kagedan, Peter Sinnott.



Photos: Top: Professor Allworth is presented with a traditional Uzbek robe and cap by Zulkhumor Mirzaeva, from the Uzbek Academy of Sciences. Below: Gulnar Kendirai (Harriman Institute) and independent scholar Peter Sinnott, a former student of Professor Allworth.

THE ART OF PROVOCATION: Tatyana Tolstaya versus Artemy Lebedev

Best-selling Russian writer Tatyana Tolstaya versus her son Artemy Lebedev, one of the most notorious bloggers of the Russian Internet.

"The appearance by Tatyana Tolstaya and Artemy Lebedev, organized by the Harriman Institute, more resembled a rock concert than an academic proceeding. A full auditorium, problems with the microphone, free-wheeling improvisations, question-answer give-and-take with the audience, applause, signing autographs and taking snapshots. The double theme of art and provocation, as announced in the title, seemed to have been explored fully. People who say what they think, and who do what they believe to be necessary are a rarity... The success of the Harriman meeting is proof of people's love (or at the very least their interest) for these two charismatic figures of our time."

—Eugene Gorny, Harriman Postdoctoral Fellow
(from his blog on LiveJournal:
<http://e-g.livejournal.com/716727.html>)

For video of the event: <http://vimeo.com/channels/nmc>



Top: Catharine Nepomnyashchy, Artemy Lebedev, Tatyana Tolstaya. Photos by Eugene Gorny.

The Harriman Core Project, *New Modes of Communication in the Post-Soviet World*, ended the semester with a series of events, capped off with a three-day conference, “The Etiology and Ecology of Post-Soviet Communication.” Events included presentations by Jonathan Sanders and Donna Bahry on “Revisiting Soviet TV” and a dialogue between Tatyana Tolstaya and her son Artemy Lebedev on “The Art of Provocation” (see page 13). The conference kicked off with another dialogue between Harriman Postdoctoral Fellow Eugene Gorny and Roman Leibov, which was billed as “two founding fathers of the Russian Internet discuss the state of the blogosphere.” What follows is an abridged summary of that evening, prepared by Masha Udensiva-Brenner. For the full text, please visit the Harriman website: http://www.harrimaninstitute.org/events/lecture_transcripts.html.

In Defense of the “Fathers”: A Closer Look at Eugene Gorny and Roman Leibov

In early May 2010, a scandal raged over the Russian blogosphere—Russian philologists Eugene Gorny and Roman Leibov, neither of whom have any technological background, had been named “Founding Fathers of the Russian Internet” on the pages of a program for a weekend conference at Columbia University’s Harriman Institute, titled “The Etiology and Ecology of Post-Soviet Communication.” The designation “founding fathers” resulted in a heated internet debate about the Russian internet (runet)—some argued about technological qualifications, while others questioned how the internet, which is a conglomeration of everybody’s ideas, could have any “fathers” at all. The truth of the matter is that Gorny, who had suggested the name in order to provoke, had used it ironically. “You have to be an idiot to take this hyperbole seriously,” Gorny stated at the conference. However, the statement did have a grain of truth—both men played a significant role in shaping the cultural evolution of runet.

The scandal started when Russian LiveJournal (ZheZhe/ЖЖ) user “geish-a” posted a link advertising Gorny and Leibov’s panel, “Understanding the Russian Blogosphere,” on the ЖЖ listserv “ru_nyc_events.” The post received 418 comments. “Who are these ‘so-called’ fathers? How can they claim ‘fatherhood’ when they have no technological background?” users shouted into the blogosphere. Later, ЖЖ user “labas” republished (in his very popular blog) a letter sent first to the conference organizers, and then to Columbia University’s President Lee Bollinger, by Dr. Stas Polansky, a research staff member at the IBM T.J. Watson Research Center. “I actively use Russian internet since early 90ies and I have never heard of these two individuals,” wrote Polansky.

ЖЖ is the most active venue in the Russian blogosphere. Ironically, “self-proclaimed ‘father’” Roman Leibov is responsible for introducing ЖЖ to the Russian community. If you Google the phrase “История создания ЖЖ” most sites identify Leibov as the author of the first Cyrillic post. A February 27, 2007, New York Times opinion piece titled “All Power to Russian Bloggers,” also deemed Leibov to be the initiator of ЖЖ: “The Russian-language community on Zhivoi Zhurnal, or ZheZhe for short, got off to a typically Russian, intellectualized start in early 2001, when Roman Leibov, a literary scholar and social critic, launched the first Russian-language blog. His initial entry: ‘Let’s try this in Russian. What a funny little thing.’”

In actuality, Andrei Tolkachev wrote the first Cyrillic post on November 30, 1999. However, Tolkachev did nothing beyond posting a couple of sentences, while Leibov made 18 posts (in different genres) within the first day of his registration with LiveJournal. “He went on writing and experimenting and missed not a single day that February,” Gorny wrote in his 2004 article about ЖЖ, published on Russian-cyberspace.org. Leibov was already an established philologist with a following, and his posts

quickly attracted the attention of other Russian speakers.

Unlike the English-speaking blogosphere, where LiveJournal serves largely as an outlet for teenage journal entries, ЖЖ became the cornerstone of cultural, political and creative expression in the Russian-speaking blogosphere. About 45% of Russian bloggers are ЖЖ users, and Russia is second only to the United States as the world’s most prominent LiveJournal customer—coming in ahead of both Canada and the UK. Political figures, journalists and pundits post to ЖЖ—President Dmitry Medvedev started a blog there in April 2009.

“You will note that our announcement reads ‘founding fathers of the Russian internet,’ not ‘THE founding fathers of the Russian internet,’” Barnard Professor Catharine Nepomnyashchy wrote in response to Polansky. Nepomnyashchy, former Director of the Harriman Institute, co-organized the conference as part of the Harriman Institute’s annual Core Project. “Indeed Eugene Gorny and Roman Leibov were among the earliest shapers of the Russian internet, particularly in the cultural sphere, which may be why you are not familiar with their work.” [...]

Gorny was one of the first people to write about runet. Starting in 1994, he worked as a journalist in Tallinn, covering a variety of topics ranging from astrology to new technologies and the internet. “I read a lot of Western press and would translate or retell interesting articles about internet technology to a public that perceived all of this as complete science fiction.” Not many people were writing about the internet at the time and Gorny developed a reputation as “an expert on computer initiatives.” In 1996 he became the editor-in-chief of Zhurnal.ru, the first Russian journal about the internet, which later grew into a conglomerate of web sites, “an entire network of online creativity,” Gorny explained.

Nepomnyashchy’s answer about the cultural sphere did not seem to satisfy Polansky, who took the matter to President Bollinger. “I would like to draw your attention to the unhealthy situation that might compromise the outstanding reputation of Columbia University.” Bollinger’s office supported Nepomnyashchy’s response to Polansky. The exchange posted by “labas,” however, resulted in 176 comments on ЖЖ, involving over 20 different users. “As usual, one group creates, and another tries to take the credit,” commented a user called “kamushka.” “I’ve been surfing the internet since 1992, and also don’t remember these ‘fathers.’ Who are these self-promoters?” posted the user “svl.”

Nepomnyashchy moderated Gorny and Leibov’s talk, which took place on May 7, 2010, the opening night of the conference. Despite the heated rhetoric, none of the protestors made it to the discussion. “This is typical of the blogosphere, that these people will not de-virtualize,” reflected an audience member. To jump start the discussion, Nepomnyashchy asked the speakers to

(Continued from page 14)

explain why, in some circles, they are referred to as “fathers of the Russian internet.

Gorny, who wore a black t-shirt with a red anarchy symbol, leaned back in his chair and reminisced. “In 1994, a friend of ours had just come from America and told us about the internet. This was when everything was still very primitive—green letters on a black screen.” Gorny and Leibov went to a computer center and created internet accounts. “At first we were just fooling around. This was like a toy for us, exploring the opportunities of a new technology,” recalled Gorny.

Leibov described his first attempts to understand hypertext. “I remember clearly how I learned the rules of html. My first hypertext was called ‘How Gorny read hypertext.’” For those of us who have forgotten, hypertext is the building block for the World Wide Web—a text that contains links to other texts. “Hypertext is text displayed on a computer or other electronic device with references (hyperlinks) to other text that the reader can immediately access, usually by a mouse click or keypress sequence” (Wikipedia).

“This was an incredible time because the internet was uncharted territory—we could do whatever we wanted with it, it was boundless. This was an awesome feeling that only lasted a short while,” Gorny told the audience. “For instance, having an article about music with a link to ram files (the predecessor to mp3s)—no one had ever done that before.”

The pair started out with games—literary games. Both “fathers” finished the same department at the University of Tartu in Estonia. “We are not just philologists, but specialists in the history of Russian literature—colleagues in a very narrow sense of the word,” specified Leibov. [...]

Gorny and Leibov had a friend, Dmitry Itzkovich, from the University of Tartu. “He didn’t graduate, but moved to Moscow and dabbled in various endeavors—at one point he was sharpening knives, then he started a publishing house,” recounted Leibov. Itzkovich came up with the idea of publishing a magazine about the internet. At the time, Leibov had been in Kiev with Itzkovich. “He asked me whom I saw as the editor in chief of the journal and I said, ‘Well, Gorny, of course.’ He’d had the same idea.”

Gorny immediately agreed and prepared for his move to Moscow. “I started gathering contributors from within the small community of people who were interested in the internet, and looking to do something creative with this new technology.” Gorny said that it was laughable how tiny this community really was. Everyone he asked to participate agreed, and by October 1996 they published the first issue of *Zhurnal*, both online and in print. “This was the first online publication in Russia that talked about the internet as a cultural phenomenon,” explained Gorny.

During the journal’s initial stages, it remained nameless. “It was referred to in correspondence as simply a ‘journal,’ or ‘our journal,’” Gorny wrote in his book, *A Creative History of the Russian Internet*. “When the time came to register a domain, Itzkovich and Gorny complained to Eugene Peskin, who worked at Russian-Line, about not having a name for their journal. He exclaimed, ‘But you’ve got a great name already!’ This was probably the first use of the combination of a generic term and a first-level domain name as the name of a server on the Russian internet.” *Zhurnal.ru*, which, in Russian, simply means “journal/magazine,” set a precedent—later other online media outlets used the same format to name themselves. This was the case with the online paper *Gazeta.ru* (the word *gazeta* means newspaper.)

“The story of *Zhurnal* was short, but quite turbulent,” Gorny stated. The journal lasted for about two years—there were seven

issues, five of which also came out in print. The magazine involved “the majority of creative internet figures in Russia.”

Leibov wrote the cover story for the first issue, which was an article describing how to use the internet for game playing. “It was about the deconstruction of accepted ways of using the web,” specified Gorny. Vadim Maslov wrote about the prehistory of the internet. Anton Nossik wrote about various topics, including net sex, and Leonid Delitsyn, who later played a big part in Rambler.ru, developed *Zhurnal*’s business section. “Artemy Lebedev made the design for the first issue, but we didn’t like working with him because we had new ideas and his design was too rigid to incorporate them,” Gorny commented.

Zhurnal came to an end relatively quickly—the participants worked mostly on a voluntary basis and eventually the enterprise ran out of money. The journal finished “both for internal reasons and as a result of the changing times,” elucidated Gorny. “The journal itself constituted only a small fraction of the entire project. *Zhurnal* policy was to stimulate online creativity; therefore, it gave web space, technical and organizational support to innovative online projects initiated by the members of its distributed staff,” Gorny wrote in his book.

Gorny and Leibov moved to other projects, all of which had their seeds in *Zhurnal*. Gorny co-created the Russian Virtual Library, with Vladimir Litvinov and Igor Pilshchikov. This is a site featuring digital academic editions of Russian classics with commentary, references and various articles about the works. “One of our projects was a site where contemporary authors are published,” This was called “Setevaya Slovesnost” (<http://netslova.ru>). “Another project was Polit.ru, which emerged as a rubric of *Zhurnal*.

Gorny defined himself as an “historian of the Russian internet—I wrote my dissertation and a book on the topic.” He confessed that being an historian is “psychologically taxing.” Nothing is surprising to an historian, “most things have occurred before, and often they were even worse the last time.” Having this niche breadth of knowledge has made it difficult for Gorny to communicate with people outside of his field. “They don’t understand your citations, allusions, your jokes—this is difficult because first you have to explain what you said, and then you have to explain what you explained,” lamented Gorny. “This doesn’t only happen to historians,” interjected Leibov.

As for the term “founding fathers,” it is an ironic name that grew out of a brainstorming session. “We were looking for something to call our process. This is just a funny name for me—akin to calling ourselves ‘gods’ or ‘supermen,’ or the fathers of Russian Democracy and Fascism all at once,” Gorny remarked, adding that the name does have an historical dimension. “In internet discourse it is very important that there is a distinction between users and creators. The creators, or “fathers,” as we have called them, are a relatively significant group who were there from the beginning—people who gave birth to certain forms that developed further.

Gorny predicts a bleak future for runet. “The Russian internet has become less creative than it once was. It is rolling towards death and destruction,” he said [...]

According to Gorny, the internet community began with a “high counter-culture,” which has leveled off as more people joined. “Even those who once came across as intellectuals are starting to curse and use slang like there is nothing wrong with it. Individualism is becoming unfashionable. This has led to the erosion of individual interests; people are discussing the same movies, events—a foolish infinity of things that can be seen on TV.” (Leibov thanked Gorny for “an interesting summary of de Tocqueville”). [...]

Reported by Masha Udensiva-Brenner

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GEORGIAN MODERNISM/TBILISI AVANT-GARDE ART



During Georgia's short independence as the Democratic Republic of Georgia 1918-1921, Tbilisi became the "Paris" of the East, where an inspired community of artists not only developed unprecedented creative practices but also collaborated to produce astonishing works of art. The avant-garde of Tiflis (Tbilisi) is a short but crucial period in Georgia's rich history that eventually led to the development of films, stage design, theatrical performances, musical compositions, literature, sound poetry, magazines, books, paintings and sculptures, all of which comprise what is referred to today as "Georgian Modernism." The material of the exhibition was presented in the show "The Fantastic Tavern. The Tbilisi Avant-garde" at the Casey Kaplan Gallery NY in July 2009; the exhibition was curated by Daniel Baumann (freelance curator, Switzerland) and AIRL (Arts Interdisciplinary Research Laboratory, Georgia). The Harriman Institute exhibit was organized by Mzia Chikhradze, Fulbright Visiting Scholar at Columbia University, in association with AIRL and Daniel Baumann.