

**1946–2006**

**Sixty years of The Harriman Institute  
at Columbia University**



**In 2006 we commemorate** the sixtieth anniversary of the Harriman Institute, the oldest academic institution in the United States devoted to the study of the territory occupied by the countries of the former Soviet Union, East Central Europe, and the Balkans. In this volume we celebrate the richness of our past and the promise and challenge of our future. We have chosen here to showcase what has, from the beginning to the present day, always been the institute's most valuable resource—its people.

The faculty and students of the institute have, over the course of six decades, played a leading role in shaping United States policy and perceptions of our enormous and complicated region. In this slim volume we can only give a sampling of those who have defined our community over the years. We begin with our own beginnings, with appreciations of our pioneering early faculty written by current Harriman faculty members, and we conclude with snapshots of some of our most recent graduates, who only a few years past graduation have already begun to make their mark in significant ways, carrying on the institute's legacy of serving as a point of intersection for teaching, scholarship, and action in the world.

As the region we study has become more differentiated, it has also become richer, more fascinating, and more crucial to an understanding of the world in which we live. Adaptability and vision have ever been the hallmark of Harriman faculty and graduates. These are certainly the qualities that will guarantee that they will continue to foster a better understanding of the world in which we live and to use their intellect and learning to make that world a better place.

— **Catharine Theimer Nepomnyashchy, Director**



Clockwise from top left: Governor Averell Harriman and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev (Moscow, July 1963); Boris Yeltsin visits Columbia (September 11, 1989); President Vladimir Putin and Columbia University President Lee Bollinger (September 26, 2003); President Mikhail Gorbachev delivers the Tenth Annual Harriman Lecture, flanked by Director Catharine Nepomnyashchy and Ambassador Jack F. Matlock (March 11, 2002).









Four of the world's top experts on Russia (l. to r.): editor Leo Guliow; Dr. Philip E. Mosely, professor of international relations; Dr. Clyde

# They Know More about Russia Than Anybody

By BILL DAVIDSON

When foreign embassies in Moscow need the real low-down on what's happening behind the Iron Curtain, they ask a little group of experts right here in the United States—and get astonishing answers

26

Collier's for June 6, 1953

## Columbia University Record



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October 29, 1982  
Volume 8 No. 10

### Harriman Institute for Soviet Studies Founded



#### Harrimans Give CU \$10 Million

To meet the critical need for greater Western understanding of the Soviet Union, the University announced last Thurs., Oct. 21, the creation of the W. Averell Harriman Institute for Advanced Study of the Soviet Union with a gift of \$10 million from Gov. and Mrs. Harriman.

Declaring that "there is no greater threat to our future than ignorance of the Soviet Union," President Sovern made the announcement at a ceremony on the Morningside Heights campus honoring Harriman. Former Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance and Harriman addressed the convocation.

Sovern also announced the additional gift of \$1.5 million from the Gladys and Roland Harriman Foundation to create a professorial chair in Soviet economics at Columbia named for W. Averell Harriman's late brother and his widow (story page 6).

"Through the foresight and generosity of the Harrimans, we will be able to

# Columbia's Russian Institute

## The Formative Years

**The Russian Institute opened its doors** to students on September 25, 1946, inaugurating a bold pedagogical and scholarly initiative, the first of its kind in the United States, designed to respond to the threat and promise of the new world into which the country had emerged from the Second World War. Not only had the war thrust an isolationist and reluctant nation onto the international stage as victor and power broker, but it had transported thousands of young men from Main Street, USA, into contact with exotic peoples and places on the other side of the world. Clearly the United States would need specialists in the regions that would dominate international politics in the postwar world. In June 1945, just as the war was ending, Columbia University President Nicholas Murray Butler announced plans to establish the Russian Institute with a generous grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. It was to be the first of six regional institutes “for the study of the life and thought of principal areas of the modern world.” The same press release announced the establishment of the School of International Affairs, which was to “function in close association with the institutes.” Butler did not downplay the significance of the endeavor: “I regard this whole undertaking as one of outstanding importance not only in the history of Columbia University and its worldwide relationships, but in the history of higher education generally,” he said. “It is constructive and forward-facing, and points the way to what will soon be recognized as a dominant worldwide interest in the field[s] of government, economics, and the intellectual life.”

It was appropriate that the Russian Institute was the first of the area institutes, since no territory presented a more urgent challenge than the Soviet Union, our wartime ally and ideological rival, also poised by its triumph over Hitler to assert itself more forcefully in the world. Perhaps equally important, the USSR seemed particularly well suited to study founded on the “integration of disciplines,” a fundamental tenet of the area studies approach. As Philip E. Mosely, then director of the Institute, explained in 1954, “The Soviet ideology and system of control assume that all aspects of life must be closely interrelated and directed by a central purpose. This assumption, even if fulfilled imperfectly, challenges workers in many disciplines to combine their efforts to study a regime which attempts to control or direct all human activities on the basis of explicitly defined programs.”



### The Formative Wartime Experience

The concept of “area studies” (routinely enclosed in scare quotes in the early days, even after the founding of the institute) had been a subject of discussion before the war, and one of the directors of the Russian Institute would later point to classics as the original model of transdisciplinary studies. Nonetheless, the wartime experiences of those who would become the core faculty of the institute unquestionably gave shape and urgency to the project, just as military service redirected many young men toward careers in what would later come to be known as Sovietology.

In particular, academics were recruited to the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) and the Office of War Information (OWI). At least indirectly, the work of such anthropologists as Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict, especially Benedict’s study of Japanese culture for the OWI, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, sensitized policymakers to the value of studying regional cultures. As for Soviet studies, it was the OSS—and specifically the USSR Division of its Research and Analysis Branch, headed by Columbia professor Geroid Tanqueray Robinson—that served as incubator.

Robinson, the founding director of the Russian Institute, was a leading member of the rare breed of prewar Russia specialists. As a Columbia graduate student, he was one of the few American scholars who conducted research in the Soviet Union before World War II. He completed his doctorate and joined the Columbia faculty in 1924. Robinson’s dissertation, published in 1932 as *Rural Russia under the Old Regime*, established him as one of the foremost authorities on the region. He was promoted to full professor in the history department in 1938.

Robinson was summoned to Washington on September 1, 1941, to assemble a team of American-born researchers—it was assumed that any Russian émigré volunteers would compromise the scientific objectivity of the project—to penetrate the veil of secrecy that had fallen between the Soviet Union and the West in the prewar years. Given the scarcity of established experts, the Division culled its personnel largely from talented younger scholars without previous specialization in Eastern Europe. Their experiences in the OSS would transform them into the first postwar generation of Sovietologists, among them Robert C. Tucker and Barrington Moore, Jr. (both originally trained as classicists), and the newly minted Ph.D. in economics Abram Bergson. The Division could also call on an impressive cadre of consultants, like Philip E. Mosely, a Balkans specialist then on the Cornell faculty, and John Newbold Hazard, who spent the war years in Washington as deputy director of the USSR branch of the office responsible for Lend-Lease. Hazard also came to Washington with unusual experience. After what he later recalled as a brief stop in “gloomy” Russia “with its communist inefficiency and even brutality” on a round-the-world trip following graduation from college, he hardly expected to go back. But while studying at Harvard Law School, Hazard was offered a fellowship to continue his studies in the USSR, where he spent three years studying law at Moscow University, finishing at the height of the Stalin purges in 1937. Bergson, Mosely, and Hazard would join Robinson on the original Russian Institute faculty.

Not only did this wartime experience provide the core personnel of postwar Soviet studies, but it fundamentally shaped the newly emerging



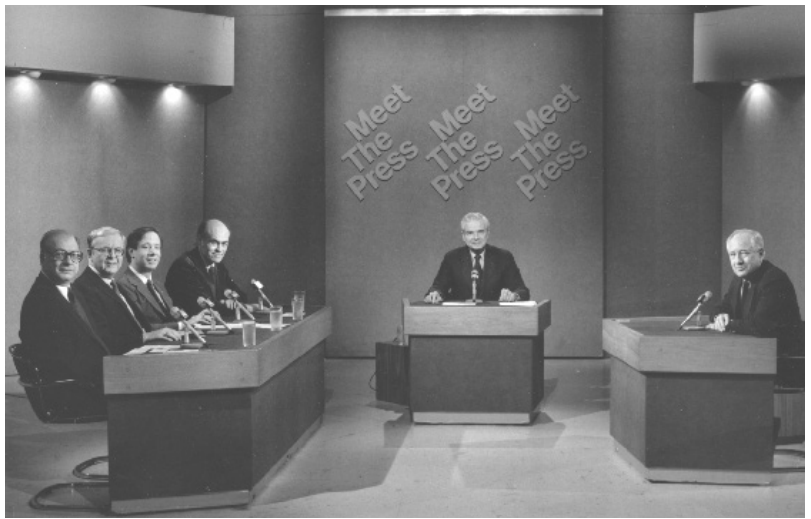
from left: Philip Mosely, Henry Roberts, Geroid Robinson, and Alexander Dallin



field. Even during their wartime alliance, American information gatherers had to develop ingenious strategies for teasing out usable data on the Soviets, often finding reliable statistics on the German enemy easier to come by. Certainly more important in the long term, however, was the lesson of the effectiveness of collaboration across disciplinary boundaries in solving problems requiring regional expertise—the model that would become the basis of area studies.

Like the faculty, the students in the first classes of the Russian Institute were forged by their service in the war. One of the Institute's most illustrious graduates, Marshall Shulman—who would go on to direct the Institute and to serve three secretaries of state—arrived in the inaugural class with a wealth of experience. A literature major at the University of Michigan, Shulman had begun a career as a journalist when he volunteered for the military at the start of the war. He was recruited away from his posting as a glider pilot to serve in Burma in the OWI's first psychological warfare unit. There he flew missions dropping leaflets encouraging Japanese soldiers to surrender. This program became the model for similar operations throughout the Pacific. Like Robinson's group half a world away in Washington, Shulman learned the value of teams with a variety of skills working together to solve problems resulting from a clash of alien cultures.

William Korey, another member of the Institute's first graduating class, was called up with the Enlisted Reserve Corps in 1943. Having studied some Russian as a history major at the University of Chicago, he was assigned to the Army Specialized Training Program and ended up serving in Berlin in May 1945. The final division of the city had not yet taken place, and Korey found himself in frequent contact with his Russian counterparts, reinforcing his earlier fascination with the USSR. His experience rescuing Jews in DP camps in Berlin helped to shape his career as a prominent human rights activist and scholar. Their wartime experience left the first Institute classes serious, politically engaged, and idealistic. In Korey's words, "a new world was aborning," and the roughly fifty students who began their studies at the Russian Institute in 1946 were convinced they were going to conquer it.



### Why Columbia?

Columbia's role in this pioneering initiative in Soviet studies was in a sense overdetermined. Situated in a great metropolis that had just been chosen as the site for the newly founded United Nations, Columbia was also one of a handful of American academic institutions to boast significant resources in Russian studies dating back well before the Second World War. Russian had been taught briefly at Columbia for the first time in 1909, but it took the extraordinarily gifted linguist John Dyneley Prince, originally hired at Columbia as a professor of Semitic languages, to found the Department of Slavonic Languages at Columbia in 1915. By 1920, in line with Prince's commitment to a range of Slavic languages and literatures, the university offered instruction not only in Russian, but in Polish, Czecho-Slovak, Serbo-Croat, and Comparative Slavonic. By the time of the founding of the Russian Institute, Columbia could boast strong library resources on the Russian region as well. Having begun modestly with the purchase of collections of revolutionary pamphlets, Columbia in the 1930s joined a handful of American institutions with sizable collections in Russian history and literature. The importance of the collection was underscored with the hiring of Semen Akimovich Bolan, the first Russian bibliographer in the Columbia University libraries, in conjunction with the founding of the Russian Institute in 1946. Yet Columbia's strength in Russian studies before the war lay almost exclusively in the humanities. The challenge in creating a truly multidisciplinary program was to add social science faculty with expertise in the Soviet Union.

The first step was to win over the Arts and Sciences disciplinary departments. Together with Schuyler C. Wallace of Political Science, who was to become the first dean of the School of International Affairs, Geroid Robinson put together a proposal designed to respect departmental boundaries and standards. All Institute faculty were to be housed in departments, and all students were to be required to complete requirements for disciplinary degrees as well as for the Russian Institute Certificate. In John Hazard's words:

Their scheme took into consideration what they knew to be the hostility of men and women in each traditional discipline for the granting of interdisciplinary degrees. Their plan did not call, therefore, for a new Columbia degree. It was to create a coordinating body for interdisciplinary study, not a new department of Russian studies.

Each member of this coordinating body would have to meet the scholarly tests of his fellows in the department with which he would be concerned. In short, a political scientist teaching about the Soviet system of government would have to pass the tests for appointments to the political science department, and so on around the circle of departments.... If a department had no specialist in its field who could qualify also as a knowledgeable person about the U.S.S.R., Robinson would recommend one, and urge his or her appointment. Hopefully, the candidate would pass muster.

Once this hurdle was cleared, the next order of business was to fund the ambitious endeavor. The Rockefeller Foundation came through with a \$250,000 grant to be disbursed over a five-year period. This enabled Robinson to recruit the Institute's core faculty, who were all new to Columbia: John Hazard was appointed to the Department of Public Law and Government, Philip Mosely was recruited from Cornell in International Relations, and Abram Bergson was housed in Economics. The fifth member, the literature specialist Ernest Simmons, had spent the war years implementing the pilot Program in Soviet Civilization at Cornell with Rockefeller Foundation support; his Columbia appointment was in the Department of Slavic Languages.

For all the promise of the new endeavor, a threat hung over the Institute from the very beginning. The founders realized that the Russian Institute, as the first and only academic organization of its kind in the United States, might render Columbia vulnerable to the red-baiters, even in the pre-McCarthy years. Robinson and Wallace appealed to William Langer—the Harvard historian who, as chief of the Research and Analysis Branch of the OSS, had originally brought Robinson to Washington—and he agreed to found the Russian Research Center (now the Davis Center), for which he obtained funds from the Carnegie Corporation. The Harvard Russian Research Center, although never as integrated into the student life of the university as its Columbia counterpart, would, in Hazard's words, "pace Columbia for decades as a training ground for specialists." The two centers have cooperated closely, as in their joint sponsorship for over a quarter-century of the annual Arden House conference on U.S.-Russian relations.

### **Detectives and Spies: The Early Life of the Institute**

Reminiscences of the Institute's first years convey a palpable sense of mission and excitement. A mature entering class, seasoned by the war years, took on the Institute's daunting requirements with a sense of purpose. The capstone experience was a seminar in the second year in which students researched topics for their Institute certificate essays. Once a month all of the seminars met together, and students in all disciplines presented their research.

The distinct personal styles of the core faculty members left a strong imprint on the students' experience of the institute. Robinson—who dressed in wing collars and always sported a vest, a lorgnette, and his Phi Beta Kappa key—was aloof and a harsh taskmaster, including in his seminars meticulous lectures on how to organize note cards and writing copious comments on students' papers, sometimes longer than the papers themselves. Hazard and Mosely were the most approachable. Robert Belknap, who began studying in the institute in 1951 and went on to join

#### 4 Columbia Students Tour Soviet

### Experts' Knowledge of Life in Russia Amazes Hosts

By HARRISON E. SALISBURY

MOSCOW, Aug. 16—Four United States university students, specialists in Russian studies at Columbia University, are now spending a month touring the Soviet

They are Francis Randall, Robert Curran, Gladys May Humphrey and Jen Litzky, all of New York City and all students in Columbia's Russian Institute. The Russian Institute has been not infrequently criticized and attacked by the Soviet press as an institution that specializes in training "spies" for the United States intelligence service.

The four students, however, have thus far encountered no unpleasantness as a result of these charges although some of the Soviet students and specialists whom they have met are fully aware of the complaints that Pravda and other Soviet newspapers have published.

The four students together with four more Russian Institute trainees applied for visas to come to the Soviet Union last February. The visas for four came through at the end of July and the successful four left immediately for Moscow, arriving Aug. 11. They are now on a tour of Central Asia and the Caucasus in the course of which they will see Tashkent, Samarkand, Bukhara, Tiflis and other points of interest in Georgia, returning to Moscow

Many Soviet youngsters have seen United States movies, among them the very popular Tarzan series, and they asked the visitors whether a new Tarzan picture would be made in the United States. They also wanted to know if the United States students were wealthy enough to attend universities.

The Americans had a two-and-a-half-hour talk with Alexei Surkov, secretary of the Soviet Writers' Union, and Anatoly Sazonov, playwright, both of whom were appointed to meet a group of young Americans who not only could speak Russian in their native language but who were familiar with all the interplay of the current literary debate in the

The group also visited Moscow University, where it spent an afternoon with a group of Young Communist League members, debating the relative merits of capitalist and Communist life. The Americans felt they more than upheld their end of the friendly but sharp argument.

**Student Union Assailed**  
MOSCOW, Aug. 24 (Reuters)—Roger Ozde, an Australian student attending the International



The New York Times (by Harrison E. Salisbury): Robert Curran, chin in hand, considers a question put to him by one of a group of young Russians he and his three colleagues met in front of Moscow's post and telegraph office.

WORLD ANTITRUST BOARD

Students Union congress here, today charged that the union was a "student branch of the Cominform."

The Students Union, with head-

SINGAPORE, Aug. 24 (UPI)—Delegates to the second World Assembly of Youth in Singapore completed today the plans for establishing an institute to direct national youth committees all over the world needing help in the fight against communism.

The institute, to be set up either in Paris or in Ceylon, will

with Gorbachev and Khrushchev, study reports from nations because of communism and advise the membership of the United Nations. He said today's meeting, which was present at today's meeting, it they returned to discuss their tte or how they had managed to get into the Soviet Union. Khrushchev is listed as an observer at the United Nations Conference on Peace and Disarmament in Geneva. Mr. Khrushchev is an observer of the Peace and Friendship Committee.



the Slavic department faculty and direct the Institute in later years, recalled of Hazard, “He was so gentle and casual that you didn’t realize how much to the point he was.” Elizabeth Valkenier, who worked closely with Mosely when she studied at the institute in the 1960s and went on to teach political science and art history at Columbia, speaks warmly to this day of his dedication to his students, recalling one incident in particular: “At one point, and that I know for a fact, President Johnson had invited him for lunch at the White House and he said ... ‘I have a seminar.’ Can you imagine someone doing that? That ‘I have a seminar’ meant more than meeting with Johnson.”

As in the OSS during the war, the faculty at the Institute were training their students in research methodologies tailored to penetrate Soviet obfuscation about everything from production statistics to the rigors of everyday life in the USSR. Belknap, describing himself as a “post-adolescent literary type” at the time, found himself drawn into the courses in the social sciences: “Abe Bergson was busy inventing matrix economics as a form of detective work ... and he made economics effective in a way that was quite exciting.... The Institute was seductive. It got you interested in those things.” By the same token, Ernest Simmons trained his students to mine contemporary Soviet literature for clues about the daily life of Soviet citizens and the vagaries of the official party line. A June 1953 Collier’s article entitled “They Know More about Russia Than Anybody,” about the Russian Institute faculty and their counterparts at the Harvard Russian Research Center, conveys something of the fascination of early Sovietology even for the general public:

Who are these experts who can so easily pierce the Iron Curtain?  
What magic X-ray eyes do they possess?

They are ordinary Americans whose only magic is brain power. Their X-ray eyes are nothing more than the proven methods of good scholarship.

Yet not all reviews of the Institute's work were so positive. On July 24, 1951, *Pravda* attacked the Russian Institute as a "hotbed of American slanderers" where "ignorant professors driv[e] to young listeners selected on the basis of the greatest mental defectiveness and the least moral decency." The Soviet newspaper *Trud* described the institute in even blunter terms, as a "mass production factory for spies, saboteurs, and murderers." Mosely's response to such Soviet assaults was philosophical: "It was then that we knew we were getting at the truth about Russia."

More disturbingly, during the McCarthy years there were difficulties with the delivery of Soviet periodicals to the library, and the Institute faculty found itself under assault by the conservative press and under scrutiny by the House Un-American Activities Committee. Hazard and Simmons were each labeled “a member of the Communist conspiracy” by Senator Joseph McCarthy himself. Belknap recalls Simmons “standing up in class and saying, ‘Yesterday was an extraordinary day for me. I was roundly attacked on the front page of *Pravda* and on the floor of the United States Senate.’” Moreover, when Hazard was called to testify before HUAC on Lend-Lease activities during the war, he instead found himself being interrogated about why he had gone to the Soviet Union in the 1930s to study. In order to obtain a new passport, he was forced to submit an affidavit, prepared by a





Columbia University lawyer, avowing that he had never been a Communist. The noted scholar and Russian Institute graduate Stephen Cohen has described a “poisonous atmosphere of witch-hunt in the educational profession” at the time. This certainly took a toll on the Institute community. Marshall Shulman recalls that students became more circumspect out of concern that open expression of political opinions might affect their recommendation letters and job prospects. “There were a lot of passions raised in that period,” he says. “Some were raised in ignorance and . . . over-excitement, given the political context.” Shulman nonetheless concludes that “the good thing about the environment of Columbia is that I came to feel that it protected me.... The University did, for the most part, protect students so they weren’t subject to undue political pressures.”

### **The Legacy of the Early Years**

Despite the renown of its early faculty members, the institute was never a “think tank” with a strict research program, largely because the faculty were too involved in teaching and curriculum development. Nonetheless, the “Studies of the Russian Institute” series, initially funded by the second major grant from the Rockefeller Foundation and continuing to the present day as “Studies of the Harriman Institute,” has sponsored over 130 volumes by Institute faculty, alumni, and fellows. Throughout its six decades, the Institute has played a leading role in shaping U.S.-Russia relations and area studies in the United States, primarily through its graduates, who have included U.S. ambassadors to Moscow Walter Stoessel, Jack Matlock, and Alexander Vershbow, Secretary of State Madeline Albright, and Marshall Shulman, who served as special assistant to Secretary of State Dean Acheson in the early 1950s and as special adviser to his successors Cyrus Vance and Edmund Muskie in the late 1970s, with the rank of ambassador. The Institute has also produced human rights activists, business leaders, and, last but hardly least, many of the foremost academic specialists in the region across the disciplinary spectrum, including the Slavists Edward J. Brown, Victor Erlich, Rufus W. Mathewson Jr., and Robert A. Maguire, the social scientists Stephen F. Cohen, Alexander Dallin, Ronald Grigor Suny, and the Central Asia specialist Edward Allworth.



### **After the Fall**

In 1982, in gratitude for a generous gift from Ambassador Averell Harriman and his wife Pamela, the institute was renamed the W. Averell Harriman Institute for the Advanced Study of the Soviet Union. By the end of the glasnost period, the Institute's reputation under its new name was so well established that, upon the collapse of the Soviet Union, the faculty decided to shorten the name to the Harriman Institute. With the demise of the enormous empire it was established to study and the consequent end of the cold war, the Institute faced—and, over a decade later, continues to face—the greatest challenge in its history: how to retool the original model of area studies to serve in a globalizing world? Rather than retreating to the study of Russia narrowly conceived, the Institute reaffirmed its commitment to the study of the entire area occupied by the former Soviet republics and in 1997 merged with the Institute for East Central Europe. The Institute continues to fund courses, conferences, and lectures devoted to its ever more diverse region. For all the changes the Institute, its region and its constituent disciplines have undergone in the intervening years, the commitment to an “integrated” method of study remains unaltered. As Ambassador Harriman cautioned in an address at the annual dinner of the Russian Institute in 1954, Columbia's bicentennial year, “Some of the greatest mistakes of judgment have been made by experts in a single field who do not see or know the wider problems—experts in one area of the world or one aspect of life. Mistakes can also result from undue concentration on one element of the many-sided problem we face or on one means of handling it.”

— Catharine Theimer Nepomnyashchy

*Reprinted with permission from “Living Legacies at Columbia,” edited by Wm. Theodore de Bary (Columbia University Press, 2006).*



**Yes, he was the longest serving director** of the Russian Institute—indeed, at the time of his retirement, for more than half the Institute’s existence. And, yes, Marshall Shulman was the reason for and the moving force behind Averell and Pamela Harriman’s willingness to endow the Institute in 1982 with the funding that now provides its life’s blood. But that is not what his early career would have predicted. When he finished the University of Michigan in 1937, he wanted to be a newsman, and for two years worked as a reporter for the *Detroit News*. Soon he was writing for the National Safety Council, while taking the first steps toward a graduate degree in English literature at Harvard. Then followed the vice-presidency of the Council for Democracy in New York from 1940 to 1942. Next came the War, five years in the U.S. Army Air Forces as a glider pilot, and a Bronze Star.

It was toward the close of that service, while recuperating on a hospital ship crossing the Pacific, that he began giving deeper thought to what the end of the war would bring. Convinced that U.S. relations with its wartime Soviet ally would be at the heart of what was to come, he returned to New York and enrolled in Columbia’s newly founded Russian Institute, where as a member of the Institute’s first class he completed his masters degree in 1948. Even though he entered Columbia’s doctoral program, he was not yet destined for the university world, but instead the world of policy. Having joined the State Department in 1949, he first served as an information officer for the U.S. Permanent Mission to the United Nations, and then from 1950 to 1953 as Dean Acheson’s special assistant. The post entailed some fairly heady assignments: as George Elsey, the president’s administrative assistant writes, “Toward the close of the Truman administration, we became so well-acquainted with Marshall D. Shulman,

a young assistant to Dean Acheson, that we tended to regard Marshall almost as a member of the White House staff, although, of course, he was not, and Marshall attended a number of speech conference sessions in the latter part of the Truman administration.”

When the Truman administration gave way to the Eisenhower administration, Marshall headed from Washington to Paris for what was to be a year’s research on his eventual dissertation, a study of the French Communist party’s role in Soviet policy in Western Europe from 1949 to 1952. The road then reaches a critical fork, and in 1954, recruited by Harvard’s Clyde Kluckhohn, he moved to Cambridge as the Russian Research Center’s new associate director. The years 1954–62, his years at Harvard, were the critical second stage in building Soviet studies in the United States, a period when the founding fathers yielded to a new generation of specialists such as Zbigniew Brzezinski, Richard Pipes, Alexander Inkles, Marc Raeff, Leopold Haimson, and Alexander Dallin, the bearers of an original and deep area training, whose work now carried the field toward a richer and more refined approach to the subject. Marshall contributed to this in 1963 with *Stalin’s Foreign Policy Reappraised*, a book that, appearing soon after the Cuban missile crisis and four years of confrontation over Berlin, displayed his unique capacity for separating himself from the passions of the day and bringing to the study of Soviet foreign policy the calm insights of a listener, not a preacher.

During these years he was becoming more deeply involved in what would later be called “second-track” diplomacy, the convening of scientists and public figures from the two sides under private auspices to seek common ground on the most divisive and dangerous issues in the relationship, particularly the nuclear arms race. With his Harvard friend, Paul Doty, he played a key role in launching the Soviet-American Disarmament





Study Group as a joint initiative of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Soviet Academy of Sciences in the early 1960s. Along with other efforts, such as the even earlier Dartmouth Conference, in which he was again central, these regular encounters were a critical safety valve, allowing ideas to be tested that had no chance in regular diplomatic channels and keeping open lines of communication even when others were choked off. In all this no one on either side could transcend differences and bring the participants into a dialogue better than Marshall.

By this time, he had joined the faculty at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, where he would teach until returning to Columbia in 1965 to assume the directorship of the Institute and the Adlai E. Stevenson professorship in political science. For the next two decades he led the Russian Institute through its most telling interlude, a period of initial dynamism, then slow decline, and ultimately revitalization. The sign of dynamism was in his own discipline; by the end of the 1960s Seweryn Bialer, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Alexander Dallin, John Hazard, Joseph Rothschild, Peter Juviler (at Barnard), and Marshall were all teaching Soviet and Soviet-related courses in political science at Columbia. The next decade, however, the national interest waned, reflected most vividly in the withering of foundation

support for Russian and Soviet studies, the first effects of which were just beginning to be felt at Columbia as he headed back to Washington to be Cyrus Vance's special assistant on Soviet affairs.

Throughout the 1960s Marshall had remained deeply a part of the partnership between academic analysis and public policy. In November 1962, soon after the Cuban missile crisis, he appeared for the first time on "Meet the Press," and the *Foreign Affairs* articles urging a more subtle understanding of the Soviet challenge now emerged with increasing frequency. In 1966 his series of lectures at the Council on Foreign Relations appeared in a small book entitled, *Beyond the Cold War*. He made no pretense the Cold War was over. Rather he laid out a path for gradually transcending it; one, however, that required a rethinking of the past and a different mindset for the future. He was anticipating a half decade before its time, the détente of the early 1970s.

Ironically, back in Washington, at the side of his friend Cyrus Vance, he was part of an administration that, with considerable assistance from Moscow, presided over the slow demise of the hopes raised by the Brezhnev-Nixon period of cooperation. The rising tension between the two countries, the increasingly shrill tone of debate within the United States, and the waylaying of efforts to moderate the nuclear danger weighed on him, and he left Washington

at the end of the Carter Administration disappointed and apprehensive.

The concern, however—a concern shared by his friend, Averell Harriman, in whose Georgetown townhouse he had lived throughout the Carter years—led to long conversations on ways to counter what seemed to them the shallow foundation driving the popular and political reaction to the Soviet Union. This was the seed ground for the Harrimans' decision to endow the Institute with \$11.5 million, premised on the conviction that increased understanding depended on specialists inside and outside government who knew at a deep level the Soviet Union and the challenges that it posed. Soon after Marshall's return, in October 1982, the endowment establishing the W. Averell Harriman Institute for the Advanced Study of the Soviet Union was announced.

During these years an awareness that the country's resources for studying the Soviet Union were seriously shrunken had grown in other quarters. John Stremlau, a senior figure in the Rockefeller Foundation, called the situation a major crisis, and in a report to the Foundation, significantly influenced by Marshall, said, "Today, the quantity and quality of research and training in Soviet studies is at the lowest point since World War II." From this came the decision by Rockefeller, the foundation that had provided the original funding for the Russian Institute in 1946, to award two institutions—Columbia's newly renamed Russian Institute and a joint Berkeley-Stanford program organized for this purpose—\$1 million each to invigorate the study of Soviet "international behavior." Announced a year after the Harriman gift, it was the last of the major financial building blocks that Marshall put in place for the Institute. (In 1970, he had also played a major role in securing \$325,000 in funding from the Ford Foundation.)

In 1986 he retired as director, green eye-shade still in place, freer to ride his prized BMW motorcycle on the winding Connecticut roads around Sherman. Columbia organized a black-tie dinner for the occasion, with two hundred in attendance, including Pamela and Averell Harriman, the Harriman daughters, Cyrus Vance, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Adam Ulam, and a long list of admiring friends and colleagues. That spring the University awarded him an honorary Doctor of Laws degree.

— Robert Legvold

*Robert Legvold, former director of the Harriman Institute, is the Marshall D. Shulman Professor of Political Science.*

# Geroid T. Robinson

(1893–1971)



**When a man dies**, who has been a part of our lives, we gather and reflect upon what his life has meant to us. A hush briefly stills the noises of our lives; the visitation of death brings a momentary pause in our frenetic rounds while we think, or feel, or wonder, about ultimate meanings.

Thus we mourn and we affirm. The qualities we celebrate in our colleague and friend, the contemplation of this good man, this noble spirit, lifts our spirits and our vision.

It is not of G.T. Robinson, the founder of the Russian Institute, I wish to speak at this moment, but of Geroid Robinson, the man.

Who, on meeting Geroid Robinson walking on Riverside Drive, could mistake him for any other? This tall, courtly man, this gentleman, patrician in his bearing, in his dignity, his dress—the weskit, the ribboned glasses, the cane—his was the day when individuality was expressed in fastidiousness of dress—his features like an eagle, his lips characteristically pursed in some wry and acerb comment on the events of the day—this was his outward appearance. In a word:

formidable. More accurately, *formidable*, in the French sense.

But within? His reserve was a garment of protection; it covered a shy warmth. He was Gerry to his friends, still formidable from long and inescapable habit, but kind, helpful, considerate, concerned; reaching out to assist, to instruct, to share some pleasure or some indignation, reaching out—

Some knew him as a gay conversationalist: with a drink in his hand at the Century, or savoring a sidewalk conference with a chance companion. He had humor—a wry, finely wrought humor, sometimes directed against himself with a hopeless shrug, sometimes almost indistinguishable from despair.

At times there were glimpses of anguish, of some inner frenzy at the chasm between vision and realization, of impatient anger at the elusiveness of the perfection he demanded—most of all from himself.

A workman in Connecticut, who planted trees and did carpentry for GTR at the country home he loved, said: “he was a man who always insisted that things be done exactly right”—and several generations of students would say: Amen.

These generations of students were the heritage he left. They were his vision, his creativity, his fulfillment. Gerry was a man whose comments on a student’s paper were often longer than the paper itself. A request from a student for advice has been known to elicit a forty-page reply, thick with bibliographic leads. Gerry’s bibliographic card-file was his treasure, and he relished having his students eagerly cluster around it, in the hallway of the old Institute building.

He cared, perhaps too much. He loved the University, for what it was, and for what it represented to him. He was a bearer of tradition—the tradition of high scholarship, which was his calling, his priesthood, and he served it with total and uncompromising dedication. To this restless age, his life speaks of

values to be cherished and preserved—of tolerance and civility, not as mannered amenities, but as heart and soul of the democratic process.

He has left his stamp upon us. He will be remembered as a man who strove mightily, nobly, to realize his vision of perfection, and in that struggle he found both despair and happiness.

The words of Camus apply: “The struggle itself toward the heights is enough to fill a man’s heart.”

— **Marshall D. Shulman**

**It is a real temptation**, at this time of parting and reflection, for me to recount some of the many services of Geroid T. Robinson to the development of Russian studies at Columbia and across the country, to meeting the policy research needs of a nation which had become involved—almost without intellectual or policy preparation—in carrying global burdens, and to training a large part of an exciting and talented postwar generation of scholars and experts in Russian and Soviet studies. Others have done and will do this in more detail than is possible today.

It is a temptation, for example, to tell the story of Geroid Robinson’s role in the decision of the first Quebec Conference, in September 1943, to increase the flow of food and other non-military supplies to the Soviet Union. This was preceded by a pitched battle, waged with research memoranda and extrapolations of statistics between Gerry’s USSR Section of Research and Analysis, OSS, and the research arm of the Department of Agriculture. Gerry’s zeal to battle, once aroused, could be a fearsome spectacle, and his performance in this critical issue fully justified the Medal of Freedom which he received at the White House at the close of World War II.

Or I could recall our work together in the first scholarly endeavor to build up the field of Slavic studies. Gerry and I were two of the five members of the Committee on Slavic Studies, appointed by the American Council of Learned Societies in 1937–1938. Operating under an annual budget of \$900, the Committee chalked up a number of valuable achievements, including the legwork for the creation of the *American Slavic Review*, which made its appearance in 1942. All this should be told, but today, in thinking of the man and the scholar we have lost, the mood is a more personal one.

I recall, of course, our first meeting, in late December 1929. That year the American Historical



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Association held its annual session at Duke University, with its impressive new campus still a-building around us, and at Chapel Hill. In our talks there Gerry cast a spell over me, one that never faded. His account of two years' research in Soviet Russia, his broad insights into Russian and world history, displayed modestly and even diffidently, made a lasting impression on me. And his deep love of literature, art, and music seemed to me to present a model of the worldly and broadly cultivated gentleman-scholar.

If this delightful savor seemed to fade in the hectic and demanding war and postwar years, it never disappeared as a central part of Gerry's enjoyment of life. One of the happiest periods of Gerry's retirement years was the winter and spring that he and Clemmie devoted to opera-going in Europe.

Several evenings each week were given over to Italian, French and Austrian opera, in London, Paris, Milan, Venice, Florence, and Rome. And after Clemmie's death, one of the first evidences of Gerry's recovery from this severe trauma was that he was able to return, even without Clemmie, and again immerse himself in the opera at La Scala, Venice, and Rome. It was, as the Russians put it, "not accidental" that Gerry had adopted Mrs. Robinson's surname, Tanqueray, as his own middle name.

I do not know whether Gerry's love and appreciation of painting antedated his and Clemmie's marriage or grew out of it, but in any case this shared love of beauty was an important part of their close and lifelong companionship. His appreciation of art ran deep, and we are especially fortunate in having an outstandingly forceful and sensitive portrait of him, commissioned by Dean Cordier and executed by Joseph Hirsch. It was a great pleasure for me, three years ago, to spend several hours with Gerry, discussing the

relative merits of a dozen or more portrait painters and to see his artistic judgment circle back unerringly to his final choice. And Gerry made Ruth and me very happy by allowing us to select three of Clemmie's paintings, one for our home and one for each of our daughters. In our last talk, in December, Gerry and I went over the list of guests to be invited to the unveiling of the portrait, in the new International Affairs building.

It is time for me to close these brief recollections. Geroid Robinson enriched the worlds of scholarship, academic statesmanship, and public service. His friendship was not given easily or superficially, and I appreciate deeply the privilege of expressing, even briefly and imperfectly, my own gratitude and that of many others for the rich gifts of intellectual vigor and friendship which he bestowed on me and on many others in a long life of devoted service.

— Philip E. Mosely

*The texts by Marshall D. Shulman and Philip E. Mosely are reprinted from the booklet published for Professor Robinson's memorial service, held in St. Paul's Chapel, on April 6, 1971.*

**Philip Edward Mosely**, the second director of the Russian Institute, was recognized as a pre-eminent Sovietologist during and after World War II. But Mosely was ever so much more than this term implies—that is, someone adept at deciphering the latest twists and turns in the Kremlin's secretive behavior. By training, knowledge and personal disposition he was the very personification of the area studies principle: he was an area specialist in the best and broadest sense of the term. His interests and expertise went beyond current-day politics. Not only a facile linguist—his Russian was fluent and he had good working knowledge of several other languages in the area—he was also deeply interested in and well informed about the history, culture and literature of Russia, East Central Europe and the Balkans. He considered this knowledge indispensable to a true understanding of what motivated the leaders and citizens in the region.

Mosely's broad area training started early in his life and, remarkably, it was self-generated. Already as a high school student in Westfield, Massachusetts, he had taught himself Czech (because of his interest in the local immigrants) as well as Russian (because of his fascination with Russian literature). At Harvard he concentrated on Russian history, graduating summa cum laude in 1926. He went on to graduate school, studying Russian and diplomatic history with Mikhail Karpovich and William Lange, receiving his doctorate in 1933 with a thesis on Russian diplomacy in the Balkans during the time of the Crimean War (*Russian Diplomacy and the Opening of the Eastern Question*, 1934).

Mosely was among the few American graduate students who spent some two years in Moscow, 1930–32, during one of the worst times in Soviet history—the rise of Stalinist terror and the great famine. The situation did not daunt the young scholar and Mosely already then

displayed the fortitude and integrity that later gained him universal respect among diplomats and scholars in the U.S. and the USSR alike. When refused permission to take his research material home, Mosely wrote a personal request to Stalin, delivered it to the Kremlin, and received the dictator's approval the next day.

Prior to World War II, Mosely taught intermittently at Princeton, Union College, Cornell and Columbia. At the same time he embarked on an ethnographic investigation, under the sponsorship of Ruth Benedict, of the surviving communal family farming tradition (the *zadruga*) in the Balkans. This time, instead of studying archival materials in libraries, Mosely walked from village to village, living and working among the peasants of what was then Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Albania.

World War II interrupted Mosely's teaching and research. From 1942 on, as one of the country's foremost young experts, he occupied top positions in the State Department's planning of postwar settlement in Europe, first as Assistant Chief, Division of Political Studies, and then as Chief, Division of Territorial Studies. He assisted the Secretary of State in formulating and executing postwar programs, first as head of the East European Division of Special Research and later as adviser at numerous conferences, notably those in Moscow (1943) and Potsdam (1945). He also served as U.S. representative on the Four Power Commission for the Investigation of the Yugoslav-Italian Border (1946). Some of the insights Mosely gained at these meetings were set down in a much quoted article, "Some Soviet Techniques of Negotiation" (1951). After the war Mosely was able to utilize his wide-ranging experience in the social sciences and diplomacy as one of the principal architects of area studies in the United States. In 1946, he became a co-founder of the Russian Institute at Columbia. Its program at the time fully reflected Mosely's broad and rigorous approach.



To receive a Russian Institute Certificate, a two-year course of study, students were required to demonstrate language competence (the introductory, year-long course in Russia met every day of the week for two hours). In addition, students were required to take at least four courses in disciplines other than their own and submit a Certificate Essay, the equivalent of an MA thesis. It was a tough and demanding program, but it gave students more than a mere smattering acquaintance.

Beyond Columbia, Mosely contributed enormously to building up and broadening area studies programs. He was instrumental in setting up the weekly publication, *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, an indispensable research and information tool; he advised the Ford and Carnegie foundations on supporting various projects related to the study of the Soviet Union and its satellites; he was on the board of the Chekhov Publishing House, which issued a number of important works of Russian literature and history, including the Russian editions of Nabokov's *The Gift* and Joseph Brodsky's first book of poems. He also helped launch the Archive of Russian and East European History and

Culture (now the Bakhmeteff Archive) at Columbia to house and preserve valuable émigré materials that would give a fuller picture of the pre- and post-1917 history that the Communist regimes were in the process of suppressing and falsifying. And he advised the American Friends Service Committee on its programs to promote cultural exchanges between the U.S. and Eastern Europe, when they became possible in the mid-1950s after the death of Stalin.

As Director of Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations (1955–63) Mosely initiated a number of pioneering projects: an early analysis of the course of Sino-Soviet relations that predicted the possibility of a split; an investigation into Soviet aid and trade with developing countries that examined the economic motivations at a time when all attention was focused on Moscow's ideological and political motives; and a series of publications on U.S. and China that offered an informed and realistic discussion of political relations between the two countries.

In 1963 Mosely returned to Columbia as Director of the European Institute and Associate Dean of the School of International Affairs.

While enumerating Mosely's professional initiatives and accomplishments one should not leave

unmentioned the fact that it was his character—his empathetic understanding of winners and losers alike, his high sense of integrity and his personal warmth—that provided the essential ingredient for success. It informed and shaped his dealings with matters of state, scholarly issues, his relations with high officials no less than with students.

That combination of exceptional personal traits, plus the expertise, won Mosely universal respect. Officials on both sides of the Iron Curtain were awed by his thorough knowledge of their countries and they respected his principled criticism of state policies. Mosely was equally valued and respected by the émigré communities, and not only for his endeavors to help preserve the best traditions of the pre-Communist past at a time when that era tended to be consigned to the dustbin of history. And he was beloved by students for his unfailingly patient and generous advice, as well as his genuine interest in their professional careers and personal fortunes.

For Mosely teaching was a sacred calling and he held the autonomy of the university in high regard. Accordingly, he could and did decline President Johnson's invitation to a White House luncheon because its timing conflicted with teaching a seminar. And he defended academic integrity during the pressures of the Cold War and the McCarthy hearings and did not encourage students to cooperate with the CIA. In my own case when the Agency contacted me to find out about my conversations with Alexei Rumyantsev, editor of *Pravda* and member of the Politburo, during a visit to the Museum of Modern Art (arranged by the Quakers), Mosely fully supported my emotional refusal and outburst in defense of my privacy and rights.

As a graduate student and later his research assistant, I was fortunate to benefit from Mosely's wise

advice and warm support. He really made me into the scholar that I am today, inspiring me with the sense of integrity and dedication that I have tried to apply to my own work. At the Russian Institute, he not only provided me with a fascinating topic for a seminar—the Sovietization of Polish historiography—but went on to urge me to turn it into an article (my first), offered to edit it and recommended publication to an appropriate journal.

Later on, when I was working at the Council on Foreign Relations as an assistant for his project on Soviet-Third World relations, he repeatedly urged me to publish articles based on the research work I was conducting for him. More important even, in 1967 he endorsed my proposal to go to the Soviet Union to interview specialists on the developing countries in order to go beyond the official statements that were our only source of information at the time. On that visit I benefited immensely from the respect Mosely commanded among top Soviet specialists. His letters of introduction opened the doors to institutes of the Soviet Academy, facilitated quite frank talks with their directors and leading staff that resulted in several long-lasting personal friendships as well as in numerous subsequent visits. The publications that came out of this and subsequent visits commanded considerable attention, because at the time no other American scholar had thought of consulting with Soviet specialists, since the Party Line had “obviously” shaped their opinions and sealed their lips.

Here, I should mention that my idea for that first trip was inspired by Mosely's belief that one should become familiar with both sides of the issue under investigation and bolster one's conclusions with personal interaction. His interest in “humanizing” otherwise impersonal political topics most likely can be traced to his ethnographic investigations in the Balkans. It was from Mosely's example that I came to



understand and analyze the Soviet Union beyond the ubiquitous totalitarian model. Likewise, when I decided to pursue my doctorate in Russian history, writing a dissertation on a group of Realist painters, Mosely again was very supportive of the decision to leave political science for cultural history.

Mosely's own publications are not as numerous as he had wished and planned. The volume *The Kremlin and World Politics* (1960) collects twenty-five of his articles. Numerous other articles and studies of American foreign policy and of Russian and Balkan history and domestic politics are scattered in scholarly journals and symposia. In addition, he is the editor of *The Soviet Union, 1922–1962*. But his endeavors in the field live on in ever so many other ways: the establishment of broadly based Soviet area studies programs; expansion of support from foundations for the field; sponsorship of publications by others; and most importantly, the work of the numerous students he advised and inspired. His creative contribution to the area studies concept and practice far transcends the merely tangible pages and books.

—Elizabeth Kridl Valkenier

*Elizabeth Kridl Valkenier, a graduate of the Russian Institute, is Resident Scholar at the Harriman Institute and Adjunct Associate Professor of Art History and Archaeology.*

# Ernest J. Simmons

(1903–1972)



**Ernest J. Simmons** was in his early forties when Columbia brought him from Cornell to reinvigorate its Russian Department and elaborate on an idea he had conceived at Cornell, an Intensive Program in Soviet Civilization. He bore a rich body of intellectual baggage. As an undergraduate and then a graduate student at Harvard, he had studied English literature with George Lyman Kittredge, Livingston Lowes, and other legendary figures, about whom he would sometimes reminisce. He had learned Russian and wrote a dissertation on English influences on Russian lyrics of the early nineteenth century, and spent much of 1928 in Russia at one of the most exciting moments in its history, culturally and politically. He taught at Harvard, and then at Cornell, where he built a strong department and weathered the political fallout from Soviet involvement in the early days of the Cold War. He had the ideal background for what Columbia needed.

At Columbia, the Slavic Department had been involved with linguistics and language more than Russian literature, and not at all involved in the social world. Simmons worked with Geroid Robinson, Philip Mosely, Abram Bergson, and John Hazard to equip Columbia to function in the bi-polar world that emerged at the end of World War II. The Rockefeller Foundation, and later the Carnegie and other foundations helped them to invent a new kind of educational enterprise, the area studies institute. The Russian Institute, founded at the end of the forties, rested on the assumption that the United States needed experts trained at the graduate level in the existing specialties, but able to deal with the very different and sometimes weird situations in the Soviet Union.

Hazard had graduated from a Soviet law school in the midst of the purges of the 1930s, but had practiced law in the United States as well, and understood how divorce law, for example, is different if housing shortages force divorced couples to share the

same room. And Simmons would find it easier to teach Soviet marital comedies to students who had studied Bergson's courses in the Soviet economy. Those courses reflected Bergson's place in the invention of matrix economics. For him, it was a necessary part of a detective project. The Soviet secretiveness led to a paucity of economic data and sometimes the release of false information, but every tractor produced requires a certain amount of steel, which requires a certain amount of coal and ore and labor, so that the supply of one commodity can sometimes be estimated from the supply of commodities needed to make it. His courses sometimes had the structure of the detective novels literary students used for other purposes.

Simmons's rich aesthetic understanding of literature gradually gave way to the fascination of area studies. Russia became a danger to the United States in the 1950s, with its atomic arsenal and its hegemony over Eastern Europe and China. The old 1930s intellectuals who had favored the Great Soviet Experiment and believed its success to be historically inevitable, began to be seen by Senator McCarthy and many others as potential traitors. Stalin was fortunate in his enemies, since McCarthy, Hearst, McCormick, and others could be lumped with his greatest adversary, Hitler, rather than with his World War II allies, like Churchill and Roosevelt. Serious scholars were caught in the middle. Simmons began one class that I attended, saying, in substance, "Yesterday was a really strange day for me. I was roundly attacked on the front page of *Pravda* and on the floor of the United States Senate." Columbia, like most American universities, stood behind such scholars as Simmons, and his common-sensical rejection of the huge Russian and the petty American tyrant meant that neither he nor his students suffered personally from a rather shameful period in our history.

Within the department, he faced a different kind of political conflict. He had moved intellectually to the point where he was using literature as an instrument for understanding society. He edited a book called *Through the Glass of Soviet Literature*. His own books on Dostoevsky, Tolstoy, and Chekhov were impressive gatherings of what was known about those authors at that time, but had none of the intense and often rarified attention to the text which the New Critics in America and the Russian and other Slavic formalists were making exciting in Europe. Simmons had brought Leon Stilman from Cornell with him as a remarkably talented language teacher, and brought Roman Jakobson from Prague, the most brilliant and most difficult Slavist of his generation. He also produced a group of graduate students, Rufus Mathewson, Richard Gregg, Franklin Reeve, Robert Maguire, Richard Gustafson, and myself, all of whom considered his approach to literature old-fashioned, and even Soviet, not politically, but literarily. Jakobson soon defected to Harvard, but the others opposed Simmons on his own ground, and his response was the same in every case, and was typical of the man. He hired us all.

— Robert L. Belknap

*Robert L. Belknap was Director of the Russian Institute from 1977 to 1980. He is now Professor Emeritus of Slavic Languages and Director of University Seminars.*

# Abram Bergson

(1914–2003)



**When I joined** the Russian Research Center at Harvard University in 1968, I became part of an elite corps of Soviet-era experts led by Abram Bergson. Soon enough I began to feel that, as a group, we were on top of the world. Not only was Abe's reputation as a theorist and an empiricist colossal; it was also matched by his quiet energy and persistent commitment that kept us active and engaged. The Wednesday lunch seminars attracted speakers from near and far, and prompted vigorous exchange of ideas under Abe's meticulous and demanding navigation. There was not much bantering nor sloppy arguments or careless invention of facts. Scholarship flourished in abundance. Lenny Kirsh worked on Soviet wages. Leon Smolinski brought out in the open the ideas of Nobel laureate Leonid Kantorovich and the mysteries Soviet planning. Joe Berliner unraveled the labyrinthine details of Soviet factories and the innovation decision making of their managers. Frank Holzman illuminated the complexities of Soviet taxation and foreign trade arrangements, and battled the Central Intelligence Agency about its Soviet defense estimates. Barney Schwalberg kept tab

of the academic debates with incisive comments and extensive references. Marshall Goldman wrote so much on so many themes I stopped counting. We were truly the best and the brightest in the field. Those were the glory days. As time passed, the group became smaller as we lost Lenny, Leon, Frank, Joe and finally Abe. But my memories of those days are warm and fresh as I continue with my professional activities in a different place.

Many years later I discovered the progression of events that contributed to Abe's becoming a comparativist as he described himself professionally in his memoirs. He could have studied physics at the suggestion of his elder brother Gustav, but turned instead to economics when he became a graduate student at Harvard in 1933 at the age of 23. The Great Depression was under way and the prospects of an economist landing a job were uncertain. But Abe stuck to his decision. Already a brilliant theorist with an original, oft-cited paper on the social welfare function to his credit, he was soon to embark on the empirical analysis of the Soviet system, beginning with an investigation of the massive data on Soviet wage differentials. In the process, he ended up by founding the field of comparative economic systems and gave it a touch of class through a superb combination of analytical depth and empirical rigor. The British, they say, forged an empire in a fit of absent-mindedness. Abe established a whole new field of inquiry and analysis through a series of "fortuitous" circumstances.

As a graduate student in the economics department at Harvard, Abe was fascinated by the momentous theoretical debates that raged during the interwar years on the economic merits of socialist economies. And yet scholarly research on the subject was missing. In his view, Marx's claim on the presumed superiority of socialism went unchallenged, leaving several questions unanswered. How efficient were



socialism's working arrangements in comparison with those in market economies? What methods might be employed for addressing this issue? Can one actually derive measures indicating the differences in the economic performance of the two systems? Might one conclude that the Marxist faith in the economic potency of socialism was misplaced? At the outset, how might one define socialism and efficiency?

Definitions were crucial to Abe for the task at hand. They had to be precise because the project was scientific. They had to be relevant because the inquiry had social implications. They also had to be amenable to quantitative estimation because Abe, perhaps unintentionally, wanted to challenge Marx, the prophet himself, by painstakingly deriving numbers that combined rigorous analytical tools and the best available evidence.

In the first step, Abe defined Soviet socialism as a system in which means of production were publicly owned, and production activity was coordinated via bureaucratic decisions rather than via market signals. The "system's directors" organized the Soviet command economy from top to bottom. Superior agencies in the administrative hierarchy coordinated the activities of production enterprises by employing extra-market devices such as physical targets and quotas. Innumerable decrees and orders were issued specifying these norms and fulfillment criteria by managers. Their implementation was monitored by vigilant party apparatchiki in the production units.

Needless to say, the socialist world was authoritarian, manifesting its worst features under Stalin. What then about its political merit? Abe recalls having wrestled with this issue in his memoirs. The familiar institutions of a liberal democracy including due process of law, civil liberties, and removal of officials

via elections were missing. Therefore, politics could be exacting in its efficiency losses in authoritarian socialist systems. Of course, accommodative political pressures imposed such losses in market economies also, but bureaucratic distortions and political concessions could be vastly more prevalent and damaging under socialism. Abe conceded that socialism hardly scored on its political merit. Indeed, like Hayek, he believed that "inclusive" public ownership and democratic processes were inherently incompatible. Ultimately, he eschewed the notion of democratic socialism, and chose to illuminate the socialist record in the context of its authoritarian reality.

But the problem of the political demerits of socialism were to revisit Abe in the context of his attempts at defining economic efficiency. The conventional neoclassical norms define economic efficiency in terms of the degree of exploitation of available opportunities for satisfying consumer wants. They assume that consumers' sovereignty prevails which in turn ensures maximum efficiency in the famous Pareto optimum. But then socialist planners had political aims that dominated their preferences. The planners might want guns whereas the public might desire butter. Stalin's planners opted in favor of heavy industry whereas the people, given their choice, might have desired bread and shoes there and then. The conflict posed a serious problem for Abe in defining efficiency. Political norms, left to define efficient resource allocation, would make any allocation scheme efficient depending on the political objective. Indeed, politics would cease to be a source of inefficiency. The whole project of measuring comparative efficiency would become "footless" and fruitless. Besides, Abe was wedded to the principle of consumers' sovereignty, howsoever maligned. A way had to be found out of the dilemma. Consumers' preferences provided the yardstick for measuring efficiency. But planners'

preferences would serve the purpose as well if they were assumed to be “isomorphic” with those of consumers. Thus, Abe opted for a solution that was imperfect but workable.

The next step consisted in devising analytical tools for comparing socialist and market-economy efficiencies. It should come as no surprise to his contemporaries and followers that Abe chose to go beyond mere description. Some of us who struggled our way through Abe’s formidable and voluminous work, as I have, experienced in full measure the impact of his theoretical rigor. He had little patience with anecdotes or stray evidence. He believed that one must first define a problem analytically and then look for the necessary evidence to derive one’s conclusions. He recalls in his memoirs having written to Sidney Webb if such an approach for analyzing the Soviet socialist system made sense to which Web had responded negatively. But Abe remained his own scholar. Use of appropriate theory in empirical work was his hallmark and his contribution.

He did, however, value, respect, and draw upon the relatively informal work of other scholars, specifically mentioning the insightful contributions of Joseph Berliner, David Granick, Gregory Grossman and Alec Nove. Formally unstructured studies, in his view, served as the foundation of analytical inquiry by providing important clues and building blocks. At the same time, while he recognized the importance of techniques, he was not enamored of econometric modeling. He was impatient with such work that ignored the massive problems of data in socialist economies. The caveat was important for him. He regarded the employment of Soviet official statistics without meticulous scrutiny a “treacherous procedure.” In any case, the econometric inquiries concerning

Soviet production activity, which Marty Weitzman initiated and to which I contributed, did not seem to converge to a clear consensus on either the general form of the production function or its parameters. In Abe’s assessment, they alerted us to diverse possibilities.

While the comparative efficiency of socialist planning that was central to the great theoretical debates on the economic merit of the system became the focus of Abe’s empirical research, he faced numerous difficulties along the way.

A major bottleneck arose from the nonavailability and disinformation of Soviet data. The available data from official sources were discredited among Soviet as well as Western scholars. The carefully documented Western measures of Soviet real national output compiled by Rush Greenslade also had their limitations.

Then again, the Soviet economy experienced violent structural changes during the pre-World War II peacetime interval that commenced with the initiation of the First Five-Year Plan in 1928. These shifts had incredibly complex implications for statistical measures of economic performance during the period. Prices were unsettled. Industry and sector outputs were volatile. Should the performance of the economy be measured in prices of the initial year 1928 or the final prewar year 1937? The choice of the valuation year influenced the performance. Abe frontally attacked this familiar index number problem by painstakingly creating national income estimates for the Soviet economy in 1928 and 1937, in the process providing the necessary benchmark measures.

Another analytical problem arose from the fact that Soviet prices were administered, and thus violated the market-based, supply-demand price norms of neoclassical theory. He invented a second best solution of Adjusted Factor Cost, which aroused significant controversies.

Not only was Abe's reputation as a theorist and empiricist colossal; it was also matched by his quiet energy and persistent commitment that kept us active and engaged.

With these caveats and adjustments in mind, he set out to measure cross-country efficiencies in terms of the familiar factor productivity estimates. Simply put, output grows because more inputs are employed. But over time, growth takes off because these inputs become more productive. These estimates of factor productivity revealed a discouraging picture of Soviet growth performance and its efficiency in the postwar period. Socialism turned out to be less potent in terms of Western norms of efficiency than was assumed. Soviet growth, after all, relied massively on employment of labor and capital rather than on their productivity. Again, factor productivity growth, not especially rapid to begin with, slowed in successive intervals, and indeed was negligible at the end of the period.

Abe's substantial work stretching over half a century—scientific, meticulous, and innovative in its application of concepts and measurement yardsticks—cast doubt on the functioning of socialist economies over time and in relation to their market economy counterparts. He presented his results, always emphasizing the limitations of his methods and the data, and without claiming to guarantee their infallibility. While demonstrating that the Soviet economy had serious and mounting problems, he never claimed to be a prophet. He was more a seismologist concerned about the escalating rumblings in the edifice rather than a forecaster of when and how it might crumble. Its sudden and ultimate “denouement” in 1991 surprised us all.

I managed to keep in touch with Abe since leaving the Russian Research Center in 1980. Abe's impact on my academic endeavors has stayed with me. These have proliferated in various directions from my earliest efficiency-related work of the Soviet economy to the new issues sweeping Russia's economic transition. But the watchwords in my research progression have been

rigorous analysis combined with reliable information, and sensible conclusions based on their interaction. That has been Abe's legacy for me and his successors. I often think of him warmly and gratefully.

— Padma Desai

*Abram Bergson, a founding member of the Russian Institute in 1946, had come to Columbia the previous year. He returned to Harvard in 1956.*

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*A slightly different version of Professor Desai's triIBUTE was published in the “Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society” (September 2005).*

# John N. Hazard

(1909–1995)



**Memory has a mind of its own.** It retains both pleasant and unpleasant aspects of the past, though not always in due proportion. But when it comes to my studies at the (then) Russian Institute in 1952–1954, memory plays no tricks on that score. Yes, unpleasant memories emerge, first, around the facts of the McCarthy era, and in this case, the atmosphere of suspicion about Soviet studies. Even our local bookstore removed from its display window books on communism, such as Merle Fainsod's *How Russia Is Ruled* and John Hazard's *Law and Social Change in the USSR* (both out in 1953), after unpleasantness from passers-by. I was tempted to (but actually never did) wrap such books in plain paper when reading them on the subway. Both scholars were experts in their fields—Harvard's Fainsod in public administration and Columbia's Hazard in public law, including Soviet public law in its political setting.

The second unpleasantness lurked in expectations, rather than in Russian Institute realities. I expected to be greeted and treated skeptically. For here I was a 26-year-old electrical engineer fresh from over

two years at the Sperry Gyroscope company, with no background on Russia (save from the likes of Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky, Turgenev and Sholokhov), and little background on politics, save that gleaned from new sources, and from the fringe of a liberal education and excellent student discourse at John Hazard's alma mater and mine, Yale.

But then came the time to climb the rickety stairs up the R.I.'s 117th Street Row House, to the offices of Philip E. Mosley and my future mentor, John Hazard, and to receive a reassuringly friendly welcome from both. After all, we were all engaged in a novel quest—they on their part together with the three other “pillars of wisdom,” Geroid T. Robinson, Abram Bergson, and Ernest Simmons, and with other luminaries such as historian-diplomat Henry Roberts and foreign affairs adviser and scholar Marshall Shulman. Their quest lay in a mission beyond the Russian Institute's founding purpose of “knowing thine enemy.” The best way to this, the consensus suggested, was also to pioneer in Russian and Soviet “area studies”—through the integrating experience of the students learning from all the scholars there.

John Newbold Hazard, Nash Professor of Law, brought an impressive background (in Harvard and Chicago University Law Schools, and public policy — helping administer Lend-Lease during World War II). Before his doctoral studies in Chicago, John was sponsored as a Traveling Fellow by the Institute of Current World Affairs to spend the years '34–'37 earning the Certificate of the Moscow Juridical Institute (predecessor of the Law Faculty of Moscow University where I eventually spent three semesters, 1958–59 and 1964). As they say—that was “ne sluchaino”—no coincidence. For I had learned from John Hazard how important rule through law could be (as opposed to rule of law) under Soviet totalitarianism. Sure, John Hazard was not a political scientist. Later when I started



and co-taught a course in political movements, at Barnard, John asked me, “political movements—what are they?” Good question, the experts are still juggling answers to it.

But in John Hazard’s classroom and in talks with him I learned the underpinnings of a system about which we could all read outcomes—notorious for its repression, its purges, its attempted suffocation of religion and free thought. A crucial thing was what John Hazard taught, and grilled us on in his case study finals, about—the workings and significance of the system of rule through law, or to use Vladimir Putin’s term—“the dictatorship of law.” In that dictatorship, John Hazard pointed out, “property is the key.” One of John’s central ideas, rule through law, or whatever one wishes to call it, continues to prove a key—perhaps the key to who gets what, when, and how in Russian politics and economics. In sum, John Hazard paid attention to the details of a system of law and administration and control which towards the end of his life carried over significant methods and personnel from the Soviet era.

I asked someone who knew John Hazard to characterize him.” Genial,” she volunteered. And indeed he was, deeply so. He and his wife Susan Hazard would invite former students and their Soviet colleagues home to enjoy some warm and welcome hospitality. John and Susan loved music. And I think in 1992, both of them came to and warmly participated in a fund raiser for the now defunct One Hundred Street Concert Association. During his last months, laid out at home with a fatal cancer, John remained in touch with his friends and former students, some of whom managed to arrange to transfer his formidable collection of books and other research materials to Columbia University. Yes, John had at home a veritable research library of his own. He wasted no time, he once explained to

me. Up early, he had breakfasted and read the paper and was ready to turn to work by 8 am. Genial, yes, but self-disciplined and a productive scholar, editor or co-editor of important collections of Soviet legal materials, and author of many books on the Soviet system of law and system of government. He loved to travel, and to lecture abroad and aboard a floating university with Susan as librarian. Since his time, area studies have both come under challenge, and been revitalized at the successor Harriman Institute. But the combination of both disciplinary expertise and interdisciplinary area studies carries on.

— **Peter Juviler**

*Peter Juviler, an alumnus of the Russian Institute, is Co-Director of the Center for the Study of Human Rights and Professor of Political Science, Barnard College.*

# Alexander Dallin

(1924–2000)



**Alexander Dallin figures** very prominently among the founders of the field that came to be known as Soviet/Russian area studies. He left a large legacy in the institutions he helped to build, in the students he mentored over the decades of his career (I count myself lucky to be among that number), and in scholarship that was marked by balance, fair-mindedness, scrupulous attention to evidence, and intolerance for conventional wisdom. His primary scholarly contributions were to the fields of modern European history, comparative politics, and international relations.

Although he was a tireless researcher, much of his knowledge was shaped by his life experience and family background. Son of a prominent Russian-Jewish Menshevik, David Dallin (born David Lewin), Alex was born May 21, 1924, after the family had fled Bolshevik Russia for Berlin. He reached adolescence in an ever more threatening Nazi-dominated Europe; the violent Kristallnacht events of 1938 in Germany made clear to him that he would have to arrange for his family to flee Hitler's Berlin. The family sought safe haven in Paris (January 1939), where Alex made contact with

the anti-Nazi resistance and eventually with American consular officials to organize the passage of his mother and himself to the United States in a perilous journey through southern France, Spain and Portugal. Before departing France, Alex helped the rescue effort for other endangered socialist intellectuals and political activists by creating false identities for blank passports. He was able to deploy his by then considerable fluency in German and French.

The family reached New York City in November 1940 and settled into apartments in the Morningside Heights neighborhood. Alex finished his secondary education at George Washington High School, where a classmate was Henry Kissinger; as a high school student, he was a member of a French club that tried to establish links to the French resistance group in Paris and to support United States involvement in the war against fascism in Europe. He started college at the City College of New York and worked part-time at the Slavonic Division of the New York Public Library to try to help the family make ends meet.

His college education was interrupted in March 1943 when he enlisted in the US Army, where he quickly ended up in Military Intelligence and interviewed German prisoners-of-war. After his discharge in March 1946, he returned to CCNY to complete his major in international affairs, graduated magna cum laude, and was admitted to the Columbia University graduate program in modern European history and the Russian Institute. He completed a master's essay on German-Soviet relations during the years 1939–1940 and later wrote a separate certificate essay for the Russian Institute on Russian-Polish relations 1914–1917. After passing his doctoral oral examinations, he began work on his dissertation on German policy in occupied Russia during World War II.

In 1950 Clyde Kluckhohn, the distinguished anthropologist and director of the Project on the

Soviet Social System at Harvard University's Russian Research Center, invited Alex to join the project together with Alexander Inkeles, Michael Luther, Joseph Berliner, and other outstanding social scientists. The research team was sent to Munich to interview Soviet refugees in displaced persons camps. This was one of several projects that helped define the new interdisciplinary organization of knowledge known as area studies. He returned to the US in 1951 to the position of Associate Director of the Research Program on the USSR in New York and finished his doctoral degree at Columbia in 1953. Next he was appointed director of research at the War Documentation Project in Washington, DC, where he read and analyzed many documents that would significantly enrich his future book, *Russia under German Rule, 1941–1945* (first published in 1957, republished in 1981), which won the Wolfson Prize in History and remains a classic after nearly 50 years.

In 1956 Alex was appointed to the faculty of Columbia University as an assistant professor in international relations, was quickly promoted to associate and full professor; in 1965 he was appointed the Adlai Stevenson Professor of International Relations. Alex brought his careful scholarly training to contemporary problems of American foreign policy; among his most frequent topics were Soviet international behavior, international communism, and US-Soviet relations: *The Soviet Union at the United Nations* (1960), *Diversity in International Communism* (1963), and *The Soviet Union and Disarmament* (1965).

He also served as director of the Russian Institute (now Harriman Institute) from 1962 to 1967 and acting director of the Research Institute of Communist Affairs. The 1968 crisis at Columbia University found Alex a member of the Executive Committee of the Faculty and

of the Faculty Senate; he tried to mediate between the student demonstrators and the administration, urging political negotiations and opposing the use of force on both sides. His efforts led to embittered relations with many colleagues and former friends, but he helped author a set of recommendations that led to an administrative restructuring at Columbia which helped the university to begin to recover from the violent upheavals. Out of opposition to the war in Vietnam, he resigned his positions as consultant to the US government.

After spending 1970–71 as a visiting scholar at the Center for Advanced Study in Behavioral Sciences at Stanford University in California, Alex was offered a position at the University as Professor of History and Political Science, with a shared appointment at the Hoover Institution. From his new California base, he continued to teach, write, and contribute to the building of national and international area studies. He served as director of the Stanford University Center for Russian and East European Studies (1985–89; 1992–94). He was a member of all the major research funding committees in the field, including IREX, when it was still known as the Inter-University Committee on Travel Grants (1960–66), and served as first Chairman of the Board (1978–80) of the National Council for Soviet and East European Research (today's NCEEER). He was elected President of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (1984–85), after having earlier served as President of the Western Slavic Association (1978–80) and Program Chairman for the AAASS National Convention in Asilomar, California (1981). During a difficult period in US-Soviet relations (1983–84), Alex co-chaired the Fifth Soviet-American Historical Colloquium, jointly sponsored by the American Historical Association and the Academy of Science of the USSR. After the end of the Soviet Union, Alex joined the organizing committee for the European University in

St. Petersburg and oversaw the New Democracy Fellows Program, which offered students from the post-Soviet states the opportunity to pursue graduate education in the social sciences at Stanford.

He continued his scholarship, in works like *Black Box: KAL 007 and the Superpowers* (1985). In these books, many important edited works and conference chapters, Alex was constantly engaged in the foreign policy debates of his day, as he was through his membership in the Council on Foreign Relations and Amnesty International. Most of the volumes he edited were the results of conferences he had helped to organize. His extensive international contacts and insistence on hearing all sides of the question meant that these conferences more often than not brought American scholars in contact with their European and Soviet/Russian counterparts. He eagerly sought out collaborative authorship and editorship because he welcomed the challenge of learning something new. Together with Gail Lapidus and Dorothy Atkinson, he co-edited one of the first important collections on *Women in Russia* (1977); with Condoleezza Rice, he co-edited *The Gorbachev Era* (1986). The Yale University Press Annals of Communism series published *Dimitrov and Stalin 1934-43: Letters from the Soviet Archives*, which he co-edited with the Russian scholar F. I. Firsov; just months before his death, series editor Jonathan Brent persuaded Alex to edit a companion volume to the Annals series, "A Guide to Soviet History." Characteristically, Alex's partner in this venture was to have been Alexander Chubarian, Director of the Institute of World History (Russian Academy of Science).

Alexander Dallin died July 22, 2000, on the eve of his departure for the VI World Congress for Central and East European Studies in Tampere, Finland; there he

was scheduled to take part in two panels, one of them a blue-ribbon concluding plenary session, "The Path of Russia." The Congress opened with a moment of silence in Alex's honor; Alex was past President of the host organization, earlier known as the International Council for Soviet and East European Studies (1985–90) and presided over the Third Congress which convened in Washington, D.C. in October-November 1985. Alex Dallin's involvement with ICCEES was characteristic of his active engagement in several important scholarly institutions, an engagement that grew out of his sense of public or professional service and out of his remarkably sustained commitment to the common interests of the American and international scholarly communities.

Finally, Alex's contribution to scholarship can be seen in many other of his activities. He served on several editorial boards, student and faculty exchange programs, waged battles to assure adequate support for area studies in major university libraries, and oversaw *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, an invaluable resource for scholars of contemporary Soviet affairs.

His commitment to public service in the field engaged him in numerous departmental and university committees, and he did so with a sense of obligation and integrity that has earned him the title of a true citizen of the international scholarly community.

—Mark von Hagen

*Note: I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Alex Dallin's widow, Professor Gail Lapidus (Stanford), in providing much of the biographical information for the early part of this essay.*

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# Manfred Kridl

(1882–1957)



I entered Columbia University's Department of Slavic Languages as a graduate student in the fall of 1951. My purpose was to study Russian language, literature, politics, and culture, and Columbia, with its large Department and its well-known Russian Institute, seemed the right place for me to go. The fact that three of my teachers at Dartmouth College were graduates of this program undoubtedly influenced my decision. The Cold War was at its height, Stalin was at his beastliest, and interesting careers, particularly in teaching and government service, were opening up for people who did not have to live in the Soviet bloc. Although I really knew very little about Russia beyond what survey courses had provided, and had not yet achieved proficiency in the language, I was willing to work hard. Ernest J. Simmons, the Chairman of the Slavic Department, and Philip E. Mosely, the Director of the Russian Institute (now the Harriman), made it clear that all of my willingness would be called upon.

The size and notoriety of the Soviet Union, and the exigencies of the job market, driven as it was by the Cold War, meant that virtually all of us in the Slavic

Department went into Russian. Still, even for budding Russianists the Department tried to honor its official name by requiring us to acquire a working knowledge of one of the "second Slavic languages," as they were somewhat condescendingly called. This meant a semester of Old Church Slavonic, and two years of Czech or Polish or Serbo-Croatian, in addition to several courses in the corresponding literature. Only if you were a student in the linguistics program would you be likely to come into superficial contact with, say, Bulgarian, Wendish, Ukrainian, or Slovene. The question that faced the entering student was which of these languages to study. Seemingly, one could not go wrong with any. Their rudiments were entrusted to experienced part-time instructors, and their literatures and cultures were professed by recognized scholars: Czech and Slovak by William E. Harkins; Polish by Manfred Kridl; and Serbo-Croatian by Gojko Ruzičić.

In my time at Dartmouth, the only Slavic language taught was Russian. That suited those of us who had developed an interest in Eastern Europe. Of course, we knew that the recent European war had erupted largely because of the betrayal of Czechoslovakia and the support of Poland by the Western democracies. We knew, too, that the Slavic lands once again lay under a brutal dictatorship. But we were far more interested in large countries and powerful rulers than in their victims. Even the events of 1948 we saw in terms of Soviet expansionism and American response, without worrying too much about the impact on the smaller peoples who were directly affected. Had I realized then that size is purely a geopolitical idea, and bears no necessary relation to achievement, that, for example, the glories of Elizabethan English literature sprang from a population base of no more than 2.5 million people, I might have paused to reflect on the fallacy of bigness to which we were all prone, perhaps as a result of being teen-age Americans at that particular time in history. We all

knew the names of famous Poles, of course—Chopin, Wieniawski, Paderewski, Madam Curie, Rodziński—but regarded them as belonging to the world, not any particular nation. If asked to list famous Czechs or Serbs or Bulgarians, we might have come up with one or two names at best. I suspect that we were in this respect typical of students in eastern American colleges in the 1940s and early 1950s.

Yet I felt drawn to Polish. Undoubtedly I was struck by the fact that of the three tenured teachers of non-Russian Slavic literatures Manfred Kridl occupied the only chair, which gave him the imposing title of the Adam Mickiewicz Professor of Polish Studies. (The Masaryk chair of Czech had lapsed when Roman Jakobson went to Harvard.) But I think that my choice rested on sturdier foundations. Even before I registered at Columbia, I had been told, though I don't remember by whom, that Polish would be especially appealing to anyone interested in poetry. That described me well. Besides, I actually knew the names of Mickiewicz and Kochanowski, although I had read none of their works, whereas I could not have identified anyone writing in Czech or Serbo-Croatian.

Going back in my life even farther, I vividly remembered the German invasion of Poland, when I was nine, and the way in which father tried to make a history lesson of it. This was, he said, the latest of many attempts, beginning in the eighteenth century, to annihilate the Polish nation. But the people had preserved their language and their culture nonetheless, and these, he insisted, were what really make a nation. I had already been sensitized to this argument because it was identical to the way he presented Irish history to me. "Irishmen never give up," he had told me again and again. On this occasion he drew a parallel between these two great but oppressed peoples of Europe. That

it was a shaky parallel I did not discover until much later, when I learned, to my shock, that the Irish had all but abandoned their language, whereas the Poles had clung to theirs. Such tenacity invested the language with almost magic properties.

I began my study of Polish in September of 1951. The instructor was Dr. Ludwik Krzyżanowski. His task was not enviable, for he had to deal with two different orders of preconception. One was embodied in the handful of Polish-Americans in the class, who already spoke the language to some extent, but, as he saw it, had been hopelessly corrupted by exposure to what he dismissed as "parochial school Polish." For the other, much larger group, his hopes ran somewhat higher. It consisted of graduate students like myself who already knew quite a bit of Russian, and assumed that a minimum of effort would open the doors to fluency in Polish. We were soon disabused of this misconception. Along with the grammar lessons, which presented the spectacle of a language considerably more complex than Russian, Krzyżanowski began to throw us large chunks of Polish poetry, often taken from an anthology picturesquely entitled *Kwiaty polskie*, if memory serves. What compensated for the discouragement of having to look up every second or third word was Krzyżanowski's skill in reading these poems aloud. The sounds of the language took on a beauty that was utterly lacking in my own stammering efforts, and the lines became imbued with a life and energy that gave us the sense of a vital whole, and almost persuaded us that it was not really necessary to bother with individual lexical units whose meaning was unfamiliar. We managed to keep our heads above water until, in the second year of the course, Krzyżanowski assigned much of *Pan Tadeusz*, followed by Prus's *Lalka* in its entirety. I was not alone in finding these works a formidable challenge. But I read Polish well enough by then to intuit their greatness, and I was determined to rise to the challenge. It was

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then that my interest in Polish culture blossomed, and I began to look forward to the more advanced courses offered by Professor Kridl.

The first was devoted to the topic of Modern Slavic Literary Theories. We were immediately impressed by Kridl, and, though we would not admit it to each other, somewhat intimidated. He seemed considerably older than most of his colleagues (I was later to discover that he was about seventy), and, with his slender, erect bearing, elegantly hooked nose, and toothbrush mustache, might have been taken for a high-ranking British cavalry officer. His classes consisted of lectures, which were beautifully organized, tightly woven, clearly articulated structures. They were conducted in English, a language that Kridl spoke with a heavy but quite understandable accent, and at a tempo slow enough to enable us to write down virtually every word. There was no question of “class discussion,” that darling of today’s university administrators. We would not have known what to “discuss.” Questions were entertained, and responded to succinctly; but we were perfectly content to listen, write, and learn.

We knew that he was a famous scholar—the chair he held suggested as much—but in our ignorance of the higher reaches of Academe, we did not know what he was famous for. Nor did we know anything about his life outside the classroom, and we dared not ask, although I am sure that he would have responded with the courtesy and modesty we soon learned to cherish in him. Finding out more about this imposing figure became a small research project in itself. Some of us went to look him up in the card catalogues of the New York Public Library and Columbia’s Butler Library. Some of us also became friendly with his daughter, Elizabeth Kridl Valkenier, a recent graduate of Smith and Yale, who had settled in the Columbia area (where she still lives) and had begun

working in the Soviet and East European field. She was as diffident about her father as he was about himself, but as we got to know her, we began to see something in him of the serious, enthusiastic, and fun-loving way in which she lived the life of the mind.

Kridl was born in Lwów on October 11, 1882, to a Polish mother and a Czech officer of the Austro-Hungarian Army. After completing his secondary-school studies at the Realna Szkoła, he attended the University of Lwów from 1902 through 1906, where he concentrated on Polish and French philology. These subjects were deepened by a period of study in Freiburg, Switzerland, and in 1909 they yielded a dissertation entitled *Mickiewicz i Lamennais. Studium porównawcze* (Mickiewicz and Lamennais. A Comparative Study), which earned him a doctorate. His scholarly career was interrupted by service in the Austro-Hungarian Army during World War I. From 1907 into the 1920s, he taught in various secondary schools in Warsaw, and completed his postdoctoral studies (habilitacja) at the University in that city with a dissertation entitled *Antagonizm wieszczów. Rzecz o stosunku Słowackiego do Mickiewicza* (An Antagonism of Bards. Concerning the Relationship of Słowacki to Mickiewicz), which was published in 1925. Between 1928 and 1932, he held an appointment in the Department of Slavic Languages at the University of Brussels. Soon after his return to Poland, he was named Professor of the History of Polish Literature at the University of Wilno, where he also served as Dean of Humanities (1934–35), and Deputy Pro-Rector (1935–36). Shortly after the outbreak of World War II, when scholarly and administrative personnel of Polish origin were being dismissed from the University by the new Lithuanian-Soviet rulers, Kridl departed, to settle first in Belgium and France, and then permanently in the United States. There he was joined in 1941 by his wife and two children. Between 1940 and 1948, he taught Polish language and literature at Smith



College. In 1948, he moved to Columbia University to take up the newly established Adam Mickiewicz Chair. The fact that it was funded by the Communist government of Poland created some personal unpleasantness for him, but he occupied it with courage and distinction until his retirement in 1955. Even after stepping down, he continued to offer at least one course in Polish literature each semester, until his death on February 4, 1957.

Kridl began to publish in 1908, while still a student, and remained a prolific scholar to the end of his life. The sheer quantity and range of his work is enormous. Even if I had been able to read all of it, there would be no way of accounting for it here, or even listing the titles. But it does reveal, as any large body of writing is bound to do, certain persistent themes, and emphases. They might look something like the following: (1) Studies of individual authors, notably Słowacki and Mickiewicz, as well as editions of their works; (2) Histories of literary criticism, such as *Krytyka i krytycy* (Criticism and Critics, Warsaw, 1923); (3) Histories of literature, like *Główne prądy literatury europejskiej* (Klasycyzm, romantyzm, epoka poromantyczna) (Main Currents of European Literature [Classicism, Romanticism, the Post-Romantic

Age], Warsaw, 1931); (4) Literary theory, especially *Wstęp do badań nad dziełem literackim* (Introduction to the Study of Literary Works), which was published in 1936 in Wilno, and reprinted in Würzburg; (5) Works having no direct or apparent connection to his main areas of specialization. The most important of these was an historical anthology on the themes of human rights, individual liberties, and opposition to various forms of tyranny, co-edited with Władysław Malinowski and Józef Wittlin, and entitled *For Your Freedom and Ours. Polish Progressive Spirit Through the Centuries* (New York, 1943; revised and enlarged edition, New York, 1981). I should add that over the years he contributed, as author and editor, to many journals that were aimed at a wider audience, and designed several of his books for use in schools. He firmly believed that a scholar has an obligation to non-specialists as well.

Two of these areas of expertise touched me immediately, and had an enormous influence on my professional and personal life. A third was to make itself felt only much later.

The first was theory of literature. Although I was more or less adept at various ways of approaching texts, I had never made any systematic study of theory as a subject in its own right until I took Professor Kridl's course on Modern Slavic Literary Theories in my second



Manfred Kridl on a picnic with his  
students from Wilno University (1934).  
Kridl is standing right of center,  
dressed in coat and tie. Behind Kridl,  
with the kerchief on his head and  
hands in front of his mouth,  
stands the future Nobel laureate,  
Czeslaw Milosz

year of graduate school. There he showed us how each of the national cultures had made its own, unique contribution to an intellectual enterprise that was far larger than any of its constituents, and how, in turn, Slavic thinkers could best be understood by comparison and contrast with those of Western Europe and America. It was really a course in comparative literature, as all of Kridl's courses tended to be. To us skeptical students it provided confirmation of the Department's wisdom in requiring at least one "other" Slavic language, in addition to a good reading knowledge of French and German. Since there were no readily accessible textbooks on the subject in those pre-Xerox days, the course relied heavily on Kridl's summaries and analyses of the various figures, ideas, and approaches. I have saved these notes, and I must say that forty years later, when I know far more about the subject than I did then, they still seem fresh and stimulating, and I realize that they have helped me fashion scholarly tools that have served me well.

Among other things, the course helped us discover that the idea of a "Slavic world" was an old one. Its leading proponent at the time was Dmitry Chizhevsky, a professor at Harvard. In 1952 he published *Outline of Comparative Slavic Literatures*, the first (and last) volume of a projected *Survey of Slavic Civilization*. Here he argued, not always convincingly, that certain periods and movements manifest "traits which are common to all the works and writers," as in the Baroque, Romanticism, and Symbolism. Kridl would have sympathized with Chizhevsky's impulses. But his methods were more rigorous, and therefore sounder than those of his colleague to the north, who often relied on impressions rather than solid analysis. Much of the course was devoted to one great international twentieth-century system of thought which, under different names, originated in the Slavic world: Russian Formalism, Czech

Structuralism, and Polish Integralism. In the person of Manfred Kridl, we had before us the leading proponent of this last school. It is the subject of his book *Wstęp do badań nad dziełem literackim*. Although clearly written, like all Kridl's works, it lay beyond my grasp of Polish at the time. Fortunately, he summed up its main points in an article published in *Comparative Literature* (1951), entitled "The Integral Method of Literary Scholarship: Theses for Discussion." Here we see the essence of Kridl's view of the business that should properly occupy scholars and critics of literature. He starts out very much in the spirit of the times by observing that the study of literature lacks "generally acknowledged methodological principles," "a strictly defined subject," and "defined ends." There is need, then, for "a really adequate literary discipline," which will begin by acknowledging that "a literary work, exactly defined, is the central subject of literary scholarship." Such a definition recognizes, among other things, that works of art are "organic unities in which all constituent elements perform their specific, although not always equal function." The critic's job is to identify, describe and analyze those functions, in their interrelationships, remembering always that "artistic truth" is to be judged not by "life," but by "artistic motivation and artistic verisimilitude." In seven "theses," Kridl outlines a methodology, which amounts to an investigation, "strictly and solely," of "those specific literary properties which distinguish literary works from all others"; a focus on the works themselves, not on the life or "psychology" of their authors; a study of "the work in its final form," with no concern for the ways it came into existence; and a constant awareness that literature is "fiction, generalization, and vision," not an historical or social document, or an expression of "empirical reality" or of "ideas" and "philosophies" extrinsic to a given work.

These ideas were not startling to Americans who had been trained in the study of literature in the 1940s and early 1950s. The reigning ideology in universities in

What remains indelibly,  
however, is my memory of Kridl's  
constant awareness of the scholar's  
high responsibility for helping  
readers engage a literary text  
with greater understanding, while  
mindful that the text itself is the  
ultimate authority.

those days was so-called "New Criticism," which could be loosely called the American version of Formalism. Like its ancestor, it has now been declared *passé* as a critical methodology. But considering the state of "literary" studies in the waning years of our century, when talk of the autonomous existence of the work of art is often dismissed as fatuous posturing or elitism, when the "feelings" of the critic are often accorded primacy over what is actually contained in the text he purports to be dealing with, when it sometimes seems that "anything goes," are we not entitled to ask the same question Kridl asked, more than sixty years ago: "Is a discipline dealing with everything possible?" I suspect that our answer now, as then, must be that there is once more an urgent need for the kind of rigor proposed by Kridl, if we are not simply to write off literary studies as a waste of time and energy.

To see how Kridl would apply these views of the literary process to the study of specific works, I had to wait until 1956, when I returned to Columbia after three years of military service. Besides a course on Polish history, and one on "contemporary" (that is, Communist) East European political systems, I signed up for Kridl's survey of Polish literature. It was organized around his own *Anthology of Polish Literature*, which had recently been published by Columbia University Press, with texts in Polish, and commentary and explanatory notes in English. The volume ran to a hefty 625 pages. It represented the work of fifty-eight writers, from medieval times through the end of World War II. In the class, as in the book, Kridl emphasized that he was operating on the principle of *non multa sed multum*, "quality over quantity," including as he did only a fraction of the possible candidates in the enormously rich thousand-year span of Polish literature. With a few exceptions, non-poetic and non-fictional genres like essays and sermons were

omitted, not only in the interest of space, but also, I suspect, in keeping with his view of the proper object of literary study. Even then, the book emphasized poetry, since that was where, in his opinion, the true genius of Polish literature lay. I cannot say that the course taught me how to read poetry. That was a skill I had developed, if not honed, in my studies of the English and French poets while still an undergraduate. But it did show me that analytical prowess can go only so far in the tricky business of interpreting literary texts. For me this poetry had an entirely different "feel" from anything I had read in any other language. Now that I had developed some facility in the language, I was struck, as never before, by the sense of high seriousness embedded in the poems, the refusal of the kind of self-preoccupation that is the curse of so much contemporary Anglo-American versifying, the celebration of ordinary things and experiences as valuable in themselves. Although Kridl insisted that the poems must be read as literary artifacts, not as political and social statements, he helped us, perhaps unwittingly, to see that poetry had expressed and formed the values of the Polish mind like nothing else, and was thus, inescapably, larger than itself.

This should have told us that his Integralism was broader than it appeared to be. Confirmation came only many years later, when I began to discover that he had always taken an active interest in the political and social problems of his time, and was as uncompromising when he met with instances of injustice as he was when defending the integrity of literary texts. A far from complete accounting of his extracurricular activities would include his co-founding and chairing the Democratic Club (Klub Demokratyczny) of Wilno in 1938, which soon developed into the Stronnictwo Demokratyczne (Democratic Party) in Warsaw, which he served as co-vice-president. From these vantage points he spoke out against the oppression of the Lithuanian and Byelorussian minorities in Poland, and against

the persecution of the Polish minority in Lithuania. At about the same time, he publicly defended students in Wilno who had been charged with Communist activities and brought to trial. With the coming of World War II, he worked for the Komitet Pomocy Uchodźcom (Polish Committee in Aid of Refugees). An article he wrote in 1937 and published in *Wiadomości Literackie* (No. 731) brought him particular notoriety. Entitled “Przypomnienie starych i prostych prawd” (A Reminder of Old and Simple Truths), it registered a strong protest against the rising tide of anti-Semitism in Poland. For a non-Jew to speak out as bluntly as he did, considerable moral courage was required, and he endured much unpleasantness as a result. Characteristically, he gave flesh to his convictions by refusing to honor the practice of segregating Catholic and Jewish students at University lectures. As far as I recall, he never even hinted to us that he expected writers, critics and students to be political and social activists. But such an expectation might have been implicit in his assumption that literature represented the highest ideals of which human beings were capable, and that those ideals should inform every aspect of one’s life and impel one to defend and uphold them against baser impulses. If so, it was an assumption that many of us shared, formed as we had been by the classics-based curriculum that dominated much of secondary education in the United States and Britain until the end of World War II.

Kridl was indirectly responsible for my learning another lesson. We all knew the names of certain writers who had started their careers in Europe and then sought refuge in the United States. Thomas Mann was one of the most widely read at the time. But we gave little thought to what such linguistic and cultural uprooting might mean. After all, as Americans we all had émigré forebears, most of whom had adapted themselves to

our national ways unquestioningly and efficiently. We soon discovered that many distinguished Polish writers had experienced expatriation too. Recently Tuwim had lived in New York, and Lechoń had occupied a room on 114th Street, between Amsterdam Avenue and Broadway, in the heart of the Columbia community. But Kridl seemed as untouched as his students by the phenomenon of exile, to judge by the little biographical sketches in the *Anthology*, which were silent on the matter. He regarded Polish literature as a unified whole, regardless of geography. That was hardly surprising, given his emphasis on the text itself, regardless of the circumstances of its genesis. Nonetheless, the question was brought vividly home to me when I met Józef Wittlin, in 1956 or 1957. Kridl was a close personal friend of his, and had often spoken warmly of him as a major Polish writer who was best known for his fiction, especially a novel entitled *Sól ziemi* (The Salt of the Earth), but who had also produced a single volume of poetry, *Hymny* (1920), which made him “an essential and important figure in any complete picture of the period,” as a note in the *Anthology* put it by way of introduction to the two poems that were included. One day Kridl invited a couple of students to accompany him to what I remember as a tea at Wittlin’s apartment in upper Manhattan. Why I was so favored I cannot say. I had never actually met a Polish writer. I was prepared for drama and color, partly because Poland was still for me a land of reckless idealists, as I had learned at age nine when I read accounts of cavalry attacks mounted against invading German tanks. Wittlin struck me as a mild-mannered, ordinary-looking elderly man. I do not remember what he talked about. But I do remember wondering, for the first time, how any writer can work once he is removed from daily living contact with his native tongue, and, if he can, whether the results bear any recognizable marks of exile. Or does his work remain part of the national literature as a whole, which can be created wherever

writers happen to live? I sensed, too, that these issues, though simple to state, were really very complex, regardless of the writer's country of origin.

I was too shy to ask Wittlin about his own experience. Of course I could have asked Kridl about himself, but I thought that would be presumptuous. Many years later I looked up his entry in the *Polish Biographical Dictionary*, and found the statement that life in emigration had been difficult for him ("Pobyt na emigracji przeżywał K.[ridl] ciężko"), evidence of which was to be found "in his correspondence." I must say that I never detected any expression of it in his dealings with students. Bitterness and regret were as foreign to his public self as was chauvinism. On the face of it, he had made a smooth adjustment to scholarly life in the United States. He was beginning to reach out again to non-specialist audiences with a number of publications in English. Besides the article on Integralism, the *Anthology of Polish Literature*, and the collection *For Your Freedom and Ours*, he edited and contributed to a volume entitled *Adam Mickiewicz, Poet of Poland. A Symposium* (1951), and prepared an English version of his earlier monograph on Słowacki, which appeared posthumously as *The Lyric Poems of Juliusz Słowacki* (1958). It was not until the last year of his life that we students had any inkling of his personal difficulties, and they had nothing to do with his expatriation. By the beginning of the first semester of the 1956–57 academic year, it had become plain that he was very ill. No longer was he able to meet his classes at the University. We would go to his apartment at 423 West 120th Street (a building in which I later lived), and take our seats around the dining room table. His now wasted body was confined to a wheelchair, but his voice remained firm, his mind as keen as ever, his energies apparently unflagging during the two-hour session. But

he never complained, or made the slightest reference to his debilitated condition. He died approximately a month after the end of the first semester.

In the forty years that have passed since his death, many of the details of his courses have faded. What remains indelibly, however, is my memory of Kridl's constant awareness of the scholar's high responsibility for helping readers engage a literary text with greater understanding, while mindful that the text itself is the ultimate authority. I think it was from him that I first heard Freud's famous observation, which I later found in the essay "Dostoevsky and Parricide": "before the problem of the creative artist analysis must, alas, lay down its arms." Freud was probably referring specifically to psychoanalysis, but given his strong interest in the work of writers, he undoubtedly had literary analysis in mind as well. Even deeper-rooted, perhaps, is my association of Kridl's life and work with intellectual integrity, moral courage, and dedication to the kind of values that enrich an individual regardless of nationality, class, or profession.

—Robert A. Maguire

*Robert A. Maguire, a graduate of the Russian Institute and the Columbia Slavic Department, taught at Columbia from 1962 until his retirement in 2003 as Bakhmeteff Professor of Russian Studies. In addition to his many translations of Russian literature, including Gogol's "Dead Souls" and Bely's "Petersburg," he translated a great deal from Polish, including the first book-length translation of the poetry of Wysława Szymborska (1979), long before she was awarded the Nobel Prize.*

*Reprinted, with the editor's permission, from Between Lvov, New York and Ulysses' Ithaca: Józef Wittlin—Poet, Essayist, Novelist, edited by Anna Frajlich (Torun: Nicholas Copernicus University, 2001).*



## Edward Allworth



**Three things, more than anything** else, personify Edward Allworth. First and foremost, his fatherhood of Central Asian studies in the United States, a role that he assumed with grace as he helped create and then sustain the field before it had become fashionable and long after the media spotlight moved away from the conflicts and drug trade of the region. Second, his dedication to students, starting with those of his alma mater, Columbia University, and extending far beyond through his tireless production of major textbooks and reference books that rest dog-eared on bookshelves from Tashkent to Kentucky. Third, his insistence on cultural history as the underlying field that could explain behavior in various disciplines: political science, sociology, even international relations. He defended cultural history during the Cold War when the pressure was to focus on political and economic questions, and defended it again in the post-Soviet period when the focus turned to geopolitics and transition models. In the true spirit of enlightenment, he believed and continues to believe in the role of intellectuals against all odds. When it was tempting for students of Central Asian studies in the U.S. to go work for radio stations beaming Cold War propaganda into Soviet space, or for oil companies and international organizations after the break-up, he would have them follow his own example: You are cultural historians; this is a field of passion, if not a money-making venture.

His long-standing contribution to Columbia University, where he defended his dissertation in 1959, spanned decades of teaching a wide variety of courses on Central Asian studies, including language, literature, history and politics, and culminated in 1984 when he established a Center at what was then the Department of Middle East Languages and Cultures to focus on the study of contemporary Central Asia. With his retirement, Central Asian studies at Columbia University went into a hiatus with the termination of Master's and Doctoral

degrees on the subject. Yet his contributions have not abated. In December 2001, Allworth's former students organized a conference to honor his career at Columbia University's Middle East and Asian Languages and Cultures Department and at the Harriman Institute as the Professor of Turco-Soviet Studies and the founder of the Soviet Nationalities Program.

Allworth's Central Asia was not limited to what the lazy press now calls "the stans" (that is, the five republics of Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan), but of a broader area made up of Afghanistan, western China and the south-central part of what was then the Soviet Union. He sometimes called this region with nostalgia by a historic term many of us did not agree would do justice to historical dynamics, i.e., "Turkestan." He warned the press in 1990, for example, that "very soon, developments in Turkestan will increasingly affect nearby regions." That the rumblings in this part of the world had to be taken seriously proved to be only too true. That the region was united by its Turkic past was perhaps more indicative of some Western nations' aspirations than contemporary reality. Political predictions aside, Allworth can only be commended for his unparalleled contribution to unearthing the beauty of the culture and history of the region and exposing it to the Western world, in ways that only he could accomplish.

Over time he became a monumental store of knowledge on all manner of topics dealing with Central Asia—there is literally something for everyone. The novice interested in Central Asia will turn to Allworth's succinct summaries in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. The more advanced student will not fail to own a copy of at least one of the three editions of *Central Asia, a 100/120/130 Years of Dominance* or his *The Modern*

*Uzbeks: From the Fourteenth Century to the Present: A Cultural History* (1989). Allworth launched a Central Asia Book Series at Duke University Press with Professors Andras Bodrogligeti of UCLA and Richard Frye of Harvard as Advisory Editors and administers the Central Asian Book Series Fund. The changing political scene and attention on the region did not leave Edward Allworth idle: He kept up with the times by editing and updating his monumental book *Central Asia, (an increasing X) Years of Russian Dominance: A Historical Overview*, with the X first appearing as "100 years" (first edition, Columbia University Press, 1967), then "120 years" (second edition, Duke University Press, 1989), and "finally 130" (third edition, Duke, 1994), each edition updating the material with the constantly changing contemporary events in revised prefaces and new chapters.

Throughout the 1960s and 70s, Edward Allworth spent his energies on the meticulous study and publication of archival materials and bibliographies on what was then termed the "nationalities of the Soviet East." In 1971 he published with Columbia University Press a bibliographical directory and transliteration table for Iranian and Turkic language publications from 1818 to 1945 located in U.S. Libraries. In 1975 he published a compilation of social science and humanities sources on the Iranian, Mongol, and Turkic nationalities, as well as an essay on the publications available at the New York Public Library, to which he donated his own personal collection in the mid-1990s.

Besides compiling bibliographies and publishing reference books on Central Asia, he contributed to the field through his own passions. First, his passion for languages and writing systems. He defended the Chaghatay language, the fifteenth-century pre-Uzbek language which he taught to his students. He defended the Tatar language from cultural domination in the Soviet Union, and he defended Tajik as a language

Edward Allworth viewed current events through the eyes of history and the ideals people held rather than their actions.

separate from Farsi in his tireless attempts to maintain that the space created in Central Asia was more than an intersection of different cultures. His parallel passion for literature dates back to his own Ph.D. dissertation at Columbia University, which resulted in his first book publication in 1964—*Uzbek Literary Politics*. He is to be credited for teaching courses in Central Asian literature that did not focus solely on contemporary writers such as the Kyrgyz Chengiz Aitmatov, but also, and perhaps especially, for unearthing the gems of early twentieth-century Central Asian reformist writers such as Abdalrauf Fitrat, whose literary devices became the subject of a book he published in 2002. His own device was that of exposing literature as a mirror of the cultural and historical legacy of contemporary Uzbek and Tajik society and to analyze how this space interacted with the external world.

Of all the cultural figures he chose to bring to life from the archives, Edward Allworth is most closely mirrored by the personality of Muhammad Sharif Sadr-i Ziya, the patron of belles lettres, who, during his twenty-seven-year career as judge and then chief justice in early twentieth-century Bukhara and its provinces, was a meticulous archivist of poets and politicians of his time. Over a period of ten years Professor Allworth and I, a former student, collaborated on a project that brought into print the translation of Sadr-i Ziya's diary the *Ruznama* (Diary) in English (2004). The translation was undertaken by Sadr-i Ziya's grandson, Rustam Shukurov, Professor of Byzantine History at Moscow State University, with commentary by the intellectual's own son, Professor Muhammadjon Shakuri, a distinguished academician in his own right and Head of the Department of Modern Tajik Literature at the Institute of Language and Literature of the Tajik Academy of Sciences. Like Sadr-i Ziya, although a century removed,

Edward Allworth viewed current events through the eyes of history and the ideals people held rather than their actions. It remains to be seen if Allworth is also keeping a secret diary that future generations will translate into Uzbek and Tajik.

Allworth epitomized the cultural historian throughout his long career, but that was not his only field of expertise. The basic premise of his intellectual and moral interest in Central Asia was his defense of Soviet ethnic nationalities, the underdog in the underbelly of the Soviet Union. Allworth devoted many of his publications in the 1970s to the “nationality question” in Soviet Central Asia (Praeger, 1973) or the “Soviet nationality problem” (Columbia University Press, 1971), edited volumes he produced based on papers from research seminars. Much of his work is colored by his preoccupation with the dilemma of dominance, a dilemma that led him to examine not only the precarious situation of Central Asians, but also of the Baltic peoples (for example, in *Nationality Group Survival in Multi-Ethnic States: Shifting Support Patterns in the Soviet Baltic Region* [Praeger, 1977]) and even of ethnic Russians (*Ethnic Russia in the USSR: the Dilemma of Dominance* [Pergamon 1980]). But Allworth evinced a particular sympathy for the Tatars of Crimea, whose struggle for survival he examined in an edited volume in 1988 before the break-up of the Soviet Union, and ten years later, in a second edition in 1998 which gave an update on the experience of their return to the “homeland.”

In 1998, Professor Allworth co-edited a major reference book on *Nation-Building in the Post-Soviet Borderlands: The Politics of National Identities* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), in which the authors attempted to shed light on the nature and transformation of national identities in the successor states and how national and ethnic identities were being reformed in the post-Soviet borderland states. Here

as elsewhere, Allworth stressed the persistence of traditional multiethnic trends in the region, in contrast to the ethnic polarization in the Caucasus region. He studied the revival of local heroes and historical myths, and the efforts to create historiography in the post-communist era, including how politicians influenced historical myths and interpretations. For Allworth, all the presidents of Central Asia in the 1990s offered themselves, as Stalin had done before them, as the leading thinkers in their countries, thus attempting to transfuse their politics into the realm of thought. Forever a teacher, Allworth continued to hope that the early twentieth-century Jadid reformist movement would offer good lessons for these Central Asian politicians, lessons that he sought to raise in a lecture he delivered in February 2004 at Columbia University.

Finally, no biography of Edward Allworth would be complete without mentioning his wife Janet. The gentle woman who accompanied her husband everywhere, including the year he lived in Istanbul as a research fellow, who gently knew the details of all the students, the state of both their dissertations and their personal lives, and who helped her husband produce the indices for the many books he wrote. When Professor Allworth would wake his students by calling them on Saturday mornings at 9:00 a.m. to remind them to work on their dissertation, we always knew that it was Mrs. Allworth who had set the alarm and that she had already given him his coffee.

—Shahrbanou Tadjbakhsh

*Shahrbanou Tadjbakhsh received her Ph.D. in the Department of Middle East and Asian Languages and Cultures in 1994. She holds a Harriman Institute Certificate and was an Institute Research Fellow for the years 2003–04. A former Adjunct Lecturer in the School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University, Tadjbakhsh is now Lecturer at Sciences Po, Paris, and Director of the Center for Peace and Human Security.*







# Peter Serenyi

M.A. International Affairs, 2003



In 2003 I graduated from Columbia with a master's degree in International Affairs. At the Harriman Institute I focused on the economics, politics, and history of Central Europe and the former Soviet Union. In 2004 I earned a Harriman Certificate after writing an analysis of Hungary's Millennial Festival of 1896.

My grandfather, Istvan Kertesz, a Hungarian diplomat who led his country's delegation at the Paris Peace Conference of 1946, inspired my interest in Central Europe and the former Soviet Union. Fascinated by the competing ideologies of communism and capitalism, I studied Russian in college and moved to Moscow a year after graduating from Washington University in 1992.

In Russia I worked as a journalist for *Moscow News* and the *Moscow Times*. At that time Russia was the "Wild East"; business was booming. I wrote stories on such people as Vladimir Brunsalov, a gun-toting oligarch who was running against Boris Yeltsin for president. I also covered the stock market, the oil industry and the summit between Bill Clinton and Boris Yeltsin in 1995.

After two years in Russia I decided to explore my Hungarian roots. In June 1996 I moved to

Budapest to learn Hungarian and work as a journalist. I became fluent in the language and wrote many articles, but by far my best move was finding my wife, Katalin.

After our wedding I was accepted to Columbia's School for International and Public Affairs, which also awarded me a Philip E. Mosely scholarship. Between my first and second years at Columbia I worked for the *Economist* in London, covering Eastern and Central Europe for the business and finance pages. For my second year The Harriman Institute awarded me a Pepsico Fellowship.

After graduating from Columbia—and just before the birth of my son, Sebastian—I got a job at the Bratislava Regional Centre of the UN Development Programme (UNDP). The Centre assists UNDP's 24 country offices in the region in strengthening democratic institutions, reducing poverty, and preserving the environment. Over 100 policy experts in Bratislava advise country offices on how to design programs that address the needs of the region.

My job is to edit the publications produced by the Centre and assist in promoting them in the media. With countries increasingly channeling their aid money to Africa, I help our communications team remind donor

countries that Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States still have many unresolved development challenges, from severe unemployment in the Western Balkans to African-levels of human development in Central Asia. These challenges will require our continued effort if the peoples of the region—particularly the poor and vulnerable—are to enjoy a more secure and prosperous life.

# Iveta Silova

Ph.D. in Comparative Education,  
Graduate School of Arts & Sciences, 2002



**My dissertation** and subsequent research was inspired by ideas from the first class I took at the Harriman Institute in the fall of 1999: the core colloquium “Legacies of Empire and the Soviet Union,” co-taught by Mark von Hagen and Catharine Nepomnyashchy. The dedication and enthusiasm of the professors and the students in the class had a lasting impact on my academic and professional development. Not only did Harriman Institute classes inspire me to investigate the complex issues surrounding the influence of Soviet legacies on educational transformations in the former socialist bloc, but they also grew into friendships and collaborations with colleagues across disciplines.

My current research focuses on the issues of globalization, education borrowing, and socialist legacies, as well as policies that address educational inequities (including immigrant/citizenship, gender, cultural, religious, and linguistic inequities) in the transformation processes of the former socialist bloc. My book *From Sites of Occupation to Symbols of Multiculturalism: Re-conceptualizing Minority Education in Post-Soviet Latvia* (published in the series Studies of the

Harriman Institute by Information Age Publishing, 2006) examines the impact of Soviet legacies on Latvia's minority education policies in the context of Latvian accession into the European Union. I am now co-editing a book on the role of international NGOs on civil society building in the Caucasus, Central Asia, and Mongolia. Using the Open Society Institute/Soros Foundations as a case-study, this book will document the “post-socialist educational reform package” (i.e., educational reforms that are strikingly similar throughout the region) and will reflect on the various OSI responses to education change (co-edited with Professor Steiner-Khamsi at Teachers College, Columbia University, and to be published by Kumarian Press in 2007). I have taught as Adjunct Professor at Teachers College, Columbia University, Visiting Professor at Baku State University and Kazakhstan Institute of Management, Economics & Strategic Research, and Lecturer at the University of Latvia. Throughout my academic and professional career, I have tried to bridge the traditional dichotomy between research and practice, integrating the two through close collaboration with international agencies, NGOs, and schools. Over the last ten years, I have worked in the Baltics,

Balkans, Central Asia, and the Caucasus as a research associate and education adviser for OSI, UNICEF, USAID, and OSCE.

# Mary Holland

M.A. International Affairs, 1986



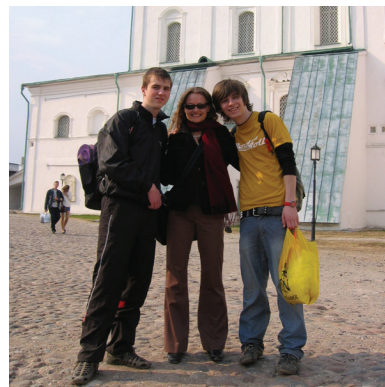
**Having studied Soviet** foreign policy at the Harriman Institute from 1984 to 1986, I sometimes feel as if I had studied an ancient, long-forgotten kingdom. We watched Soviet TV and tracked the career paths of *obkom* and *raikom* Party officials. We wondered if and how and when the Soviet Union might ever change. But during my time at the Harriman, the USSR did start to change, and I was privileged to be in an environment to discuss and analyze *perestroika* and *glasnost* and *demokratizatsiya*. We wondered where it would all lead—and I still wonder that today.

After the Harriman, I went to Columbia Law School and focused on the study of Soviet law. While there, I worked with the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. From 1990 to 1992, I directed its European Program, traveled frequently to the region and tried to assist legal reformers in their efforts. I worked closely with some extraordinary human rights advocates and wrote reports on legal developments.

From 1993 to 1998, I pursued my interest in Eurasia through the private practice of law. I worked for two different U.S. law firms with substantial commercial

practices there. I lived in Moscow from 1996–98; my life and work in Moscow were both encouraging and discouraging... I could see that my study of the ancient kingdom was most relevant to Russia's new realities. Needless to say, my Harriman connections came in handy more than once.

Since 1999, I've been back in New York City and my focus has been teaching. I've taught courses on human rights advocacy, Russian law and public interest law at Columbia Law School, and I teach basic aspects of the U.S. legal system to foreign lawyers, including Eurasian lawyers, at New York University Law School. Teaching has allowed me to continue to follow developments in the region; I coordinated a major conference on the rule of law in Russia at NYU in 2005 and have written and spoken on recent human rights developments.



**My introduction** to the Russian Federation came in 2001 when I travelled to the Russian Far East as a Peace Corps volunteer. At the time, I knew very little about Russia beyond such terms as Cold War, *perestroika*, and *glasnost*. My experience as a volunteer, however, is what turned my focus to Russia. I applied to Columbia, more specifically to the Harriman Institute, because of my desire to learn more about Russia.

My studies at the Institute as well as the overall Harriman experience gave depth to my knowledge of Russia, and direction to my career interests. Both the courses and the diverse roster of speakers at the Institute have helped me gain a rich understanding of the politics, culture, and people of the Russia Federation that helps in my job today. Moreover, I gained valuable practical experience through my appointment as Harriman Institute Program Assistant, for example, working on the preparations for the annual convention of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, experience that I have been able to utilize in my current position.

I now work for IREX (International Research and Exchanges Board), a U.S.

non-governmental organization, as a Program Manager in the education programs division in Moscow, Russia. My primary responsibility is the overall management of the Edmund S. Muskie Graduate Fellowship Program, funded by the U.S. Department of State Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs. This prestigious scholarship sends professionals from Eurasia to study in master's programs in American universities. In this position, I come into direct contact with Russia's best and brightest, many of whom apply to the program from all over the country—including from the farthest reaches of Russia. Additionally, I help out as needed on other departmental programs, such as HIV/AIDS prevention and historical and cultural preservation, which has given me the opportunity to travel all over the country.

The unpredictable pace and uncertain fate of Russian reform makes every day here an adventure. It is amazing to witness firsthand the changes taking place as Russia finds its balance between freedom and stability. My job gives me the opportunity to meet many Russians and observe up close these changes and their effects. My perspective makes me more optimistic than most about Russia's future. The Russia that I see is more than oligarchs, politics, and

corruption. I see people working hard to engage young people in volunteerism, and stop the spread of HIV/AIDS through peer education; I see people working to preserve Russia's history in its villages and towns by establishing museums and organizations devoted to Russia's pre-Revolutionary period; and I see others, especially the younger generation, just working to contribute to Russia's overall economic and political development.

I plan to continue my work in the region in hopes of encouraging tomorrow's leaders and the region's overall advancement. Eventually, I would like to build upon my experience in education and exchange programs to move into other areas of development in the region.

Photo taken in front of the Pskov Kremlin while Kosmar was on a HIV/AIDS project visit to Pskov. She is flanked by two of the project's volunteers.



**Ever since I started** studying Russian I have been fascinated with Russia and its neighbors. An internship with Human Rights Watch in New York and one year at their office in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, made me realize the importance of rule of law and respect for human rights for the development of a country. My later studies at Columbia University and the Harriman Institute helped me better understand the region and acquire a more solid grounding in human rights theory and international law.

After graduation I assumed the position of Executive Director for Stichting Russian Justice Initiative, a small non-profit organization that provides legal assistance to victims of grave human rights abuse in the North Caucasus. These abuses include torture, forced disappearances, summary executions, and illegal detentions. Because of the lack of a functioning judicial system in many parts of the North Caucasus, the organization today is mainly occupied with representing clients before the European Court of Human Rights. The work of SRJI perfectly combines my interest in international law, international humanitarian law, human rights, Russia, and Chechnya.

The organization has great potential for influencing the human rights situation in Chechnya. From being a small litigation project started in 2000, the organization has now grown to a staff of twelve, representing more than 800 victims and their family members in more than a 100 cases before the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg, France. When these cases are decided by the Court, the Russian government and the other member-states of the Council of Europe will be forced to pay more attention to human rights abuses in the North Caucasus and make more of an effort to end them.

In the short time that I have worked for SRJI I have had the opportunity to travel to the region several times. I have met wonderful people who have experienced horrible things. I have had the chance to plead a case before the European Court and I have been both frustrated and rewarded by the attitudes and opinions of international and local media and the diplomatic community.

Solvang, second from right, with colleagues in Ingushetia



# Anu Kangaspunta

M.A. in Regional Studies — Russia, Eurasia and Eastern Europe (MARS), 2002



## I graduated from the Harriman

Institute's MARS program in the fall of 2002. I came to Columbia after receiving my B.Sc. from the London School of Economics, where I studied international relations and history with a focus on the former Soviet Union. Intrigued by the legacies of the Soviet past, I wanted to pursue a more in-depth study of the region. One of the reasons I picked the MARS program is that it allows students an exceptional amount of autonomy to focus on subjects of their choosing. It was wonderful to interact with a group of people who, while sharing an interest in Russia and Eurasia, all took up a different concentration such as history, literature, or political science. I studied the foreign policies of the post-Soviet states, the political economies of transition, the social consequences of the breakup of the Soviet Union, and the Russian language. The thesis I wrote to meet the Harriman Certificate requirements discussed the state of press freedom in Russia during the first decade of independence.

Since 2003, I have been working at the New York office of the Open Society Institute, a private operating and grant-making foundation that aims to shape

public policy to promote democratic governance, human rights, and economic, legal, and social reform all over the world. My tasks at OSI focus on the countries of Central Asia and the South Caucasus, where I coordinate a regional grant-making program. By making grants to local and international NGOs, OSI strives to promote civil society and human rights in the region, and raise awareness of critical regional issues, such as abuses related to cotton production and labor migration. I often think that the work is a combination of realism and idealism, a constant endeavor to determine what can sensibly be achieved in challenging conditions. I've had the opportunity to travel in Central Asia, and while it is clear that many obstacles to open societies remain, the dedication of our local partners to improving the situation in their countries could not be more inspiring.



Clockwise from top left: Elizabeth Valkenier, Director Richard Ericson, Jack Matlock and Alexander Motyl speak to the press about the October 1993 crisis over Yeltsin's relations with the Supreme Soviet; Harriman Lecturer Mikhail Gorbachev with Kathleen Harriman Mortimer and Ambassador Jack F. Matlock (March 11, 2002); Mircea Geoana, Foreign Minister of Romania, Dean Lisa Anderson, and Emil Constantinescu, President of Romania (June 10, 1998); Institute directors, past and present, gather to celebrate Marshall Shulman's 90th birthday—from left: William Harkins, Marshall Shulman, Robert Belknap, Jack Snyder, Catharine Nepomnyashchy, Robert Legvold (April 6, 2006).









Clockwise from top left:  
Nobel Laureate Imre Kertész delivers the Harriman Lecture (October 21, 2004); Moscow poet Dmitry Prigov reads his new work at the Harriman Institute (2004); Mikheil Saakashvili, President of the Republic of Georgia, speaks at the World Leaders Forum at Columbia (September 14, 2005); President Vladimir Putin addresses US-Russian relations at Low Library (September 26, 2003); Harriman Lecturer Ismail Kadare speaks on "Literature and Tyranny" (April 17, 2006).









Clockwise from top left: Professor Nina Khrushcheva (Harriman Institute and New School University) and former Prime Minister of the Russian Federation, Yevgeny Primakov (October 16, 2002); Aleksandr Kwaśniewski, President of Poland, addresses the World Leaders Forum, Columbia University. Harriman Associate Director John S. Micgiel is seated next to Columbia University President Lee Bollinger (September 15, 2005); Director Catharine Nepomnyashchy and President Mikhail Gorbachev (March 11, 2002); Roza Otunbaeva, Acting Foreign Minister of Kyrgyzstan, speaks on the Tulip Revolution (June 10, 2005); former Director Marshall D. Shulman and Professor Michael Scammell, School of the Arts, at the reception for Ismail Kadare (April 17, 2006).













Clockwise from top left:  
 Akylbek Kasabolotov performed  
 on traditional instruments in the  
 Kyrgyz Manas Workshop (March 7,  
 2006); Master's degree students at  
 Columbia University Commencement  
 (May 2006); Experience Music  
 Project Live 2006 Party, Lerner Hall  
 (February 2006); Editor-in-Chief Paul  
 Sonne, Jane Mikkelsen and Elena  
 Lagoutova present Director Catharine  
 Nepomnyashchy with a framed cover  
 of the inaugural issue of "The Birch,"  
 the new undergraduate journal of  
 Slavic culture, literature and politics  
 (May 2005); students of the Central  
 Asia Group, the Eurasia Initiative and  
 the EPD Workshop on Kyrgyzstan,  
 with the support of the Harriman  
 Institute and SIPASA, hosted a tasting  
 of kymyz, fermented horse milk, a  
 favorite beverage in Kyrgyzstan  
 (February 2006).

Inside front and back covers:  
W. Averell Harriman photographed  
during his mission to Russia  
in September – October 1941.  
W. M. Aitken, Lord Beaverbrook  
and A. Vyshinsky are also depicted  
in the photograph.

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## Photo credits

Inside cover: Harriman in Russia, 1941.  
From the Allen Wardwell Papers, Bakhmeteff Archive,  
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pages 4–5: photo of Yeltsin, courtesy of Joe Pineiro,  
Columbia University; photos of Gorbachev and  
Putin, courtesy of Eileen Barroso, Office of Public  
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page 45: Columbiana Library  
page 49: photo by Kevin Eric Laney of Institute alumni  
Alex Brideau, Alison Lynch, Rachel Mark, Charlotte  
Forbes Zwick, Colin Brent, Harriman Alumni Reception  
(February 13, 2003)  
page 56–57: Marshall Shulman's 90th birthday,  
courtesy of Natalya Wilson; President Constantinescu  
and Harriman Faculty Press Briefing by Joe Pineiro;  
photo of Gorbachev with Mortimer and Matlock,  
by Office of Public Affairs, Columbia University  
pages 58–59: photos of Kertész, Saakashvili,  
Kadare and Putin, courtesy of Office of Public Affairs,  
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courtesy of Nelson Hancock  
pages 60–61: all photos, courtesy of Office of  
Public Affairs  
pages 62–63: photo of Columbia Commencement,  
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Project Live, courtesy of Jack Jeffries; the Birch,  
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