



Newsletter of the Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies

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Notes from the Director

We stand in a disorienting spot, where history and social science are called upon ever more urgently to illuminate the strange contours of our changing present, and we feel less sure about what lies ahead. What is certain is that we inhabit a place no one imagined a short time year ago. In one country close to me professionally politicians speak of illiberal democracy – when did that ever exist before? – and in another the government recently turned off the microphone of a parliamentarian, and kept the opposition from voting on legislation. That latter place is Poland, and the building is one the Nazis devastated in 1939 while executing members of the intelligentsia. Until recently one might have said that the order these men and women died for was the democracy finally achieved after 1989. Fill in the story closest to you.

At the Institute we continue to provoke conversation and contribute the odd insight on what is happening, with some of the best minds in academia but also public life.

In October, ISEEES alumnus Michael Carpenter (PhD, Political Science), Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, gave a timely lecture on Russia and the European security order. Just hours after the US elections, Professor István Rév, of the Central European University in Budapest, spoke of the challenges of telling history in an illiberal country. Later in November Professor Sergiu Musteață, of Chișinău, Moldova, provided an overview of his country's history since independence in 1991, including the implications of recent presidential elections. In December we featured Yuriy Zaretskiy, a Professor at the Higher School of Economics, Moscow, who discussed the common practice by Soviet citizens of writing formal autobiographies; and Katharina Bluhm, Sociologist and Director of the Institute for East European Studies, Free University of Berlin, who spoke about modernization, geopolitics, and the new Russian conservatives.

Other highlights of the semester included ISEEES alumna Sarah Cramsey, now professor at Tulane, who lectured on the “ethnic revolution” that took place in Poland and Czechoslovakia between 1917 and 1947; Professor Thomas Lindenberger, of Potsdam, who told us about industrial disasters in Communist East Germany; and Elma Tataragić, of Sarajevo, who recounted the history of her city's film festival, especially during the siege days of the 1990s. Joining Elma was director of the Telluride Mountain film Festival David Holbrooke, who presented his own documentary on his father Ambassador Richard Holbrooke, whose efforts helped lead to the Dayton Peace Accords in 1995.

We continue to invite leading scholars to discuss their intellectual trajectories in the context of trends in their disciplines and in the study of our region. This fall we welcomed Robert P. Geraci, Associate Professor of History at the University of Virginia; Jochen Hellbeck, Professor of History at Rutgers University; and Eleonor Gilburd, Assistant Professor of History at the University of Chicago.

ISEEES also hosts a number of visiting scholars this semester from a variety of countries, including Brazil, China, Germany, Russia, South Korea, and Sweden. Please turn to page 14 to read more about them and their research while at UC Berkeley.

Please mark your calendars for the 32nd annual Colin and Elsa Miller lecture on Thursday, February 9, 2017, at 5:00 p.m. in the Heyns Room of the UC Berkeley Faculty Club. Our guest will be Professor Leszek Balcerowicz, a one-time deputy prime minister of Poland and a key figure in the Polish transition to democracy and market economy. Balcerowicz will speak on developments in Eastern Europe after socialism, including a comparative analysis of the socialist system and what has happened after its demise in Russia, Ukraine, and Poland. We will also be inviting political scientists Anna Grzymala-Busse of Stanford and Anthony Levitas of Brown to join Balcerowicz in a panel discussion.

The 2017 Berkeley-Stanford Conference will be held on Friday, March 3, in the Heyns Room of the UC Berkeley Faculty Club. This conference will be devoted to developments in Russia and the former Soviet Union throughout the 100 years since the 1917 Russian Revolutions. The 17th annual Peter N. Kujachich Lecture in Serbian and Montenegrin Studies will be held on Tuesday, April 25, at 5:00 p.m. in the Alumni House on the UC Berkeley campus. Berkeley's own Professor Ronelle Alexander, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, will deliver this year's lecture.

Be sure to check our website <http://iseees.berkeley.edu/> for other upcoming events and updates to the calendar. We look forward to seeing you at our events in 2017!

John Connelly
ISEEES Director
Professor of History



Save the Date

*Upcoming event during the Spring 2017 semester***



41st Annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference **1917-2017: 100 Years Since the Russian Revolution**

Friday, March 3, 2017
9:00 a.m. - 5:00 p.m.
Heyns Room, Faculty Club
UC Berkeley Campus

***Please note that event details may change. Updates will be sent out by email and can be found online at <http://iseees.berkeley.edu/>.*

Confessions of a Historical Activist: Teaching and Learning Empathy in Poland, Germany, and the Czech Republic

Sarah A. Cramsey

Professor of Practice, Jewish Studies

Tulane University

You probably saw the same pictures that I stared at on television, on the front page of newspapers, and digitally glued across the internet: hundreds and thousands and throngs of refugees fleeing conflict and risking their lives to arrive on the shores and at the borders of European states. I first noticed these pictures in earnest while I was living on the German-Polish border during the summer of 2014 shortly after I finished my doctorate in modern European history at the University of California, Berkeley. One day the coverage of the relentless flow of displaced humanity overwhelmed me. Perhaps it was because I was reading about the refugee crisis in English, Polish, and German newspapers. Perhaps it was because I had recently submitted a dissertation exploring uprootedness, displacement, and changing notions of Jewish citizenship during and after the Second World War. Quite possibly, the countless pictures of young children in transit, in temporary refugee camps, and lifelessly cradled in their parent's arms electrified me because my family had recently added a baby, my brother's firstborn, onto our ancestral tree. The precise cause was cumulative, but the effect was instantaneous. To paraphrase Czesław Miłosz, the photographs kindled a rage inside of me and this rage propelled me to do something, something that would tether me to this worsening crisis and allow me to use the meager talents I have to generate understanding, empathy, and, eventually, change.

Had I been a photographer, I might have journeyed to the refugee camps and borders to further document this crisis. Had I been a politician, I might have pressured my political party, colleagues, and subordinates to assess possible solutions. Had I been an aid worker, a human rights attorney, a medical doctor, a person of vast financial means...but I was none of these identities. I was, however, a thinking doctor, a historian intent on discerning the connections and disconnections between the past and the present. Perhaps I could find readings, documents, and voices to create some narratives and challenge other narratives in order to better explain this particular human tragedy? By virtue of my temporary appointment as a lecturer in the Berkeley History Department and my deep ties to Jeff Pennington and the Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies, I had the connections and support necessary to design a study abroad program that would explore Europe's last century through the lens of minorities, citizenship rights, and uprootedness. Perhaps I could use these foundations to design, sponsor, and implement a study abroad course for a dozen Berkeley undergraduates who, like me, wanted more context, knowledge, and time to investigate the ways in which people did or did not 'belong' to East-Central European states over the past hundred years? And thanks to my raining as a pedagogue, I knew that the best way to propel change in groups small and large required me to cultivate empathy. Well, that sounds a bit vague...what do I mean by that?

Especially recently, I have discovered that my role as a university professor extends far beyond the transmission of historical narratives, the teaching of strong analytical skills, or even the instruction of nuanced writing. Increasingly and urgently, my goal is to teach my students about empathy. This is not easy. Empathy requires time. Only slowly can we develop nuanced understanding of complex situations. It goes further. Empathy requires its student to hover above their own circumstance and to envision the range of actions available to the actors of the past with patience. As Harper Lee eloquently suggested, empathy requires putting on someone else's shoes and walking around in them for a short time. In order to understand the refugee crisis unfolding around me and in order to disentangle the links and the gaps between current events and East-Central Europe's messy past, I had to develop readings, classroom materials, and a list of speakers that would help me and my students think about the history of belonging in Europe from novel perspectives. To be an empathetic observer, I had to make myself feel uncomfortable. To be a teacher of empathy, I had to place my students in situations that challenged their own comfort levels. Succinctly, I strove to be like Friedrich Nietzsche, who envisioned his task as making individuals uncomfortable.

It was, admittedly, easy to make our students feel uncomfortable. Across five weeks, my co-director Zachary Kelly and I led our fifteen Berkeley undergraduates from Warsaw, Krakow, and Oswiecim (we spent three days learning and living near the infamous Auschwitz complex) to Prague, Frankfurt an der Oder, and, finally, Berlin to study Jewish, Vietnamese, Roma, and Turkish minorities across the last century and how each of the Polish, Czech, and German states approached the current refugee situation. Daily interactions stimulated discomfort in my students. The jet lag confused their sleeping patterns. The early morning and late evening slanted sunlight of northern latitudes disrupted them further. Languages overwhelmed them and stares from Poles, Czechs, and Germans alike soon reminded my students of Asian and Latin American backgrounds that they looked different than the norm. Mahatma Gandhi admitted that he did not recognize the inequality in Indian society until he spent time studying law in South Africa. And so traveling disarms us, forcing us to refocus our own notions and societies within a new optic. Two days into our trip, the students in my class asked me collectively "Where are all the homeless people in Warsaw?" I realized then, with a sore heart, that for them homelessness was a norm, not an exception. Its absence required an explanation. I'll admit that made me, a student of the postwar European welfare state, very uncomfortable.

The cities, the highways, and the restaurants of Poland, Czech Republic, and Germany constituted our expansive classroom. I collected a variety of readings, movies, voices, and spaces to

make my students uncomfortable on an academic register. I used the World War II-era diary of a Polish medical doctor named Zygmunt Klukowski to help my students understand how a Polish Christian witnessed the Holocaust unfold in his own town and how we can interpret his actions within the constraints he faced. Three primary documents from the 1940s (the report of Commandant Jürgen Stroop, “The Warsaw Ghetto is no more!”; selections from Emanuel Ringelblum’s Polish-Jewish Relations during the Second World War; and the wartime memoirs of the Polish-Jewish survivor Marek Edelman, *The Ghetto Fights*) demonstrated how complicated relationships were between Polish Jews and Polish Christians in the city of Warsaw during the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. We watched a recent Czech movie called *Horem Padem* (Up and Down) to interrogate how Czech society dealt with racism and immigration after 1989. And *The Bridge of the Golden Horn*, an eloquent book penned by a Turkish-born German citizen Emine Sevgi Özdamar, introduced the trajectory of Turkish migration to East Germany through the lens of a young, female narrator. All of these readings challenged our ability to empathize.

We spoke with dozens of real, live East-Central Europeans who helped us understand both the current refugee crisis and the past that preceded it from new perspectives. Outside of Prague, for instance, we spent a few hours at a Czech-English elementary school talking with seventh graders about their lives and how Vietnamese and Roma populations fit into Czech society. In turn, we sat down with two Roma women who work as cleaning ladies to better understand how they felt at ‘home’ in the region. It was hard to find the words to speak with these students, these Roma woman, and even other academics who spoke (more often than not) impeccable English. Barriers of age, education, and collective memory separated ‘us’ from ‘them’, and we struggled to see each other evenly. In Krakow, we met with a young Kurdish man who worked for the Representative of Kurdistan in Poland. I watched my students listen after a long and sweaty day to their university-age peer who spent his extracurricular hours working to secure citizenship in a country that did not yet exist in the eyes of so many national governments. I wondered how they could understand his struggles...until I realized that some of my students had at least two passports in their young lives and many sat next to undocumented friends in their lecture halls back home. I was moved when a small group of my students invited their new Kurdish friend to get a cold drink that evening in a picturesque

café near Krakow’s main square. That’s empathy in action.

And finally, Zach and I supplemented the readings, movies, and voices with spaces that pushed our students out of their comfort zones. From visiting an anarchist collective in Bohemia that was actively involved in moving products towards refugee camps to the three days we spent in Oswiecim understanding Auschwitz not just as a place of imprisonment and death but as a town that celebrated nearly 900 years of pre-World War II Jewish life, our students found themselves in spaces that made them feel uncomfortable from various standpoints. Near the end of our class, we journeyed to the outskirts of Berlin where a contractor working on behalf of a Christian organization led us around a Migrant Center where recent refugees to Germany ate, raised children, took German lessons, and lived. It was a difficult day. We had traveled by bus to the Center and the air was still burning when we arrived late in the day. Instantly we were identified as interlopers thanks to the yellow arm-bands we adorned after signing in as visitors. One room at the center had tables and chairs designed for small human beings – perhaps some of the same children I saw carried by their parents in those unforgettable newspaper pictures? The walls were filled with pictures, drawings, and signs welcoming this uprooted generation to their temporary home. After touring the Center, we sat down to eat a meal with some of those same children. It was exhausting to see private family scenes rendered public. It required stamina, patience, and, above all, empathy.

In conclusion, I am thrilled to introduce the readers of this newsletter to some of the students that thrived on our trip last summer. Zach and I are pleased to share the final papers of Jonchee Kao, Jennifer Kim, and Danielle McGinnis in an attempt to evidence to you, dear reader, the byproducts of historical activism and the fruits of empathy cultivation. Historical activists like myself and these students respond to complex events of the present by excavating the endlessly enmeshed connections and disconnections of the nuanced past. Beyond this academic goal, historical activism requires the development of empathy if we ever hope to see the past and present on their own constrained terms. Empathy not only makes us better historians; it helps us to make sense of the world, each other, and, if we’re lucky, our own selves. I have found that in my quest to be a decent human being, or if I can render it more succinctly in Yiddish, a mensch, empathy is the most elusive but the most utterly necessary skill required.

Professor Sarah Cramsey created a summer abroad program for students to explore coexistence in Poland, the Czech Republic, and Germany through the Berkeley Summer Abroad Program. The course was a 6-unit History course entitled “The Contours of Coexistence: ‘Otherness’ and Belonging in Modern Europe.” Zachary Kelly assisted Professor Cramsey on the program. The group traveled together for 5 weeks during Summer 2016, visiting Warsaw, Krakow, Oswiecim, Prague, Frankfurt an der Oder, and Berlin.

Sarah and Zach plan to take another group of students on the same program during Summer 2017.

Living Under a Lie

Jonchee Kao

Undergraduate Student, UC Berkeley

In T.H. White's *The Once and Future King*, Arthur reflects at the end of his life, "How mad the frontiers had seemed to Lancelot, and would to Man if he could learn to fly." Not only do humans lack the physical freedom of movement that birds have through flight, people also limit themselves and each other through the confines of social and governmental structures.

Might is often Right, not just according to the rather cynical conditions of Arthur's world but also throughout much of human history. By considering conditions in East-Central Europe under communist rule, Václav Havel analyzes the constraints of higher structures on people's lives in his 1978 essay "The Power of the Powerless," exploring what autonomy people can still choose to take despite those constraints.

Havel uses the example of the greengrocer who displays in his window the slogan "Workers of the World, Unite!" to illustrate how the "system" controls its subjects on a subconscious level through the guise of the communist ideology. Even though the greengrocer does not consciously want the "workers of the world" to unite, he continues to display the sign in his window, at first out of fear of the consequences for not doing so, but eventually purely out of habit. According to Havel, this subconscious control causes the people to "live under a lie," proclaiming things in which they do not believe, but they do not reject this ideology because it gives "the illusion that the system is in harmony with the human order and the order of the universe."¹ Indeed, in recalling her initial exposures to communism in her memoir *Under a Cruel Star*, Heda Margolius Kovály notes that communism seemed to give easy answers to everything and that the communists generally showed more confidence in their understanding of the world through the communist ideology. However, for the sake of maintaining the ideology, everything becomes a show, such as the greengrocer's daily ritual of putting up the sign or even the top party officials' regular purges and show trials, making the leaders of the government equally subject to ideological control as are the people. According to Tony Judt, the show trials always included forced confessions because they reiterated the communist ideology and the superiority of the ruling party for all observers. Thus, since everything simply carried on as a show for the sake of maintaining ideology, life in the communist bloc became detached from the reality of the social and economic needs of the people. Eventually, the refusal of the Soviet Union to accept Alexander Dubček's attempts to reform the communist system and the subsequent Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia displayed the absolute rigidity of the communist ideology, crushing its soul and reducing communism to a "rotting carcass" to be carried away in the Revolutions of 1989.²

In his general analysis of post-World War II Europe, Judt argues that "the twentieth century saw the withering away of the „master narratives“ of European history."³ While people in

East-Central Europe tried to turn to communism to restructure their lives, Western European countries started to set up welfare states. Overall, these approaches responded to a desire to redefine "civilization" following the destruction of the traditional imperial order in the two World Wars. However, in his 1984 essay "The Tragedy of Central Europe," Milan Kundera, writing in France, describes the overall loss of traditional culture in Western Europe, in that people are less concerned about culture through such media as the theater or cultural reviews, instead being more interested in mass media. This observation, paralleling Havel's observations regarding an existential crisis emerging across Europe because of the threat of technology, suggests some inadequacies in the Western European system of democratic welfare states as well. Just as Havel noted the detachment of ideology from reality in the Eastern bloc, Kundera finds a detachment between the new order of society and traditional values in Western Europe, hence trivializing life in the West as much as in the East.

Havel believes that a "post-democratic" revolution would best remediate the existential crisis that he sees spreading across East-Central Europe because of the "lie" imposed on the people by states, and he believes Charter 77 to be a step in that direction. In particular, in describing the motives and aims of Charter 77, Havel rejects the label of "opposition," because the group does not have a specific alternative to replace the existing system. He does not believe that the Western European system of capitalism and democracy can fully solve the problems of the communist system, just as Kundera finds problems in the western system with the loss of cultural values. In fact, Charter 77 actually recalls the Prague Spring in this respect, in that neither sought to overthrow the communist system completely, instead simply trying to reform it to fit the needs of the people. However, Havel places much more emphasis on the role of the masses through people such as the greengrocer than from the government leaders such as Alexander Dubček, partially because Havel writes as part of the grassroots revolution that he advocates. He takes a constructivist perspective on the communist system, in that once everyone decides to reject the lie imposed by the system, the system will collapse. This perspective downplays the equally important role of actors within the government, as seen in the Revolution of 1989, when the implicit withdrawal of Soviet support by Mikhail Gorbachev allowed protests to proceed without fear of a crackdown from Central European governments.

Since the Revolutions of 1989 primarily replaced the communist regimes of East-Central Europe with "Western-style" democracies, they did not bring that "post-democratic" society that Havel wanted, with "a renewed focus of politics on real people."⁴ In modern democracies, it appears that maintaining the process of democracy remains a higher priority than the immediate concerns of the people, and through that process, the voice of the majority always overrides the voice of minorities. This phenomenon parallels an aspect of the more explicit "lie"

¹ Havel, Václav. *The Power of the Powerless*, p. 29.

² Judt, Tony. *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945*, p. 447.

³ Ibid., p. 7.

⁴ Havel, p. 92.

perpetuated by the communist governments of the Eastern bloc: the complete homogenization of society after World War II and the superiority of the single-ethnic state. Although East-Central Europe did experience general ethnic unmixing after the war, that ethnic unmixing meant that governments could ignore the minorities remaining within their borders, implicitly demanding their assimilation. However, this also meant that the state suppressed ethnic violence by advancing the propaganda of the single-ethnic state, since violence against ethnic minorities cannot occur where those minorities do not exist. Therefore, after the Revolutions of 1989, problems of multiculturalism started to reappear more openly when the state could no longer suppress ethnic violence as such. For example, more overt anti-Semitism reappeared in Poland, more strongly than official state-sponsored anti-Semitism had been under communist rule, particularly during the first presidential campaign, during which Lech Wałęsa's supporters attacked his opponent's Jewish roots. In addition, although states now mostly recognize minority groups officially, in practical matters, minority groups such as the Roma in Czechoslovakia find state support inadequate, leaving them

with lower economic opportunity.

The current migrant crisis in Europe highlights these problems further by opening the question of whether migrants from the Middle East should have the right to citizenship and representation in Europe, not to mention the life-threatening challenges imposed on migrants trying to make their way to Europe. Because of the difficulties of bureaucracies in processing all of these migrants, local grassroots movements such as migrant centers significantly help to address the immediate needs of the people, just as Havel wanted. Although a government officially decides whether a migrant can stay in a country or must leave, the workers at the migrant center itself take care of his or her essential daily nutritional, hygienic, or other needs, ignoring what the state has to say. Efforts such as these can serve as an example of what Havel calls "the power of the powerless," which should ultimately demonstrate that only the constraints of the state make people believe themselves to be powerless, and the solidarity of humanity should actually continue to apply across state borders. Thus, the ultimate "lie" imposed by a state on its people is the necessity of its own existence.

Shared Histories

Jennifer Kim

Undergraduate Student, UC Berkeley

November 25, 1944 – Himmler ordered the demolition of the Auschwitz gas chambers and crematoria, destroying evidence of mass-murder by the Nazi regime. May 8, 1945 – the systematic murder of Jews and other minority groups halted; and September 2, 1945 – World War II ended. But unidentifiable merely through the facts above, a small fire "continued to flicker, consuming those who died a natural death."¹ Many survivors of the Holocaust relived infinite permutations of their nightmares, and Otto Dov Kulka attempted to initially repress and engage with the topic purely academically. In his memoir *Landscapes of the Metropolis of Death*, Kulka begins by underscoring his decision for decades "to sever the biographical from the historical past."² However, encountering works and descriptions of Auschwitz divorced from his reality of Auschwitz, Kulka felt "utter alienation."³ He took it upon himself to recall past images and integrate them into his own mental landscape. Revisiting Auschwitz-Birkenau and time-traveling through his dreams left many questions inconclusive but empowered him to come to terms with his memories. By taking ownership of his past, Kulka offered a compelling layer to the history of the Holocaust, and a narrative relatable to others such as my Grandfather.

Born in Korea during Japanese occupation and barely a teenager when the Korean War broke out, my Grandfather lived to find "autonomy within constraints", as phrased by Dr. Laurie Koloski, Professor of History at the College of William and Mary. He breathed a dual identity, speaking Korean and wearing Korean traditional clothing called *hanbok* in private, while in public he

studied the Japanese language, history, and principles advocated by the regime. Day by day, tensions between the Japanese officers and neighbors and the Koreans escalated, opening doors for the Japanese regime to implement stricter measures. Bookmarked in his memory, my Grandfather recalls the day he turned sixteen as the day he was stripped of his Korean name and given a Japanese one intended for use in public and formal settings. Just as many Jews during the Holocaust lost their names to a set of numbers, he lost his sense of individuality to a meaningless set of characters. The next year, Japanese officers violently broke into his house during the middle of the night to kidnap his father for forced slave labor. At that time, my Grandfather felt powerless to protect his family and this trauma from childhood haunted him, becoming a reason to join the Korean clandestine army service and watch the destructive war come to an end. His service signified grief for his father, and until this day, my Great-grandfather remains missing and we may never find a tangible link back to him. But at times, my Great-grandfather visits his son in his dreams, creating memories that transcend the physical world and touch his son's heart in the most personal and special way.

By narrating his dreams and recollections of his younger self, Kulka imparts a very personal interaction with death within a collective experience of facing the "immutable law of death". Kulka revisits Auschwitz-Birkenau, once occupied with thousands of people enduring an unimaginable event and now left with dismantled structures and overwhelming silence. Kulka dreams multiple hypotheticals, such as re-entering the gas chambers to meet the same fate as friends, family, and neighbors, who "transformed into flames, into light and smoke, and faded into those darkening skies."⁴ By reinventing two worlds, a natural

¹ Kulka, Otto Dov. *Landscapes of the Metropolis of Death*, p. 38.

² Ibid., p. 1.

³ Ibid., p. 80.

⁴ Ibid., p. 23.

one and a metaphysical one, Kulka invites the reader to visualize his recounts and explore many questions he leaves inconclusive. For example, what drove a conductor of the children's choir, to perform "Ode to Joy" by Beethoven right alongside the crematoria? How does one lead a life after witnessing violence and death all around?

How do we retain dreams and images from childhood, and how can an experience be both strongly collective and deeply personal? Once family members arrived at the concentration camps, such as Auschwitz, the Nazi officers compelled some to work forced labor and others to immediately face the gas chambers. Kulka returns to July 1944, the day he parts from his mother. His last image holds only seconds of a hasty farewell as Kulka watches his mother recede into the distance, not turning her head once. Reflecting upon this last image and further knowledge that she was carrying an embryo of his brother at that time, Kulka attempts to come to terms with his last memory of his mother. The day that the Japanese officers kidnapped my Great-grandfather replays in my Grandfather's mind after sixty years. The few seconds before understanding that a beloved parent may never be in your life again must be the most grueling, heartbreaking seconds. My Grandfather's last image of his father evokes violence and hatred. Robbed of the opportunity to bid a proper farewell and robbed of every possible memory a father and son could share, my Grandfather chose to repress this account that filled him with anger, resentment, and sadness. To his regret as time passed, my Great-grandfather became a speck in my

Grandfather's memory, as Kulka's mother became "a speck at the other end, a speck I knew was that light summer skirt – and disappeared."⁵

Ironically, miracles become more apparent during the toughest, most distressing times. As my Grandfather recalls, each time the image of his father sparked in his memory was unbearable, yet in every dream his father visited him was a miracle. His father's voice and presence gradually relieved him of his trauma from childhood and strengthened him to wake up from a nightmare. Kulka refers to the first miracle "whose meaning no one understood," which brought Kulka and his family to Theresienstadt, a camp housing families and a place young Kulka recalls as relatively enjoyable. Kulka found another miracle in locating his mother's burial site, a small village by the estuary of the River Vistula.⁶ Both to Kulka and my Grandfather, miracles connected them back to family in a profound and moving way. Though separated by geographical and generational barriers, Otto Dov Kulka and my Grandfather are connected by experiences of institutional violence, childhood trauma, and loss of a parent. More importantly, their paralleled narratives represent man's remarkable courage to revisit experiences of adversity and bravery to continue living after unimaginable life events.

⁵ Kulka, p. 57.

⁶ Ibid., p. 60.

A Breakdown of Medical Morals: A Review of *Diary from the Years of Occupation*

Danielle McGinnis

Undergraduate Student, UC Berkeley

On September 10, 1939, "at 6 P.M., by order of the hospital commanding officer, all personnel assembled for administration of the oath."¹ New doctors around the world recite a centuries-old oath as they begin their medical careers; firstly, that a physician must "do no harm". As an enlisted field physician for the Polish army, Zygmunt Klukowski, took the oath among other doctors and officers. Ancient and modern medical ethics integrate some form of the Hippocratic oath into practice in order to guide and judge the performance of a physician. A principal tenet in this oath, and medical ethics discourse, maintains all human lives to be equal, without regards to race, religion, or character. Klukowski's *Diary from the Years of Occupation* discusses his own discomfort in his inability to realize this oath, in addition to the horrors of medical experimentation occurring in Nazi concentration camps that directly violate ethical practice. Today, medical schools educate students on the atrocities committed by doctors in concentration camps and under Nazi occupation as a key lesson in medical ethics.

Klukowski's diary captures the regression of medical ethics in his daily entries. At the start of occupation, the occasional

beating of a Jew appalls him. He treats patients as they come to his hospital, regardless of race. However, in his entries he does not fail to mention the person's race, especially if they are Jewish. For example, he writes, "Today I admitted to the hospital a Jew with a gunshot wound to the head."² While I would not consider Klukowski to be racist, it is evident that he considers race in his practice and in his diary. While modern science confirms that there are no biological indications of race, many scientists and doctors in the early twentieth century studied 'racial science.' Without the genetic information we have today, people were likely to assume that differences between races were biological, and more than social constructs. This very concept, addressed by John Connelly in his article "Nazis and Slavs: From Racial Theory to Racist Practice," allowed Hitler the tools that led to the eventual genocide. Nazi racial theorists and eugenicists celebrated the German race as the ideal, often for aesthetic reasons. They believed the theory that "small doses of German blood could dominate other sorts of blood—except in the case of the Jews, where the opposite was the case."³ These beliefs spread so widely

² Ibid., p. 44.

³ Connelly, John. "Nazis and Slavs: From Racial Theory to Racist Practice," p. 17.

¹ Klukowski, Zygmunt. *Diary from the Years of Occupation 1939-44*, p. 12.

and quickly that it would eventually affect people like Klukowski and his patients.

The effect was seen in the first year of German occupation. Klukowski recounts the increasing number of large and violent arrests of Jewish people. While at the beginning of his diary he treats and admits Jewish patients with injuries from Nazi violence, German laws restrict his efforts by prohibiting treatment of Jews. He evidently wants to provide care and attempts to reach higher authorities to reverse the rule but is rebuked. Eventually he refuses admittance and later concedes, "I was lucky that I did so. There is no way I would have been able to save Jews, and certainly I would have been arrested and executed."⁴ As superintendent of the hospital, he juggles his moral conscious with the safety of himself, his family, staff, and other patients. This point marks the height of his moral dilemma and illuminates his character. Still, he admits, "I am saddened that I had to refuse to give any help at all. I did this only because of strict orders by the Germans. This was against my own feeling and against a physician's duties."⁵ The laws put in place by the Nazis introduce complicated moral dilemmas for a layperson, but even more so for a medical professional. He is forced to go against his own beliefs and likely his medical moral principles. Out of context, and by today's standards, Klukowski would have broken many ethical codes and laws. But had he practiced medicine by today's standards in Nazi-occupied Poland, he would have also been breaking their laws. Due to falsely believed racial sciences and actions taken in line with those opinions, many physicians and healthcare professions breached their medical code of ethics.

Instances of nonconsensual medical experimentation are the most disturbing violations of medical ethics. Doctors such as the infamous Dr. Mengele at Auschwitz performed horrifying experiments on live human subjects. With little to no experimental procedure or records, his experiments lacked medical basis, violated the ten experimental requirements set by the Nuremberg Code, and, more importantly, desecrated any sense of medical ethics. Klukowski alludes to the atrocities when he shares the following:

This morning a young physician, Dr. Bronislaw Niezewski, only twenty-eight years old, visited my hospital. He is assigned to Sulow commune to help fight the epidemic of spotted typhus. He is very nervous and close to a complete breakdown. He informed me about his experiences in the Auschwitz concentration camp. Terrifying.⁶

Klukowski describes his shock towards the occurrences at Auschwitz more than once; each of his source's information

leaves him horrified. While some doctors show remorse, shock, or at least neutrality for their inability to help the Jewish population, Mengele exhibits sadistic excitement. Modern day medical schools offer classes that examine him as a doctor, criticizing both his absolute lack of medical ethics as well as his incomplete records and unfounded conclusions. It is easy to see, even to a Polish physician practicing in the same place, at the same time, that human experimentation on any race is inexcusable.

The extent to which medical ethics were violated between 1939 and 1945 depends on a person's profession. Looters, Nazi SS officers, and even next-door neighbors frequently violated moral codes independent of medicine. However, the degree a medical doctor possesses heightens their individual responsibility to preserve human life. When a doctor refused to care for a Jewish person, they violated more ethical codes than a layperson. By today's standards any physician who refused care to an emergent patient or participated in the experimentation or extermination of another human would be tried for violating outlined ethical principles and laws. While many, such as Dr. Mengele, were tried for their crimes, other ethical breaches were not criminal in their context. For example, Klukowski could not be justly called a perpetrator, using Raul Hilberg's classifications; he would be more fairly labeled a bystander, if not generously a victim. While the decision to not care for injured or ill patients because of their race is ethically wrong for a physician in normal circumstances, this context was unique to the time period and place. Despite his inability to care for patients, he understood other ways to preserve their lives. Jews with labor cards were not deported, so he writes, "I now employ fifteen Jews...because with labor cards they are safe."⁷ Though he violated many medical ethical codes, he maintains his own sense of moral high ground. Medical ethics as a whole suffered greatly under Nazi occupation, caused by both doctors following incorrect beliefs and obstinate laws.

Klukowski's diary is an enlightening account of the moral dilemmas faced by a physician under Nazi occupation. His daily writings show the degeneration of ethical codes by both lay people and healthcare professionals. The invention of race as a biological concept allows for the systematic discrimination of an entire population. This degeneration also allowed for the ruthless extermination of and experimentation on a people, violating all medical-ethical codes; it also fostered the subtler ethical breach that meant refusing care. Klukowski shares his own perspective, highlighting the hindrance that Nazi occupation poses to realizing his duty as a physician. Ultimately, the breakdown of medical ethics under Nazi occupation placed limitations on the preservation of human life. As a result, ethical discourses in medicine and its breakdown are studied to ensure that these events never happen again.

⁴ Klukowski, p. 196.

⁵ Ibid., p. 196.

⁶ Ibid., p. 181.

⁷ Ibid., p. 200.

FLAS Fellowship Awards

Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) fellowships enable US citizens and permanent residents to acquire a high level of competency in modern foreign languages. FLAS funding for Russian and East European languages comes to UC Berkeley through a Title VI grant from the US Department of Education to ISEES. Applications are accepted through the Graduate Fellowship Office.

Awards for Summer 2016

Ernest Artiz, Department of English, received funding to study Russian at Middlebury College.

Zachary Bekowies, Department of Italian Studies, received funding to study Romanian at UCLA.

Kathryn DeWaele, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, received funding to study Russian in Moscow.

Brian Egdorf, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, received funding to study Russian in Moscow.

Devon Harris, Department of Mathematics, received funding to study Russian in Georgia.

Clare Ibarra, Department of History, received funding to study Russian at Indiana University.

Hilary Lynd, Department of History, received funding to study Russian at Middlebury College.

Maria Martirosyan, Department of Political Science, received funding to study Russian in Georgia.

Karina McCorkle, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, received funding to study Russian in Moscow.

Erin McElroy, Department of Women's Studies at UC Santa Cruz, received funding to study Romanian in Bucharest.

Kasia Metkowski, Department of Economics, received funding to study Polish in Słubice, Poland.

Kathryn Pribble, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, received funding to study Russian in Moscow.

Christina Schwartz, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, received funding to study Russian in Moscow.

Kristina Slezacek, Department of Chemical Engineering, received funding to study Czech in Brno,

Agnieszka Smelkowska, Department of History, received funding to study Russian at Middlebury College.

Robert Smith, Department of History, received funding to study Serbian in Belgrade.

Maria Whittle, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, received funding to study Czech in Prague.

Awards for Academic Year 2016-2017

Levi Bridges, School of Journalism, received a fellowship to study Russian at UC Berkeley.

Devon Harris, Mathematics and Russian Language and Literature double major and Global Poverty and Practice minor, received a fellowship to study Russian at UC Berkeley.

Karina McCorkle, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, received a fellowship to study Russian at UC Berkeley.

Hanna Miller, School of Journalism, received a fellowship to study Russian at UC Berkeley.

Jason Morton, Department of History, received a fellowship to study Serbian at UC Berkeley.

Nadia Nizetich, Department of Anthropology, received a fellowship to study Croatian at UC Berkeley.

David Parker, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, received a fellowship to study Bosnian at UC Berkeley.

Gal Tabachnik, Department of Linguistics, received a fellowship to study Russian at UC Berkeley.

Maria Whittle, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, received a fellowship to study Czech at UC Berkeley.

Nikolina Zenovic, Department of Anthropology, received a fellowship to study Serbian at UC Berkeley.

Make a Gift to ISEEEES!

The loyal support of private donors like you supplements the funding we receive from other sources and enables us to meet the standards of excellence required of us by the University of California, Berkeley as an organized research unit and by the U.S. Department of Education as a Title VI National Resource Center. Your support helps to expand and sustain a robust area-specific international education for our students, furthers research opportunities for faculty focusing on our region, and allows us to respond to new programming opportunities and to expand public outreach.

Our Federal and state funding have faced continued reductions, compelling us to draw more and more on our modest endowments to maintain the superior programming and research and academic support our student, faculty, and public constituents have come to expect. As a result, we have expanded opportunities for more targeted giving in order to encompass a variety of ISEEEES programs. Contributions of any size are appreciated and contribute directly to ISEEEES's continued accomplishments. We would be very happy to discuss details of these funds or other giving opportunities. Jeff Pennington, executive director of ISEEEES, can be reached at jpennington@berkeley.edu or (510) 643-6736.

GIVING OPPORTUNITIES

ISEEEES General Support Fund

The ISEEEES General Support Fund is an unrestricted fund that is used to: provide travel grants to affiliated graduate and undergraduate students for the purpose of presenting papers at academic conferences; provide research assistance to affiliated faculty members; convene conferences, open to the public, that examine current topics in Slavic, East European, and Eurasian studies; host an annual reception to foster community building among faculty, students, and the public; and augment the state and grant funds that provide minimal support for ISEEEES operations.

ISEEEES Graduate Student Support Fund

The ISEEEES Graduate Student Support Fund is a new UCB Foundation endowment that was established by a generous gift from an anonymous donor. When fully funded, the ISEEEES Graduate Student Support Fund will be used to support graduate students in the field of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies. The endowment was launched by the initial gift and matching funds from the Graduate Division. Additional gifts to the Fund are encouraged and gratefully accepted.

Colin and Elsa Miller Endowment Fund

The Annual Colin Miller Memorial Lecture honors the memory of a journalist and radio and TV producer who was devoted to the Center for Slavic and East European Studies (as ISEEEES was called before the year 2000). The endowment funds an annual lecture given by a respected scholar in the field of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies.

Hungarian Studies Fund

This fund promotes the teaching of the Hungarian language at UC Berkeley, provides research assistance to faculty and students studying Hungarian topics, and supports lectures, workshops, and conferences devoted to Hungarian studies.

Fund for Romanian Studies

This fund promotes the teaching of the Romanian language at UC Berkeley; supports lectures, workshops, and conferences devoted to Romanian topics; and provides research assistance to faculty and students pursuing Romanian studies.

Support Our Institute!

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ISEEES acknowledges with sincere appreciation the following individuals who made their annual contribution to ISEEES between June 2016 and December 2016.

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It is a policy of the University of California and the Berkeley Foundation that a portion of the gifts and/or income therefrom is used to defray the costs of raising and administering the funds. Donations are tax-deductible to the extent allowed by law.

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UC Berkeley Participants at the ASEES Convention

The 48th Annual Convention of the Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (ASEES) was held in Washington, DC, on November 17-20, 2016. ASEES held a joint Alumni Reception with Stanford's CREEES on Friday, November 18, 2016, at the Stanford in Washington building.

Faculty/Staff Papers

Victoria S. Frede (History): "Military Masculinity and the Sentimental Letter during the Napoleonic Campaigns"

Student Papers

Jesús Madrigal (History): "Art for the New World: Soviet and Mexican Avant-gardes in the Institutional Revolutions (1920-1940)"

Hilary Lynd (History): "De-Ideologization as Ideology: The End of the Soviet-ANC Partnership (1986-1994)"

Yana Skorobogatov (History): "Mercy and Reform: Appealing a Death Sentence in the Soviet Union, 1982-1991"

Jason Morton (History): "Vasilii Ivanovich Goes to Algiers"

Emily Laskin (Comparative Literature): "'The Empty Places of Emptiness': Platonov on Central Asia"

Kathryn Frances DeWaele (Slavic): "Infectious Words: Arts and / as Adultery in Tolstoy and Zola"

Eric McCurdy Johnson (History): "Jewish Radicals in the Narod: Nationality and Antisemitism in the Going to the People Movement of 1974"

Joseph Kellner (History): "As Above, So Below: Astrology and the Fate of Soviet Scientism"

Joy Neumeyer (History): "'It's Hard to Live to the End of the Line': Brezhnev, Vysotskii, and Death in Developed Socialism"

Zachary Samuel Johnson (Slavic): "Childhood and Sexuality in Anna Karenina: The Case of Seryozha"

Panel Discussants

Steven Lee (English): *The Revolution Abroad*

Christine Philliou (History): *Conflicts and Conversations in the Late Ottoman Aegean*

Brian Charles Egdorf (Slavic): *Ideas as Contagion: Dostoevsky's Aesthetics of Catastrophe and Ethics of Excess*

Irina Paperno (Slavic): *Peasants as Bearers of Authentic Russianness in Nineteenth Century Russian Literature*

Panel/Roundtable Chairs

Joseph Kellner (History): *Perestroika in Word and Deed: The Use and Disuse of Language During the Soviet Union's Final Decade*

Eric McCurdy Johnson (History): *Personal Letters in Imperial and Soviet Russia: Genre and Ideology*

Joy Neumeyer (History): *Windows and Mirrors: Soviet Screens and the World Stage*

John Connelly (History): *Back Door to Hollywood: Cultural Transfers from Western to Polish and Czechoslovak Popular Cinema in the 1960s*

Harsha Ram (Slavic): *Eurasian Colonialities: Origins, Histories, and Afterlives*

Yana Skorobogatov (History): *Mapping the "I" in Public Letter Writing during Perestroika*

Eric Naiman (Slavic): *Nabokov's Pnin*

Jason Morton (History): *The Early Five Year Plans and World War II as Challenges to Soviet Nationalities Policy: the View from Central Asia*

Roundtable Participants

Ronelle Alexander (Slavic): *Coordinating Slavic Terms for the Ethnographies Thesaurus*

Cammeron Girvin (Slavic): *Coordinating Slavic Terms for the Ethnographies Thesaurus*

Eric Naiman (Slavic): *Bridge of Spies*

Leslie Root (Demography): *Demography and Health in Russia and Eurasia*

Liladhar Pendse (Library): *Ephemera: Collecting to Support 21st-Century Research*

Luba Golburt (Slavic): *Nature Writing in Russia*

John Connelly (History): *Presidential Plenary I: On Whose Authority? How Area Studies Scholars Can Go Global, or Not*

Zachary Kelly (ISEES): *Professionalizing Students for Life after Graduation*

Harsha Ram (Slavic): *Translation as Global Conversation Roundtable 2: Translation Studies and Slavic Studies in a Global Perspective*

Meeting Moderators

Liladhar Pendse (Library): *Committee on Libraries and Information Resources Subcommittee on Collection Development*

ISEEES Community News

Faculty

Victoria Frede (History) was awarded a sabbatical fellowship for 2016-2017 from the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) and from the Institute for Advanced Study of the Central European University. She is now in Budapest, Hungary, working on her book on the sentimental cult of friendship in 18th-19th century Russia and eating pastries.

David Frick (Slavic) has won three prestigious prizes for his book *Kith, Kin, and Neighbors: Communities and Confessions in Seventeenth-Century Wilno* (Cornell 2013). The book has now been translated into Lithuanian by one of Lithuania's premier publishing houses, Baltos Lankos. On November 18, 2016, Professor Frick gave an address to the Polish Academy of Learning/Arts and Sciences, and the next day, at a General Session, he was inducted into the Academy.

Luba Golburt (Slavic) organized Slavic panels for this year's meeting of the North American Society for the Study of Romanticism (August 11-14, Berkeley) as a member of the conference program committee. Along with two Slavic graduate students, **Caroline Brickman** and **Kathryn Pribble**, she participated in the discussion of new approaches to Russian Byronism.

Darya Kavitskaya (Slavic) published "StratalOT and Underspecification: Evidence from Tundra Nenets" with Peter Staroverov in *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting on Phonology* 2015. She also was invited to give two lectures: the first at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, "Sonority and cluster simplification in Russian children with SLI"; and the second at Queen Mary, University of London, "Sound change and the structure of synchronic variability: Phonetic and phonological factors in Slavic palatalization," with Khalil Iskarous.

Harsha Ram (Slavic) published the article "The Scale of Global Modernisms: Imperial, National, Regional, Local" in the October 2016 edition of *PMLA*. He also received a 3-year grant from the Social Science and Humanities Research Council (Canada) to pursue and ethnographic and historical study of the cultural practices and material culture of Tbilisi, Georgia. He is co-project investigator with Paul Manning (Trent University).

Vesna Rodic (French) received a grant in Spring 2016 from the Peter N. Kujachich endowment to conduct archival research in Belgrade on Ivo Andrić and his writings from the years surrounding WWI.

Graduate Students

Zachary Johnson (Slavic) successfully defended his dissertation, *Desire, Event, Vision: Forms of Intersubjectivity in the 19th-Century Russian Novel*, in May 2016.

Hilary Lynd (History) received a grant from the Institute of International Studies at UC Berkeley to serve as a visiting scholar at the Centre for Southern African Studies at the Africa Institute in Moscow. She will also present at their annual conference, "Non-Western Europe and Africa: Connections in the Past and Present."

Joy Neumeyer (History) won the Association of Women in Slavic Studies 2016 Graduate Essay Prize for her paper "Brezhnev, Vysotsky, and the Death of Developed Socialism: A Tragic Farce in Five Acts." She also presented a paper titled "Faces of Death: Soviet Immortality in Plaster" at the conference Scientific Utopias in the Soviet Union: Fiction, Science, and Power (1917-1991) in Paris.

Isobel Palmer (Slavic) won a Global Urban Humanities-Townsend Fellowship for Spring 2017. Her project is entitled "Vital Signs: Rhythm, Trope and Voice in Russian Modernism, 1905-1930," in which she will examine the urban landscape through the prism of poetic form to offer a new account of St. Petersburg/Leningrad's entry into technologized urbanism.

Aleksandra Simonova (Anthropology) received a Wenner-Gren Foundation award, the Wadsworth International Fellowship, to support her studies as a doctoral student of Anthropology.

Campus Visitors

Katharina Bluhm is a visiting scholar with ISEEEES during the Fall 2016 semester. Dr. Bluhm is a Professor of Sociology and the Director of the Institute for East-European Studies at the Freie Universität in Berlin. She is spending part of her sabbatical at UC Berkeley to pursue research.

Bruno Gomide is visiting scholar with ISEEEES during the Fall 2016 semester. Dr. Gomide is a Professor of Russian Literature at São Paulo University in Brazil. While in Berkeley, he will be focusing on his current research project on the works of the Leningrad Hispanist David Vygotsky.

Hakyung Jung is a visiting scholar with ISEEEES during the 2016-2017 academic year. She is currently an Assistant Professor of Linguistics in the Department of Russian Language and Literature at Seoul National University in South Korea. While in Berkeley, she will be focusing on her research project "Syntactic Consequences of the Tense System Change in Slavic."

Yi-lun Ma is a visiting student researcher with ISEEEES during the 2016-2017 academic year. She is a currently a PhD student in Russian Literature at the Beijing Foreign Studies University. While in Berkeley, she will be working on her research project "Memory, Marginal Self and Diaspora in the Russian Émigré Literature of the Third Wave."

Silja Pitkanen is a visiting student researcher with ISEEEES during the 2016-2017 academic year. She is currently a PhD student in the Department of History and Ethnology at the University of Jyväskylä in Finland. While at Berkeley, she will be working on her dissertation about representations of children in Soviet and German propaganda photographs from the 1930s.

Zorana Simić is a visiting student researcher with ISEEEES during the Fall 2016 semester. Ms. Simić is a graduate student in the Department of Political Science at Europa-Universität Viadrina in Germany. While in Berkeley, she will continue research on Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian Diaspora.

Yury Zaretskiy is a visiting scholar with ISEEEES during the Fall 2016 semester. Dr. Zaretskiy is a Professor of History at the National Research University Higher School of Economics in Moscow. He has been awarded a Carnegie Fellowship to research the topic of historical knowledge in Russian universities in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.



Save the Date

*Upcoming event during the Spring 2017 semester***

17th Annual Peter N. Kujachich Lecture in Serbian and Montenegrin Studies

Thursday, April 25, 2017, 5:00 p.m.

Toll Room, Alumni House

UC Berkeley Campus

Ronelle Alexander, *Professor of Slavic Languages and Literatures,
University of California, Berkeley*



***Please note that event details may change. Updates will be sent out by email and can be found online at
<http://iseees.berkeley.edu/>.*

Lech Kaczyński's 'W Hour': Illiberal Ideology Collapses at the 72nd Anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising

Pawel Koscielny

Graduate Student, History, UC Berkeley

Every August 1st, Warsaw celebrates 'W Hour'. At 5:00 PM sirens across the city sound and traffic stops for five minutes to commemorate the beginning of the Warsaw Uprising. Many head to the Powązki Military Cemetery or the Uprising Memorial at Krasiński square, where wreaths are laid, salutes are fired, and in many places the 'Apel Poległych' is read. The 'Apel' is a ritual invocation of the names of casualties of the Uprising, but three days before W Hour 2016, it was heard in an altered form. At the Żywiciel memorial in Warsaw's Żoliborz neighborhood, the master of ceremonies read the 'Apel' with the addition of the names of the late Lech Kaczyński and four members of his inner circle who died in the crash of Tu-154 in Smolensk on April 10, 2010. The assembled veterans of the Uprising listened peacefully but let the media know afterward that they were completely scandalized. To politicize the memory of their tragedy and associate it with the tragedy of Tu-154 was, in their words, simply *gauche* and poor form on the part of the government. No one spoke of the Uprising during the rituals commemorating Tu-154, so what gives?

On the next afternoon, the leaders of the veterans' associations attended a highly-publicized meeting in Freedom Park outside the Museum of the Warsaw Uprising with President Duda. He addressed them as follows:

"It is a great honor for any President of Poland to be able to meet heroes. To be able to decorate, in the name of the Polish State the heroes of the Warsaw Uprising, and recognize the heroes of the memory of that rising. We are in the temple of that memory today. In the Museum of the Warsaw Rising initiated by President Lech Kaczyński, who promised this to you in 2002, that after decades of waiting this Museum will be founded and here it is. It's beautiful! And it belongs to *you* just as the 1st of August belongs to you!"

The members of the Association of Warsaw Insurgents and the International Association of Home Army Veterans were not amused; they knew exactly to whom August 1, 2016, was meant to belong. Several days prior, they had attended a secret meeting with Antoni Macierewicz, the Minister of National Defense. Back in June, Macierewicz issued an executive order that every public ritual involving the military should include an 'Apel Smoleński', which invokes the names of the victims of the Smolensk crash. It was implied that W Hour 2016 would be accompanied by this invocation either in addition to or replacing the 'Apel Poległych'. The veterans' associations' public outrage forced Macierewicz to negotiate, and they compromised on the 'Apel Pamięci' ('Invocation of Memory') that would not be read by a military honor guard but a veteran or an actor of the veterans' choosing. The text was simply the 'Apel Poległych' with Lech Kaczyński and his entourage attached. A specter was haunting Poland –

and it was hard to tell if this was failed martyrology, botched necromancy, or plain grotesquery.

Duda continued to recount stories of visiting Warsaw as a youth and how he was moved to tears by thoughts of the Home Army's heroism. The veterans looked a mixture of exasperated, bored, and embarrassed for him (see appendix 1.1). Łukasz Żukowski, the IAAV president, took the podium and told Duda "if you don't start taking measures in the form of laws to ensure veterans a safe retirement, your heroes are going to die in obscurity leaned up somewhere against an old fence." His counterpart from the Warsaw Insurgents Association Zbigniew Galperyn followed



Duda and the Veterans in Freedom Park, July 30, 2016. Żukowski sits first from left.

with a story about how one of the commanders of the Uprising was at home and unable to come to the meeting due to his old age. General Ścibor-Rylski could not afford the necessary care and assistance that would enable him to reach Freedom Park, but the Institute of National Remembrance (IPN) was insisting that he stand before a lustration tribunal in a few days' time. The event was abject, farcical, and completely humiliating for PIS. The flimsy house of cards that is the ruling party's ideology was (for at least a moment) blown apart by the veterans' associations. In what follows, I reflect on the broad ideological aspirations of Macierewicz and Duda's attempt to raise the ghost of Lech Kaczyński, the deep cultural backdrop which motivated them (and made them think it could succeed), and the potentially historic implications of the veterans' resistance.

The mobilizational potential of the PIS ideology and its terrifying success in 2015 has yet to be fully deciphered. Even Slavoj Žižek, who famously uncovered the sublime object grounding all ideology, admitted in an interview with Radio Free Europe that the success of illiberal populism in Poland is a complete enigma: "In the last 25 years there was a genuine economic success. Why then this crazy national-religious twist?" For Žižek, the Polish case is not only baffling but world-historical; the victory of PIS in 2015 was the blow that finally killed the false

notion that capitalism brings stable democracy.¹ In a recent talk at UC Berkeley, the German historian Paul Nolte suggested that the recent wave of illiberal populism in the Euro-Atlantic world was made possible by a combination of economic, political, social, and cultural factors. First on his list, however, was the resurgence of anti-elitism and anti-establishment politics.² I claim that it is precisely an idiosyncratic, Euro-sceptic, and martyrological anti-elitism that constitutes the ideological core of PIS discourse.

My understanding of ideology is informed partly by the definition produced by the political economist Robert Heilbroner:

Ideology—the deeply and unselfconsciously held views of the dominant class in any social order. Here it is important to begin by distinguishing the beliefs from views held in a more pietistic or even cynical fashion, to manipulate or form the opinions of those who are not members of the ruling class. Unlike such propaganda, ideologies are systems of thought and belief by which the dominant classes explain to themselves how their social system operates and what principles it exemplifies. Ideological systems therefore exist not as fictions but as ‘truths’—and not only evidential truths but moral truths.³

Heilbroner is right to claim that elites tend to actually believe their own ideologies, but we should also stop to remember the insights of Marx in *The German Ideology* – that ideology is the deeply held beliefs of all society which makes the dominance of the dominant class appear the natural order of things. PIS does believe in the heroism of the Insurgents, of Kaczyński, and ultimately in its own heroism. But in the W Hour rituals of 2016, they tried to embed this notion of their place in history into the deep fabric of Poland’s commemorative rituals and national tradition. They tried to mask the leadership of Polish society they won in 2015 as a natural, historically justified form of moral and intellectual leadership – to achieve what Antonio Gramsci called “cultural hegemony.”⁴

To understand the emotional charge of the event for the government and the veterans, it may be useful to look back to 2010 and briefly to the nineteenth century. Lech and Maria Kaczyński were buried in the Crypt of St. Leonard under the Wawel Castle in Krakow. The Kaczyńskis’ neighbors in the Crypt of St. Leonard are none other than Tadeusz Kościuszko and Prince Józef Poniatowski, celebrated (though highly incompetent) leaders of Poland’s armed struggle against Imperial Russia in the Napoleonic era. The Crypt became a notorious *lieux de memoire* in 1815, when the Tsar allowed the Poles to bury their

fallen leaders there. Clergy selected by the Tsar gave eulogies that flabbergasted Poniatowski’s and Kościuszko’s followers. In their funeral rites, they were said to be reincorporated into Russian imperial society, and their soldiers immediately began weaving a counternarrative of Kościuszko’s and Poniatowski’s anti-Russian struggle and their Christ-like heroism through poetry. This particular notion of heroism was developed by the Romantic poet Mickiewicz and his concept of “heroic deeds.” Mickiewicz was heavily influenced by the Prussian philosopher-philanthropist Graf August von Cieszkowski, known in Berlin as “the youngest Old Hegelian.” Von Cieszkowski’s magnum opus *Prolegomena Zur Historiosophie* defined “the deed” as labor which would push human communities out of ignorance of the historical process, into organic harmony, and toward something like divinity. Mickiewicz encouraged his compatriots to drive history and pursue divinity through revolutionary violence and self-sacrifice. He basically combined the soldiers’ myths about Kosciuszko’s Christ-like deeds with a misunderstanding of Cieszkowski’s meditation on how social solidarity and scientific knowledge drive history. Mickiewicz’s millenarian insistence that the hero is one who sacrifices for the nation without considering the historical consequences of that sacrifice retains the status of doxa in Poland’s popular discourse on its history.

His antiquated notion permeates the plethora of historical monthly magazines whose circulation has exploded since 2010, as well as the Museum of the Warsaw Uprising and its counterpart the Home Army Museum in Krakow. Youth culture has taken up hero worship as well; surprising numbers of young people across Poland’s urban centers can be seen wearing t-shirts produced by the firms *Red is Bad* and *Surge Polonia*, whose lines of “patriotic clothing” make use of the Home Army’s iconography. (see appendix 1.2) Old photographs and sketches of famous “Excommunicated Soldiers”⁵ are printed together with the slogan “Glory to the Heroes” and “Poland will never forget.” The



¹ Slavoj Žižek for Red Zone (RFE/RL and GPB) 2016. <http://www.radiotavisupleba.ge/a/citeli-zona-sla-voi-zhizheki/27849242.html>

² Nolte, Paul. “Imaginary Invalids? Euro-Atlantic Populisms and the Crisis of Democracy,” (unpublished paper, presented at the Institute of European Studies, UC Berkeley, Nov. 17, 2016), p. 2.

³ Heilbroner, Robert L. *The Nature and Logic of Capitalism*, (New York: Norton, 1986), p. 107.

⁴ Riley, Dylan. “Hegemony, Democracy, and Passive Revolution in Gramsci’s *Prison Notebooks*” in *Californian Italian Studies*, 2(2), 2011.

⁵ Home Army affiliated insurgents and warlords who resisted the Red Army occupation in the 1940s. They were systematically written out of history during high Stalinism and late socialism.



Institute of National Remembrance (IPN) and its Bureau of Public Education has been feverishly refashioning the myths of the Excommunicated Soldiers with a series of graphic novels aimed at children and youth since the mid-2000s (see appendix 1.3). On August 1, 2016, the IPN's Warsaw chapter organized an exhibit about one of their most beloved heroes: the bandit Łupaszka (see appendix 1.3), who terrorized Pomerania until 1947 in a doomed guerrilla campaign against the Red Army. In the tragedies of the Excommunicated Soldiers, which synecdochally stand in for Poland's historic struggle, the heroic narrative of sacrifice is consistently paired with a myth of betrayal: their fight was lost because promised help from sympathizers in the West never came. Thus the overarching narrative of history in the popular imaginary sees Poland as the defender of Western civilization against incursion from the East, who is duped, betrayed, and exploited by the West. I cannot judge if the combined efforts of the far-right press, IPN, and the clothing lines were orchestrated or encouraged by PIS's ideologues, but it has certainly prepared the ground for their cultural counter-hegemony to the pro-Europe liberal elites in Warsaw.

PIS imagine themselves as defenders of the traditional Polish nation and its communitarian values against the degenerate influence of Western capital, consumer culture, and cultural Marxism. It is fine to take EU money, but the urban elites represented by PO had allowed this money to enslave them to corrosive Western cultural supremacy. PIS presents itself as nothing short of a revolution against the residue of post-communist elites who have fed at the trough of government since 1989. The transformation of 1989 was for them a total betrayal by privileged actors in the Solidarity movement, who colluded with the police-state to retain control of finance and industry as Poland left the orbit of Gorbachev's USSR. Their "revolution" in 2015 is the reversal of the false revolution of 1989 and a natural continuation of the genuine struggle against foreign powers and

their treacherous collaborators in Poland since the Partitions: Kościuszko, Poniąkowski, the November insurgents, the January insurgents, and, of course, the Warsaw insurgents. If, according to Duda's speech on July 30, 2016, Lech Kaczyński is a hero of the same magnitude as the Warsaw Insurgents by virtue of commemorating their insurgency, then by the same logic, Jarosław Kaczyński, Macierewicz, and Duda are heroes of the same magnitude as Kaczyński by virtue of commemorating him. PIS marries this twisted *geschichtspolitik* to a progressive social program: promising increased pensions, fighting corruption, and the famous "500 Plus" package, which offered monthly transfer payments to parents of multiple children.

Gramsci wrote that cultural hegemony could be gained by a political party when they establish an "organic" relationship to their constituency through the network of civil society. To produce this link, the party must create the appearance that they mediate between the economy, the family, and the state in such a way that will make its constituents *its own political equals*. It thus "poses itself as an organism in continuous movement, capable of absorbing the entire society, assimilating it to its own cultural and economic level."⁶ Then they rule not by coercion but by consent, and all future political contests are played out within rules set by the hegemonic party and articulated through language pre-determined by that party within the bounds of unquestioned democratic institutions and civil society. PIS is terrifying to us because it seems to have found this organic formula for Poland (and also because Viktor Orbán has shown the immense staying power that a hegemonic party can achieve). They mobilized a great deal of support from the countryside, especially in the east and south, by proclaiming that funds should be redirected to supporting the traditional Polish Catholic family, which values the raising of multiple children and reverence for pensioners. This is why W Hour 2016 carried such symbolic weight for the new government. It was their opportunity to confirm in public ritual their role as protectors of the traditional family by analogy to the defense of Warsaw in 1944, and by showing public solidarity with the nation's most prized pensioners – to perform their organic link to the electorate on television. To establish themselves in this strategically crucial position between the Polish state, the Polish family, and the European economy allows PIS to capitalize on the immediate and legitimate economic anxieties of Poles old and young who are confronted by an increasingly unstable and precarious global capitalism. For Poles, this anxiety is still heavily comorbid with the emotion *ressentiment* vis-à-vis Western Europe. To summarize an argument I have made before, Poland's *ressentiment* is stoked by the notion that the West's prosperity is a debt owed to Poland for its historic sacrifices – and here the myth of the Home Army's heroic sacrifice is instrumental.⁷ In the nationalist imaginary, the Home Army was abandoned by the Allies, yet still fought the Nazis by their side, only to be abandoned again at Yalta. Poland was abandoned to state socialism, and the wealth gap between the West and Poland produced in this period should now be evened out by a proper redistribution of the wealth created by EU integration through the social policies of PIS. The

⁶ Gramsci quoted in Riley, p. 14.

⁷ Koscielny, Pawel. "Illiberal Memory: How The Far Right Rewrote History in Post-Socialist Poland." BPS Working Paper, Spring 2016.

denizens of Poland's declining countryside and its dilapidated post-industrial neighborhoods are the prime target of this spurious logic, but as Nolte argued, there is a more complex generational dynamic at play. Indeed, the core of illiberal populism's base is the old industrial worker who has witnessed a stagnation or decline in living standards and a complete dislocation from traditional European associational life since the 1970s. The transition out of the Fordist economy and globalization have indeed dissolved the traditional role of the male "breadwinner" and the discourse of PIS offers a sense of regaining that forgotten sense of community. Yet Nolte claims that those who are the most angry with the economic order in the present regime are the children of those who lost their jobs to deindustrialization.⁸ This is due to a phenomenon called "cultural lag" – the generation who came up in the post-1989 era is only now digesting their parents' rejection of the 1968 movement and post-Fordism. They have taken the indignation and anxiety about unemployment and the shifting family structure voiced by their parents in the home as unselfconscious predispositions into the public sphere as they came of age. The explosion of interest in national (especially military) history and especially the cult of the Excommunicated Soldiers among Polish youth is one of the glaring symptoms of this cultural lag.

All of these elements came together in a single narrative at W Hour 2016, but Macierewicz and Duda overplayed their hand. They tried to deflect attention from the fact that their social program was not redistributing wealth to veterans as promised. They did so by reminding them that Lech Kaczyński had built them a beautiful museum in 2002 and calling on the burgeoning culture of hero-worship in Post-Socialist Poland. According to Žižek, when an ideological move like this is made, the voice of its speaker loses its individuality. That voice is dissolved in the "Big Other" – the fantasy which necessarily underpins the symbolic order from which authority springs.⁹ So Duda spoke as the entire warped historical narrative of PIS, as its entire bid for cultural

hegemony to the veterans and TV cameras on the day before 'W Hour'. But the veterans were not hearing this fantasy. Instead they heard what Žižek calls "the neighbor's ugly voice." Sometimes, when a subject from outside a community learns its language and speaks it to them, they hear in that voice a veritable theft of the substance of their own identity.¹⁰ When Żukowski responded to Duda, the fantasy of PIS' connection to the heroism of the Insurgents via the ghost of Kaczynski was dispelled and exposed as a theft of the substance of that identity. By reminding Poland that PIS was failing to deliver material support to the veterans whose sacrifices it was now politicizing, Żukowski resisted their bid for cultural hegemony in authentically heroic fashion.

On the same day, the conservative historian Andrzej Nowak wrote an open letter to Macierewicz in the periodical *Gość Niedzielny* wherein he chastised PIS for the 'Apel Smoleński' order and warned that it could stoke a cultural civil war. Nowak was essentially the chief ideologue of the illiberal-populist conception of history since 2010. His articles in the far-right periodicals *Historia Do Rzeczy* and *Uważam Rze Historia* can even be read as its exemplary texts. I will not speculate on the character of his lectures at Jagiellonian University, where he heads the department of History, but the reader can easily find a plethora of his public talks online. Nowak's defection does not carry nearly the same symbolic weight as Żukowski's *coup-de-main* in Freedom Park, but it may have signaled the beginning of this ideology's collapse. What the Polish electorate is making of these events is unpredictable. The recent leak that "500 Plus" is funded with borrowed money may throw the PIS narrative further along its downward spiral. In any case, the illiberal populists have decisively blundered in the arena of *geschichtspolitik* where they have historically concentrated most of their energy. Cultural hegemony is still up for grabs in Poland; if the fractured left manages to recapture their organic link to the constituency heretofore mobilized by the historical distortions peddled by PIS, I think they should build Żukowski a statue and make t-shirts bearing his likeness.

⁸ Nolte, p. 13.

⁹ Žižek, Slavoj, "I Hear You with My Eyes"; or, The Invisible Master," in *Gaze and Voice as Love Objects*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press), p. 19.

¹⁰ Žižek, Slavoj, *The Plague of Fantasies*. (London: Verso, 1997), p. 88.

Save the Date



32nd Annual Colin & Elsa Miller Lecture Bad Transitions After Free Elections



Thursday, February 9, 2017, 5:00 p.m.

Heyns Room, Faculty Club

UC Berkeley Campus

Leszek Balcerowicz, Professor of Economics and

Former Chairman of the National Bank of Poland and Former Deputy Prime Minister of Poland

****Please note that event details may change. Updates will be sent out by email and can be found online at <http://iseees.berkeley.edu/>.**



Sapa Vietnamese Market

Prague, Czech Republic - Danielle McGinnis

Who would have guessed that in the city of Prague, behind this building, is a town of its own. Sapa, also referred to as Little Hanoi, started as a Vietnamese wholesale market and now is the center of Vietnamese culture and cuisine in the Czech Republic. Sapa operates in an old meat-processing factory purchased by Vietnamese merchants in 1999. With three vehicle entrances, roads, and parking lots, this market effectively acts as a city within a city. It hires its own security and has its own traffic laws; the most important one, for example, is that the largest vehicle has the right of way. The numerous restaurants provide a gathering place for the Vietnamese community in Prague. A Buddhist temple stands in one corner of the complex, and there is even a kindergarten on the premises. These elements of Sapa create a community for both the Vietnamese and Czechs to experience and enjoy.

The existence of Sapa has received both praise and criticism. While some outsiders fear Sapa allows for illegal markets and crime, others believe it is invaluable in the blending of Czech and Vietnamese cultures. Sapa represents the permanence of Vietnamese people in Prague. At one time, Vietnamese workers were encouraged to come to Prague to work but were not allowed to marry, have children, or stay longer than their visa permitted. Today, the town-sized market is operated and frequented by many second-generation Vietnamese-Czechs and their children. Sapa is useful in incorporating Vietnamese culture into a Czech childhood, especially for third-generation children. It provides them a place to learn the Vietnamese language, eat authentic food, and interact with other people who have Vietnamese heritage.

However, there are threats present to the little city in a city. Because the Vietnamese are one of the largest minorities in Prague and the Czech Republic, they can be subject to racism. People often question the legality of the marketplace, the items they sell, and the building of structures themselves. We learned that often the most difficult clash of the authorities and Sapa community members is operating within the Czech laws that they do not agree with or see reasonable. For this reason, you cannot take photos inside the complex. As a visitor, this was the hardest rule to follow, the balance between a busy Asian marketplace and an old factory warehouse was fascinating.

For the merchant, the local, and the visitor, Sapa has a rich culture to experience. Though one would likely walk by the unassuming entrance, those who know its existence benefit greatly. Its presence adds to the multiculturalism of the city and aids in the blending of cultures. It is normal to see Czech families enjoying the pho or shopping in the low-cost clothing markets, just as it is to see Vietnamese-owned businesses around the city. The mixing of peoples and cultures adds to the diversity and distinctiveness of Prague.

Fall 2016 Courses

Selected course offerings and selected area-related courses

Anthropology 150	Utopia: Art and Power in Modern Times	Yurchak, A.
Anthropology 250X	Death and the Political Body	Yurchak, A.
Architecture 270	History of Modern Architecture	Castillo, G.
Buddhist Studies 120	Buddhism on the Silk Road	Mehendale, S.
Comparative Literature R1A	Nautical Narratives: Imagining the Sea	Brock, A. & Sliwowski, T.
Comparative Literature R1A	Trivial Pursuits: Irrelevance in Literature	Kadue, K. & Bootes, W.
Comparative Literature R1B	Home and Away	Kaletzky, M. & Hellberg, S.
Comparative Literature R1B	Reading and Writing Other People	Johnston, T. & Cai, K.
Comparative Literature R1B	Reading Too Much Into This: Scenes of Instruction in Literature and Philosophy	Merrill, C.
Comparative Literature R1B	Tales of the Undead: Ghosts, Vampires, Zombies, and Their Afterlives	Vaknin, J. & Wu, L.
Comparative Literature R1B	Borders, Ruptures, Gaps: The Fault Lines of Literature	Stirner, S.
Comparative Literature 20	Episodes in Literary Cultures: Why Long Novels? Eliot, Dostoevsky, Proust	Lucey, M.
Comparative Literature 100	Introduction to Comparative Literature: Children's Literature in Theory, Context, and Practice	Nesbet, A.
Comparative Literature 250	Poetic Justice: Dostoevsky, Nabokov and Literature in the Shadow of the Law	Naiman, E.
Economics 215A	Political Economics	Roland, G.
Economics 216	Seminar in Political Economy	Roland, G.
Economics 260A	Comparative Economics	Roland, G.
Film Studies 25A	The History of Film: Silent Era	Nesbet, A.
Geography 55	Introduction to Central Asia	Mehendale, S.
History R1B	Empire in the Era of Nationalism (1789-Present)	Kettler, M.
History 100	Special Topics in Comparative History: World War II	Barshay, A. & Connelly, J.
History 103B	Banned Books: The Rise of Censorship in Modernity	Wenger, E.
History 103B	The Soviet Union on the Eve of the End: Film, Fiction, Music	Slezkine, Yu.
History 162A	Europe and the World: Wars, Empires, Nations 1648-1914	Wetzel, D.
History 167C	Germany in the 20th Century	Wenger, E.
History 177B	Armenia; From Pre-modern Empires to the Present	Astourian, S.
History 187	The History and Practices of Human Rights	Hoffmann, S.
History 283/285	Historical Method and Theory / Advanced Studies in European History	Hoffmann, S.
IAS 45	Survey of World History	Beecher, D.
IAS 102	Scope and Methods of Research in International and Area Studies	Beecher, D.
Political Economy 160	Political Economy in Historical Context	Beecher, D.
Political Science 191	Foundations of Political Thought and Action	Fish, S.
Political Science 200A	Major Themes in Comparative Analysis	Dunning, T. & Wittenberg, J.
Political Science 291AS	Comparative Politics Colloquium	Wittenberg, J.
Slavic R5A	Narratives of Adultery and Their "Afterlives"	DeWaele, K.
Slavic R5A	Media, Politics, and Contemporary Russian Literature	Schwartz, C.
Slavic R5A	The Poetics of Translation	Brickman, C.
Slavic R5B	Hard Science Fiction and the Representation of Reality	Dyne, T.
Slavic R5B	Alternative Spaces: Urban Literature on the Fringes	Palmer, I.
Slavic R5B	War Stories: Representing Conflict in Literature and Film	Postema, A.
Slavic 45	Nineteenth-Century Russian Literature	Ram, H.
Slavic 100	Seminar: Russian, East European, and Eurasian Cultures	Kavitskaya, D.
Slavic 131	Literature, Art, and Society in Twentieth-Century Russia: The European Avant-Garde: From Futurism to Surrealism	Ram, H.
Slavic 134D	Leo Tolstoy	Paperno, I.
Slavic 134F	The Works of Vladimir Nabokov	Naiman, E.
Slavic 147B	Balkan Folklore	Alexander, R.
Slavic 200	Graduate Colloquium	Frick, D.
Slavic 214	Medieval Orthodox Slavic Texts	Frick, D.
Slavic 280/281	Tolstoy's Anna Karenina and the Uses of Literary Scholarship	Paperno, I.
Slavic 287	The Russian Nature Lyric	Golburt, L.
Slavic 375A	Teaching Methods for Slavic Languages: Russian 1-4	Little, L.
Slavic 375B	Teaching Methods for Reading & Composition	Golburt, L.

The Slavic Department offers courses in Armenian, Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian, Czech, Hungarian, Polish, and Russian. The German Department offers Yiddish.