



NewsNet

News of the Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies

US-Russian Relations, Nord Stream, Germany, and Ukraine Margarita M. Balmaceda, Seton Hall University

Much has been written about the recent Geneva summit between Presidents Biden and Putin. What does it tell us about how relations with Russia have shifted since the change of administration in Washington? How does looking at that relationship from the broader perspective of US-European-Ukrainian relations help us gain a more nuanced understanding of the situation and the challenges moving forward?

Compared to the Trump era, much has changed in the mechanics of US policymaking towards Russia. At an institutional level, the Trump administration's policies vis-à-vis Russia were marked by the weakening and sidelining of the US State Department and of experienced Russia career diplomats, as well as by the dissonance involved in Mr. Trump pursuing a parallel, private foreign policy regarding at least one key country in US-Russian relations: Ukraine. Here it suffices to recall Mr. Trump's July 2019 order that military aid to Ukraine be frozen in advance of what would become a fateful conversation with President Zelensky.¹ All of this at a time when Mr. Trump's personal lawyer,

Rudolph Giuliani, was conducting a de facto parallel, unauthorized, policy in Ukraine on behalf of Mr. Trump's personal interests, to the point of forcing the resignation of the US career Ambassador to Ukraine, Marie Yovanovitch.

The second key difference has to do with each president's own personal attitude towards Vladimir Putin. Donald Trump's openly deferential attitude towards Putin (as manifested most graphically by his comments and body language at the press conference at the conclusion of the July 2018 Helsinki summit, and by his comments to the effect that he trusted Mr. Putin more than the US's own intelligence community) led many to raise the issue of a possible Putin blackmail of Trump.² In contrast, President Biden has been much more forthcoming. The message sent by Biden – particularly in his answer to a journalist to the effect that he (still) considered Putin a “killer” – was: “I know who you are, I have no illusions about you.” (Those of you familiar with Russia will smile at the connotation of the term *killer* as used colloquially in Russian.) Biden is saying: “Yes, I am

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willing to contribute to stabilize relations, but on the basis of realistic, sober assumptions, and of US national interests.”

Enter Nord Stream 2

But, as questions around the geopolitics of energy supplies to EU states have made clear, speaking of straightforward national interests is a complex issue in our interconnected world. I am referring to the issue of the Nord Stream 2 natural gas pipeline, the second part of a pipeline transporting natural gas from Russia to Germany under the Baltic Sea, allowing for direct large-scale gas exports to Western Europe; while its first line (Nord Stream 1) had been in use since 2011, by 2019 its second set of lines doubling its capacity, originally set to come online in 2020, was becoming the center of an international controversy eliciting strong reactions in Russia, Germany, Ukraine, and the US. At issue was the impact of the new pipelines on Ukraine, which as recently as ten years ago transited nearly 80% of Russia’s natural gas exports, accounting for over 50% of Gazprom’s profits.³ The writing had been on the wall for more than a decade – Nord Stream is part of a longer trend of Russia seeking to circumvent Ukraine and the Baltic states as natural gas and oil export routes, noted in Russia’s Energy Strategy to 2020 and Russia’s Energy Strategy to 2030.⁴

Even if Nord Stream 2 itself may not have been a main topic of discussion during the summit, it was, arguably, the main issue against which domestic proponents of softer and harder policies toward Russia were weighting their forces. The issue of sanctions – or, rather, backpedaling on sanctions, as many observers would put it – became a major point of criticism of Mr. Biden’s policies vis-à-vis Russia. Let us take a step back and look at the main issues related to US decisions on the pipeline, the impact on Ukraine, and at Ukraine’s options moving forward.

Nord Stream 2: Impact on Ukraine

There are two key arguments of those calling for stronger sanctions against the pipeline and companies collaborating in its construction: that it would increase the EU state’s dependency on Russia, and that it would have a serious negative impact on Ukraine, primarily through loss of transit revenue. Indeed, direct or indirect transit fees received by Ukraine for the transit of Russian gas have been key for Ukraine’s energy system since independence. Until 2006 such transit services, although not paid for separately, allowed Ukraine to import Russian natural gas at preferential prices.⁵ Since

then, they have been a source of foreign-currency earnings averaging about \$2 billion per year. At the same time, the impact of diverting natural gas transit away from Ukraine goes much further.

First, reduced transit volumes have an impact going well beyond transit fees. If revenue-wise a 50% decline in contracted transit volumes may mean a 50% decline in transit fee income, in terms of the actual *functioning* of the pipeline (not only as an export pipeline but for domestic supplies), a 50% decrease in volumes means much more than a 50% decline in functioning quality. As I discuss at length in my new book, *Russian Energy Chains*, the reason for this goes back to the shape of Ukraine’s gas pipeline system (which simultaneously handles transit functions as well as domestic supply loads) and natural gas’s material characteristics. Natural gas, being lighter than air, will not move at all in the pipeline without pressure. If the volume of natural gas in Ukraine’s trunk pipeline system goes below a certain percentage of its capacity, it becomes harder not only for the natural gas to move forward in the pipeline, but also for the country’s domestic natural gas supply system to work properly.

Second, the easing out of Ukraine from its transit role also affects Ukraine’s international situation and the credibility of any security guarantees it may receive from EU states. With EU states no longer having a vested interest in the smooth functioning of Ukraine’s gas transit system, they may lose interest in Ukraine as well. Finally, there is the impact on Ukraine’s domestic politics. With many referring to President Zelensky’s inability to stop the completion of Nord Stream 2 as his first major geopolitical defeat and evidence of lack of real support for Ukraine in the EU and the US, this provides new arguments for political groups in Ukraine eager to make political capital out of any disillusionment with the West and opens the door to increased uncertainty in its foreign policy.

Given these multiple negative effects on Ukraine, the joint US-German Declaration of July 21, 2021, giving the green light to Nord Stream 2’s completion came as a rude awakening.⁶ That Germany and other EU states would support the project came as no surprise given Gazprom’s long-standing ties with EU companies (Nord Stream 2 AG financial investors such as OMV, Shell, and Wintershall, in particular) and special conditions offered them, even when the pipeline itself has not been proven to make business sense as compared with transit through Ukraine. In fact, as analysis by

Russia's investment bank Sberbank CIB made clear, it was well-connected building contractors—on the example of Boris and Arkadyi Rotemberg, and Genadii Timchenko—that were most clearly benefitting from the project, at the expense of Gazprom shareholders.⁷ But why would the US backpedal and finally agree to the project? I see this as a combination of two factors: on the one hand, the weight of the *fait accompli* of the project nearing completion, and, on the other, the weight of the relationship with the US's European allies.

In dealing with Russia, President Biden is negotiating a delicate balancing act. US-Western and European-Russian energy relations have long been a contentious issue, even from the early 1980s, when the US opposed (and ultimately failed to stop) the building of a natural gas pipeline out of security concerns.⁸ However, walking into the presidency in 2021, President Biden faces an additional challenge: after four years of neglect and active damaging of the US's most important strategic, political, and democratic-culture relationships, rebuilding relations with European allies is a clear priority, as made clear by the fact that before the summit with Putin, Biden made a point of meeting the US's EU and NATO partners at length.

Options for Ukraine

The Joint Declaration offers Ukraine a number of

“consolation prizes,” but without any fully enforceable commitments. The short, 1,047-word document does not constitute and does not carry the legal weight of an international agreement. It includes, however, several initiatives to support Ukraine's energy security and sovereignty after Nord Stream 2 comes into operation. In particular, it “commits to utilize all available leverage to facilitate” an extension of the current Ukrainian-Gazprom gas transit agreement (set to expire at the end of 2024) “for up to ten years.” It also discusses possible sanctions in case Russia would seek to exert economic or military pressure on Ukraine. Yet, sobered by the experience of the weak real security guarantees provided by the 1994 Budapest Memorandum on Security Assurances, Kyiv is also right to look skeptically at this declarative statement.⁹ All the more so because EU-level sanctions (for example targeting oil imports from Russia) would also require the agreement of other EU states, including those with closer ties with Putin, such as Italy and Hungary. On the positive side, the Declaration also discusses support for Ukraine's continued access to “reverse” gas supplies, and notes support for Ukraine's integration into the EU's ENTSO-N electricity network; relevant as electricity export is a very promising business for Ukraine, but one in where other Eastern European states have sought to limit competition from Ukraine

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and, thus, an area where German and US support is especially important.

Most importantly, the Joint Declaration launches a \$1 billion Green Fund for the Ukraine investment fund to support the modernization of Ukraine's energy system and its transition to a low-carbon economy, explicitly singling out the need to speed up the movement away from coal. The US and Germany each committed an initial \$175 million to this fund. This is the most credible and significant of the commitments mentioned in the Joint Declaration, with the caveat that the amounts involved need to be boosted up to make a real impact given the legacy of more than a century of heavily coal-based development. If truly implemented, the Green Fund would have a generational change effect on Ukraine, not only because of its impact on the country's energy resilience, but because failure to reform the coal sector has had myriad negative effects, from its deteriorating ecological situation to the systemic misuse of subsidies that helped prop-up the power of coal-steel oligarchs such as Rinat Akhmetov, eventually creating favorable conditions for Russian intervention in the area.¹⁰

Given the limitation and opportunities opened by the new situation around Nord Stream 2, the best option for Ukraine is to use this moment as an opportunity to press more forcefully for NATO membership, and for concrete, enforceable security guarantees. Much has been written about Ukraine becoming a natural gas trade hub for the EU, but given the EU's commitment to a low-carbon future, Ukraine would do best to embrace the future rather than holding on to a fossil-fuel past. One concrete opportunity concerns using its existing pipelines to transport green-produced hydrogen rather than natural gas.¹¹ This would be a win-win situation for Ukraine, the US, and its European partners.

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Endnotes

1 As revealed in July 2021 from e-mails released to *The New York Times* after a lengthy Freedom of Information Act lawsuit, top US national security officials at the time had serious concerns about such a freeze being used as leverage vis-à-vis Ukrainian leaders. See Charlie Savage, "Officials Struggled With Trump's Ukraine Aid Freeze, Emails Show," *The New York Times*, July 29, 2021, available at <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/07/29/us/politics/trump-ukraine-impeachment.html> (accessed July 29, 2021).

2 See Bob Woodward, *Rage* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2020), and Tori B. Powell, "Former Director of National Intelligence Believed 'Putin Had Something on Trump': Woodward Book," *The Daily Beast*, September 9, 2020, available at <https://www.thedailybeast.com/former-director-of-national-intelligence-dan-coats-believed-putin-had-something-on-trump> (accessed August 1, 2021).

3 Margarita M. Balmaceda, *Russian Energy Chains: The Remaking of Technopolitics from Siberia to Ukraine to the European Union* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2021), 87. The calculation assumes that about 70 percent of Gazprom's profits come from exports to Europe, and that about 80 percent of those exports transited through Ukraine. The 70 percent figure is from Jonathan Stern, declarations to "Commons Defense Select Committee Evidence Session on UK Relations with Russia," March 17, 2009, <http://www.epolitix.com/latestnews/article-detail/newsarticle/committee-briefing-uk-relations-with-russia/>.

4 *Energeticheskaiia strategiiia Rossii na period do 2020 goda: Utverzhdena raspriazheniem Pravitel'stva Rossiiskoi Federatsii 28 avgusta 2003 g.* (Energy Strategy of Russia until 2020: Approved by the directive of the Government of Russian Federation on August 28, 2003), no. 1234; *Energeticheskaiia strategiiia Rossii na period do 2030 goda: Utverzhdena raspriazheniem Pravitel'stva Rossiiskoi Federatsii 27 avgusta 2008* (Energy Strategy of Russia until 2030: Approved by the directive of the Government of Russian Federation on August 27, 2008).

5 Margarita M. Balmaceda, *The Politics of Energy Dependency: Ukraine, Belarus and Lithuania Between Domestic Oligarchs and Russian Pressure* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 105.

6 "Joint Statement of the United States and Germany on Support for Ukraine, European Energy Security, and our Climate Goals." Full text available at the US State Department's website, at <https://www.state.gov/joint-statement-of-the-united-states-and-germany-on-support-for-ukraine-european-energy-security-and-our-climate-goals/>

7 See Timofei Dziadko and Liudmila Podobedova, "Pribyl' dlia podriadchikov: skol'ko aktsionery «Gazproma» teraiut na stroikakh," in *RBC Business*, May 21, 2018, available at <https://www.rbc.ru/business/21/05/2018/5afc50979a79471ce133d69a> (accessed August 1, 2021). The report itself, "Russian Oil and Gas: Tickling Giants," was only made available to Sberbank CIB consulting costumers; a copy is available at https://globalstocks.ru/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/Sberbank-CIB-OG_Tickling-Giants.pdf.

8 For an excellent discussion see Per Högselius, *Red Gas: Russia and the Origins of European Energy Dependence* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 184-190.

9 On the limitations of the 1994 Budapest Memorandum, see Mariana Budjeryn (2016), "Was Ukraine's Nuclear Disarmament a Blunder?," *World Affairs*, 179(2), 9-20.

10 See Balmaceda, *Russian Energy Chains*, chapter 6.

11 See "Proshchai, gaz, privet, vodorod: kogda Ukraina stanet kliuchevym eksporterom vodoroda na rynku EC" *Ekonomichna Pravda*, 23 July 2021, available at <https://www.epravda.com.ua/rus/projects/greendeal/2021/07/23/676200/> (accessed July 27, 2021).



2021 ASEEES Distinguished Contributions to Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies Award

Established in 1970, the Distinguished Contributions to Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies Award honors eminent members of the profession who have made major contributions to the field through scholarship of the highest quality, mentoring, leadership, and/or service to the profession. The prize is intended to recognize diverse contributions across Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies. The 2021 award is presented to **Donald J. Raleigh**, the Jay Richard Judson Distinguished Professor of History at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill.

Donald J. Raleigh is the Jay Richard Judson Distinguished Professor of History at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill. A historian of exceptional thematic and methodological breadth, his early pioneering works on the Russian Revolution and Civil War have been described as a “game changer,” and as “archival tours de force.” His more recent volumes on Soviet baby boomers are lauded as setting the highest standards for oral history. Raleigh’s work is justly celebrated for its attention to the reverberations of global events through local histories and individual lives. This interest in the diversity of human experience allows Raleigh to find a fresh angle on his subject matter, whatever the period. Over the course of his long and illustrious career, he has covered practically every decade of Soviet history, starting from his field-defining studies of the Revolution and the Civil War in Saratov, and ending with his current research on Leonid Brezhnev and Konstantin Chernenko.

Equally legendary is Raleigh’s reputation as a teacher and mentor. He has supervised well over fifty MA theses and PhD dissertations on topics that run the gamut from post-revolutionary criminology to early

Cold War superpower relations, and from medical practices in Stalinist Central Asia to the late-Soviet history of Jehovah’s Witnesses. Raleigh has extended his intellectual support to countless colleagues at his home institutions, the University of Hawaii, UNC-Chapel Hill, and beyond. Russian and American scholars describe him as “a brilliant graduate mentor” and “the model of collegiality, helpfulness, and graciousness,” in short, “a mensch of the highest accord.” Raleigh has published widely in both English and Russian, and has made his mark on the discipline through his



editorial work and institution-building. Notable here is his tireless effort to promote contacts and cooperation between Russian and American historians, his fifteen-year tenure as the editor of *Soviet (Russian) Studies in History*, and his directorship of the UNC-Chapel Hill’s Center for Slavic, Eurasian and East European Studies, which he has turned into a real hot-house of exciting research on the region. ASEEES honors Professor Raleigh’s generosity of spirit and intellectual presence, which will continue to shape our field for years to come.

NEW FROM SLAVICA PUBLISHERS

David Schimmelpenninck van der Oye et al., eds. *Russian International Relations in War and Revolution, 1914–22, 1: Origins and War, 1914–16*, xxii + 446 p.; 2: *Revolution and Civil War*, xviii + 416 p., 2021 (ISBN 978-089357-436-9; 978-089357-437-6), \$44.95.

Written by scholars from North America, Europe, Russia, and Japan and making abundant use of Russian archives, these essays are diverse in approach: some focus on traditional “diplomatic history,” while others adopt new “international history” by placing Russia’s relations with the world in their social, intellectual, economic, and cultural contexts. Arranged in roughly chronological order, book 1 covers the late imperial period (1914–mid-1916), while book 2 examines the 1917 revolutions and the Civil War (1918–22).

Korine Amacher et al., eds. *Personal Trajectories in Russia’s Great War and Revolution, 1914–22: Biographical Itineraries, Individual Experiences, Autobiographical Reflections*, xviii + 378 p., 2021 (ISBN 978-0-89357-438-3), \$44.95.

This collection of essays investigates how the revolutionary events of 1917–21 shaped biographies both in Russia and Western Europe and how people tried to make sense of the political developments during these years in self-testimonies like diaries and memoirs. Examining a plurality of stories, perceptions, and interpretations, these essays analyze the trajectories of men and women with very different origins, social backgrounds, and political commitments. Finally, the construction of revolutionary narratives and memories is addressed.



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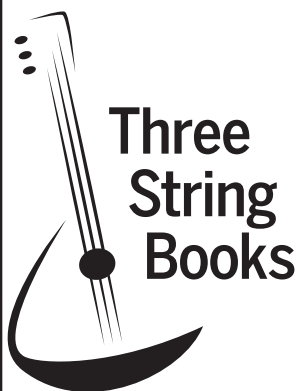


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Three String Books is an imprint of Slavica Publishers devoted to translations of literary works and belles-lettres from Central and Eastern Europe, including Russia and the other successor states of the former Soviet Union.

Anna Starobinets. *Look at Him*, trans. Katherine E. Young, xii + 151 p., 2020 (ISBN 978-089357-503-8), \$19.95.

In this groundbreaking memoir, Anna Starobinets chronicles the devastating loss of her unborn son to a fatal birth defect. A finalist for the 2018 National Bestseller Prize, *Look at Him* ignited a firestorm in Russia, prompting both high praise and severe condemnation for the author’s willingness to discuss long-taboo issues of women’s agency over their own bodies, the aftereffects of abortion and miscarriage on marriage and family life, and the callousness and ignorance displayed by many in Russia in situations like hers.



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Miroslav Maksimović, *Pain*, trans. John Jeffries and Bogdan Rakić, viii + 104 p., 2021 (ISBN 978-089357-508-3), \$19.95.

The fourteen sonnets of *Pain* deal with a historical event from August 1941, when the entire Serbian population of the village of Miostrah were massacred by their Muslim neighbors. Among the more than 180 slaughtered women and children were all the members of Maksimović’s mother’s immediate family. Thirteen years of age, Maksimović’s mother miraculously survived and joined the anti-fascist partisan forces.

Using her tragedy as a paradigm for a national trauma, Maksimović created a work that both contributes to the Serbian culture of remembrance and oversteps the boundaries of memorial literature as it celebrates the triumph of poetry over historical evil.

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Articles

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Review Essay

PAUL W. WERTH

Russia’s Borders in East and West



Teaching the 1648 Moscow Uprising in 2020

E. Thomas Ewing, Virginia Tech

In the summer of 2020, I faced two challenges as I prepared to teach my course on Russian history to Peter the Great in the fall semester: first, the need to transform a course normally taught in a classroom into a virtual format during Covid-19, and second, the need to respond to growing protests about racial injustice during summer 2020.¹ My solution was to structure my course on early Russian history around the 1648 Moscow uprising as a case study of how popular unrest responds to, yet also shapes critical moments in history.

In responding to the first challenge, I drew on my experience with the emergency pivot to online teaching in March 2020, when Virginia Tech, like many other universities, suspended all classroom instruction and shifted to virtual teaching. From my experience in the spring, I knew that the Zoom format was not suited to my usual pedagogical approach, which combines some lectures with extensive discussion and classroom activities such as structured debates or role playing. I decided that my class would take advantage of the flexibility of the virtual platform for collaborative projects, in which students could work on shared documents while communicating with each other in breakout rooms.

Next, I had to choose a focus and format for the collaborative projects. A course which covers almost a millennium of Russian history—from the legendary founding of Rus' in the ninth century to Peter I's declaration of the empire at the start of the eighteenth century—provides little opportunity for students to pursue the usual form of research paper. I also needed a topic that fit chronologically and thematically with other parts of the course. The solution to this dilemma came to me as I also struggled with the urgent need to respond to protests for racial justice in summer 2020 following the murder of George Floyd. While it seemed wrong to plan a course that did not acknowledge these issues, I was not sure how to address these topics in a course seemingly so remote both chronologically and geographically from the United States and the twenty-first century. As I thought about the content of this Russian history course, however, I identified the common theme of exploring efforts to expand public participation in the political process through protests, demonstrations, and uprisings.

The June 1648 Moscow uprising thus became the focal point in the course by structuring opportunities for

students to work collaboratively while also highlighting broad questions about how protests begin, who sustains popular movements, how governments respond, and what the end of protests mean for participants and society more generally. The Moscow uprising began on June 1, 1648, when a peaceful attempt to present a petition to Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich was thwarted, leading to almost two weeks of protests, violent suppression, the outbreak of numerous fires, and ultimately the deaths of hundreds of people, including several leading members of the ruling elite. From a teaching perspective, the Moscow uprising is one of the few topics covered in a Pre-Petrine Russian history course where students have access to translated primary sources necessary to examine competing perspectives, reconstruct narratives, and interpret historical significance. The historiographical debates about the 1648 uprising engage broader themes in Russian history, including the formation of communities, the leadership of individuals, the role of women, Russia's position in Eurasia, and the development of political culture.

I introduced this topic at the beginning of the course by assigning Professor Valerie A. Kivelson's article, "The Devil Stole His Mind: The Tsar and the 1648 Moscow Uprising."² Assigning this article in the first week required a substantial jump in chronology, as we moved abruptly from Kievan Rus' in the ninth century to the Romanov dynasty in the seventeenth century. After reading this article, students met separately in their breakout groups to identify important turning points and relevant connections to current protests. In the discussion that followed, I guided students through Kivelson's argument about political culture as a "complex of beliefs, expectations, and practices" which "set the limits of what was politically conceivable" in Muscovite Russia (p. 734). When Professor Kivelson visited the class via Zoom later in the semester, she elaborated on this interpretation of political culture, while also reflecting on how the study of riots, protests, and uprising have changed in recent decades.

Students completed four collaborative projects, which accounted for nearly one-half of their graded work. For the first project, each group read several primary sources about the 1648 uprising and then created a timeline, identified key participants, and wrote a short analysis.

This project was designed to guide students to recognize that primary sources often have competing perspectives and offer incomplete accounts of a single event. The challenge of historical analysis, therefore, is to weave together a narrative that incorporates differences while also explaining who did what when, where, and why.

The question of competing interpretations was also central to a class discussion of the most famous illustration of the 1648 uprising, a [painting](#) displayed in 1938 by Soviet artist Ernest Lissner.³ In a lecture, I described how the painting incorporated key moments from primary sources while also developing its own interpretation of this event. I explained why Soviet artists in the late 1930s turned to earlier stages of Russian history to provide legitimacy to the emerging Stalinist system of state power (a point further illustrated when the class watched the Stalinist-era films, *Alexander*



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Nevsky and *Ivan the Terrible*). We also discussed why the painting is not a primary source (given that it was created almost three centuries after the event) yet still provides a useful way to understand historical significance. Finally, I referenced the two different titles for this painting, “Salt Riot” (*Solianoi bunt*) or “Uprising in Moscow” (*Vosstanie v Moskve*) to explore the implications of calling an event a “riot” or an “uprising.”

The second project challenged students to think about the ways Russian historians have interpreted this event at different stages, from the late imperial period through the contemporary era. Readings included excerpts by leading historians Kliuchevsky, Platonov, and Vernadsky, a chapter from a Stalinist-era textbook, and recent online publications by Russian historians aimed at popular audiences.⁴ Each group prepared a presentation that examined the interpretations of the 1648 uprising in the contexts in which they were written. Professor Kivelson’s virtual visit to the class was timed to observe the presentations and comment on changing interpretations of the 1648 rebellion.

The third project asked students to think comparatively about the meaning of protests, uprising, and demonstrations in historical contexts different from Muscovite Russia. This assignment returned to my goal of connecting protests for racial justice with the content of the course. I assigned readings that took a more theoretical, comparative, and political approach to explaining a disparate range of incidents: [food riots in eighteenth-century England and France](#), the [Boston tea party](#), street protests in the [Russian Revolution](#), and the [urban uprising in Detroit](#) in the 1960s.⁵ Each group wrote a short analytical essay that explored a three-way comparison between Moscow in 1648, the event examined in their assigned essay, and protests for racial justice.

Teaching Russian history in fall 2020 made possible an unexpected connection with the pro-democracy protests in Belarus, which emerged in late summer and generated international attention just as the semester started.⁶ I began many classes by connecting news from Belarus with themes from Russian history. On August 31, 2020, for example, the lecture began with an image of men and women on a public square in Minsk. I pointed out that two obvious signs of the current historical context (a man taking a selfie while also wearing a mask against Covid) were juxtaposed with a legacy of the Soviet era (a building dominated by a massive designation: “Minsk—City of Heroes”). Two weeks later, on September 14,

a photograph of protestors facing a line of armored security forces illustrated the escalating force used to respond to the growing protests, which allowed for effective comparisons to the timeline of the 1648 Moscow uprising. During the final week of the semester, I presented excerpts from a *Washington Post* essay by protest leader Svetlana Tikhonovskaya, appealing to the world to support democratic movements. During the last class, I told students that the slogan of the Belarus protests: “We believe! We can! We will win!” struck me as an affirmation of hope in an otherwise bleak year.

This approach to connecting historical and contemporary examples also made it possible to explore more specific themes. One presentation featured the remarkable photograph of an unarmed woman, draped in the red and white colors of Belarus, kneeling in front of heavily armed security forces. I used this image to remind the class of similar moments during the American and global protests for racial justice in summer 2020, as unarmed protestors knelt in front of armed security forces. Referencing the earlier discussion of how Lissner’s painting connected Stalinist art to Muscovite protests centuries earlier, I showed the class the stunning image created by artist [Anna Redko](#)⁷ which depicted protest leader [Maria Kolesnikova](#) holding the [passport](#) she had torn up rather than face deportation.⁸ My presentation included two graphic arts side by side: Redko’s depiction of Kolesnikova and the 1941 poster mobilizing the Soviet people to fight the German invaders. The text on Redko’s poster included a very slight change with significant implications: “The motherland calls you” (*Rodina-mat’ zovet*) in 1941 became “The motherland calls you, Maria” (*Rodina, Mash, zovet*) in 2020. Given that the class had already discussed the mythical figure of Princess Olga, women’s roles in Russian law codes, and the symbolic presence of women in heroic tales, these protest images illustrated themes of women’s leadership and sacrifice across multiple stages of Russian history, connecting the tenth century to the present.

The final project was a mid-course adjustment to changing circumstances. I had originally planned to assign a critical analysis of how historians are re-assessing the 1648 rebellion as part of a broader debate about politics, identity, and society. As the semester progressed, however, and I observed the cumulative effects of the epidemic, remote learning and living, and a remarkably stressful election year, I decided the final project had to be something more fun. The assignment for each group was to make a short film, no more than six minutes, that explored any dimension of the 1648 rebellion. Given

this latitude, the results were creative, entertaining, and scholarly, across a wide range of genres: a comedy skit, a news report, an animated cartoon, an epic poem, and a mock trial. The video that the class selected as the best overall featured a student (working solo) who performed an original folk song about the uprising.

How did students respond to this approach? The evidence from student evaluations was mixed. Some students commented positively on opportunities to work collaboratively and connect historical content to contemporary issues; others complained that too much time was devoted to one event and they did not learn as much about other periods of history. As I reflected on this course, I found the self-assessments submitted following each collaborative assignment to provide a better sense of what was working (these comments were not anonymous, as they were part of graded work). In response to the question, "What will you remember about studying the 1648 rebellion during the Covid year of 2020?" students commented on the relevance of this topic in a year in which the American social fabric seemed to fray, the vital lesson for leaders to pay attention to the grievances of their subjects, the value of collaborating with diverse teams in a virtual work environment, and the importance of critical thinking and empathetic understanding when studying the past.

On January 6, 2021, I watched with shock, horror, and deep concern as a rally for the defeated president turned into an organized storming of the US Capitol with the goal of disrupting the certification of electoral college votes by Congress. On that day, and over the coming days as more shocking video was released, I thought frequently of Lissner's painting of a violent uprising at the gates of the Kremlin. If this event had occurred while I was teaching this class, I would have emphasized the important contrast between a protest designed to pressure an authoritarian state to recognize the wishes of a marginalized population (1648) and an assault intended to disrupt a constitutionally-mandated step in a democratic process by supporters of an authoritarian leader who had been defeated in a fair election (2021).

My memory of teaching pre-Petrine Russia in fall 2020 will always be associated with the Covid-19 pandemic, the Black Lives Matter protests, and the storming of the US Capitol. One specific moment from the final week will, I hope, also be part of this memory. As mentioned above, one video featured a student singing an original composition about the 1648 rebellion in the style of Bob Dylan. As I watched the performance with the class, I saw a light shining in one of the Zoom boxes, which I

thought was a technical malfunction. As I looked more closely, however, I realized that a student was holding up a cell phone with the flashlight illuminated, recreating the concert experience when audience members used to hold up lighters. This spontaneous moment, emulating a twentieth-century tribute using a twenty-first century technology about a seventeenth-century uprising, is certainly an appropriate way to remember this pedagogical experiment conducted in a most remarkable year.

E. Thomas Ewing is a professor of history at Virginia Tech, where he teaches courses on Russian history, the history of medicine, and data in social context. His articles on the so-called "Russian influenza" (1889-1892) have been published in Medical History, Influenza and Other Respiratory Viruses, Current Research in Digital History, Humanities, Public Health Reports, and the Washington Post. An earlier essay about teaching why history matters in a course on Pre-Petrine Russia was published by Perspectives on History.

Endnotes

- 1 Course summary is available here: https://sites.google.com/vt.edu/etewing/home/HIST3604_F20
- 2 Valerie A. Kivelson, *The Devil Stole His Mind: The Tsar and the 1648 Moscow Uprising*, *The American Historical Review*, Volume 98, Issue 3, June 1993, pp. 733-756, <https://doi.org/10.1086/ahr/98.3.733>
- 3 A creative commons image file is available here: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Salt_riot_moscow_1648.jpeg
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- 6 See recent discussion of the 2020 uprising in Belarus in the themed issue, introduced by Nelly Bekus and Mischa Gabowitsch, "CRITICAL DISCUSSION FORUM: The Sociology of Protest in Belarus-Social Dynamics, Ideological Shifts and Demand for Change," *Slavic Review*, Volume 80, Number 1, Spring 2021, pp. 1-3: <http://www.slavicreview.illinois.edu/current/>
- 7 Anna Redko's art and illustrations are available here: <https://www.behance.net/anna-redko>
- 8 Luke Harding and Shaun Walker, "Belarus opposition leader 'ripped up passport at Ukrainian border,'" *The Guardian*, September 8, 2020: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/sep/08/aria-kolesnikova-germany-and-uk-call-for-release-of-snatched-belarus-opposition-figure>; Shaun Walker, "Belarus's female revolution: how women rallied against Lukashenko," *The Guardian*, September 12, 2021: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/sep/12/belarus-female-revolution-how-women-rallied-against-lukashenko?page=with:img-2>. See also the recent discussion in Natallia Paulovitch, "How Feminist is the Belarusian Revolution? Female Agency and Participation in the 2020 Post-Election Protests," *Slavic Review*, Volume 80, Number 1, Spring 2021, pp. 38-44: <http://www.slavicreview.illinois.edu/current/>

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Navigating the academic job market can feel complicated, confusing, and stressful. In this webinar, attendees will learn how (and when) to start thinking about their job searches, how to manage the process, and how to evaluate offers.

Alison K. Smith is Professor and Chair of History at the University of Toronto, who has published widely in the cultural and social history of tsarist Russia.

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This workshop will discuss the landscape of higher ed pedagogy, how to be sure your teaching statement considers audience, and how to adapt the statement to specific experiences. Participants will be guided through a series of steps and reflections designed to help them begin drafting a teaching statement that gives voice to what is distinctive about their teaching philosophy and experience.

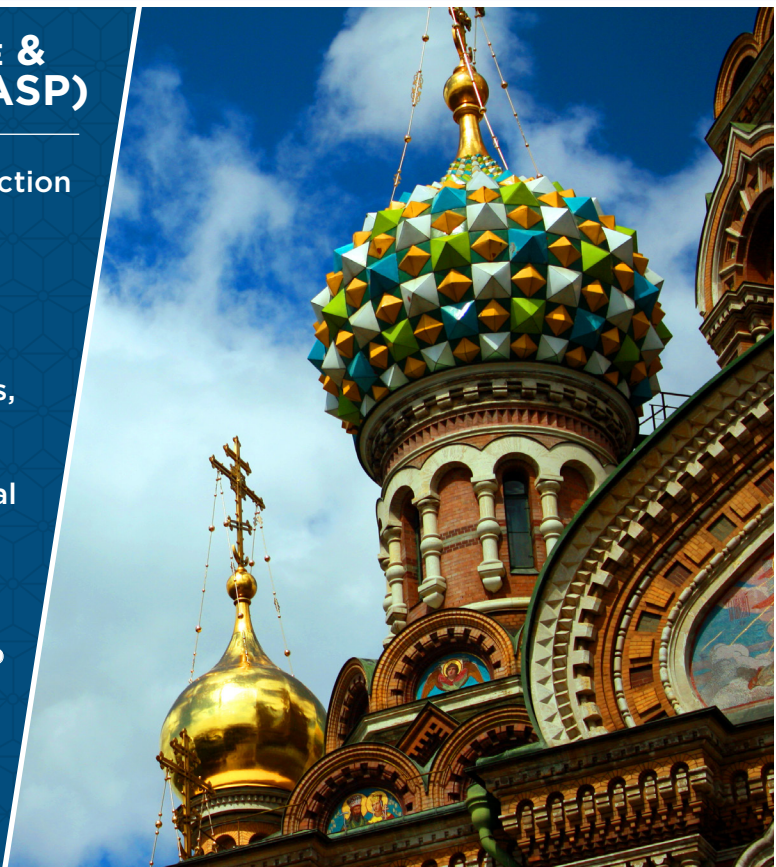
Elizabeth (Liz) Leheldt is Professor of History and Dean of the Mandel Honors College at Cleveland State University. She served as chair of the History Department at CSU for five years. She is also a former Vice President of the Teaching Division of the American Historical Association. Her work on pedagogy and faculty development in higher ed has appeared in [Inside Higher Ed](#) and [Times Higher Education](#).

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SRAS: 25 Years of Innovation

Renee Stillings, SRAS

When asked by ASEEEES to contribute an article addressing study abroad and COVID, I took some time to think about how best to approach this subject. In part, I wanted to put it in the context of the 25th anniversary of SRAS, kicking off this month. I realized that COVID has been one flashpoint among many in our 25-year history. A big one, no doubt, but there are other events that have impacted study abroad in our region, the growth and direction of SRAS, and the field in general.

I also cannot pass up the opportunity to thank the many people who have made SRAS what it is today. To those teaching Russian and other subjects with a focus on our region: thank you for providing advice and feedback, sending or bringing students to us, and supporting our efforts in various ways. We thank ASEEEES, AATSEEL, and other organizations that bring us all together to share ideas. We are looking forward to seeing everybody in person again. I thank our partners overseas; they have not only weathered this latest storm but have continued to adapt and innovate together with us. And most of all, a big shout out to my colleagues at SRAS. We are a pretty small organization at the core, but we do a lot. This is due to the tremendous efforts and dedication of the incredible people with whom I work.

All of this—the people, places, ideas, the numerous flashpoints affecting our region and/or the globe, and our flexibility as a small organization—has resulted in a steady stream of innovation that we have come to regard as the “essence” of SRAS.

Study Abroad

If there is a single constant for us, it is the shadow of the Cold War cast over our core study sites. These are generally not the locations that most students consider when planning their study abroad experiences. Their parents are just as likely to think negatively of these locations and consider them to be dangerous.

One thing that makes our locations so effective in broadening worldviews is the surprise that many students have when first arriving. The modern, green cities, full of friendly people and bustling with culture, business, and great food do not align with expectations.

“I was incredibly impressed with Russia, and had a fantastic time! Russia was very different from what I expected but that is always good in my book: if it were what I expected then I wouldn’t learn anything, right?” - J. Miller (SRAS Student)

The world suddenly seems larger and filled with so much more possibility. If we were wrong in our preconceptions of this place, where else could we be wrong? If these cities have changed this much since the 1990s, what is the real potential of our own cities?

Ironically, one of our great challenges is thus one of our best selling points.

Historically, our locations have also attracted mostly language students, meaning that our niche market operates within an even narrower niche. SRAS has



always worked to overcome this by designing our language programs to reach the full spectrum of language learners—from complete beginners to advanced heritage speakers—while adding subject courses to attract students of international relations, environment, art, and more.

We've worked to encourage students to venture beyond Russia's well-known capitals of Moscow and St. Petersburg to the fascinating (and immersive!) regional centers of Irkutsk and Vladivostok. We also expanded to locations outside of Russia where Russian is still commonly spoken, to Bishkek and Kyiv, and provide still more valuable subject matter along with language and cultural immersion.

When an earlier flashpoint, Crimea, occurred before COVID, we moved to open our program in Warsaw, developing our focus on security studies in the region.

The addition of Cuba to our lineup in 2018, as a fascinating case study in cultural diplomacy, looks to have come just before what may be another great flashpoint in a swell of democratic activism in that island state.

A Brave New Online World

The impact of COVID on study abroad and on SRAS is far-reaching. There was the rush to bring students home and the need to transition quickly to online studies so that they could complete their semesters while attending classes across multiple time zones. Then we found ourselves unable to send students abroad for more than a year. However, I think we were not alone in deciding to use this “down time” to organize systems and plan for the next term and what seemed like perhaps a new era in study abroad.

What happened, of course, could hardly be called “down time.” We found ourselves busier than ever, entering the online world, developing classroom support services, overhauling all six (!) members of our Family of Sites, meeting the increasing demand for remote work in archives, and developing an app that had been lingering when we had been otherwise occupied with our “regular” work.

We expect many of these new virtual services will fill more than a temporary need. Classrooms will continue to benefit from this now seamless integration of technology, allowing direct “connection” to the country and people they are studying. The study abroad industry in general is embracing more pre-departure online sessions, allowing students to meet their hosts abroad in advance, ask questions, even start in on some aspects of their courses. Students will be better prepared to hit the ground running.

We are also approaching our program design with online possibilities in mind. Many of our subject courses will benefit from access to a broader range of guest speakers, not limited by location. We are already implementing this in our Kyiv-based programs and we are excited to extend this approach to other courses.

Interestingly, it is obvious that this could have been done before, but now we've had time to develop the ideas and the market is much more receptive to the “new normal.”

Reaching New Students

Not all students can take a full summer or semester abroad. We now offer a summer option to add 2-4 weeks of online work with our instructors and peer tutors abroad before arrival in country. We use this to ramp up both language learning and engagement with the country and to allow for a more intensive study and cultural experience abroad.

Outside of study abroad, we are finding new ways to advance one of our key passions: simply sharing language and culture with others.

We are pleased to find steadily increasing interest in our online courses and workshops. Efforts to maintain a connection between our students and our partners abroad has evolved into a steady offering of online language courses, conversation practice, and, perhaps most importantly, live-stream events to keep students and educators engaged with our region.

Our live-stream events have proven highly successful in attracting an audience of not only traditional students, but also educators, retirees, and other professionals. We've been joined by many people with an interest in our area, especially as they sought ways to get out of the house and experience something new and exciting, if only virtually.

We've taken our audience “abroad” for museum visits, city tours, chess lessons, a conversation with a cosmonaut, and much more. Many of these live-stream events were offered for free, some as affordable online classes, and others were requested to match class or other event times. We look forward to continuing with a full schedule of live-stream events over the coming year and we encourage all to join, invite your students, and take advantage of this opportunity to engage your classroom with the region.

Study Abroad - More Important than Ever

We look forward to a fuller return to study abroad in 2022. It is not without some trepidation, however, as all indications are that we will have both a surge in demand

and some continuing challenges related to COVID.

We are spending considerable time tracking the ever-evolving rules and regulations on every level and providing updates in ways that are shareable with students, faculty, and study abroad offices.

While the situation should stabilize in the coming months, we are all left with the understanding that we must plan ahead. Most of us in education and study abroad reacted with remarkable speed and success, all things considered, in March 2020, but there was a cost. We need to be prepared to respond quickly in the future to unforeseen events, with minimal disruption and cost to all involved.

We are happy to see that our partners and colleagues are working on this just as we are: developing questionnaires, information and communication management systems, and generally designing ways to ensure that students also consider contingency plans well ahead of time.

We face additional challenges in our region, namely the worsening relations between the US and Russia. Politicization of, for example, State Department threat levels, especially when we rely on such metrics more than ever, and the general rhetoric about the “dangers” of visiting Russia are blocking the very cultural and person-to-person diplomacy we need. It eliminates much of the funding for study abroad to Russia,

effectively discouraging study of our region, and severely hindering the development of experts that we need.

Without direct contact, we become even more dependent on the media and stereotypes.

In many ways, COVID is the easier challenge to overcome. There are vaccines. We do not have vaccines for disinformation or for a lack of knowledge or baseless preconceptions. We can only travel and see with our own eyes, and in so doing, grow as people, students, and citizens.

Looking Ahead

While the return to study abroad in our region is filled with challenges, it was filled with them well before COVID. Nonetheless, in thinking about the future of education, of study abroad, and of our region we are excited by the possibilities, many of which are already realities. We know what we need to do and we now have many more tools at our disposal, both on and offline.

Renee Stillings is the Founder and Program Director of SRAS. She embarked on her own study abroad experience immediately after graduation in 1990 (B.S., Biomedical Engineering, Boston University), spent 5+ years living in Moscow, eventually founding SRAS. She continues to travel the world, always collecting ideas for program design, experiential learning, and other ways to develop and enhance the study abroad experience.

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For more information about the call and how to apply visit our website: <https://www.ceu.edu/job/chief-archivistprincipal-information-scientist-0>.



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Check out the program at aseees.org/convention/program.

Session Change Request: If you are unable to participate in person and would like to move your session to the Virtual Convention in early December, please discuss the option with your session organizer and other panelists. The session organizer should complete this [change request form](#).

Registration

You can register for IN-PERSON+VIRTUAL or VIRTUAL ONLY.

Early Registration ends September 1. Regular registration ends October 13.

Visit the [Convention website](#) for information on registration and waivers and to donate to the Convention Registration Fund.

COVID Protocol & Updates

We are closely monitoring the evolving COVID-19 pandemic and the changing guidelines and mandates of the CDC and the city of New Orleans.

As of August 16, the city of New Orleans has in place a mask mandate for all indoor activities and proof of vaccination or negative test within 72 hours for most indoor activities, including hotels, many restaurants, and entertainment venues.

All in-person attendees at the New Orleans Convention are required to be fully vaccinated two weeks prior to the start of the convention on November 18 and show verification of vaccination, unless they have a medical or religious exemption. Also, masks must be worn during the Convention at all times. Anyone unable or unwilling to be vaccinated or wear a mask indoors should participate in the virtual convention in early December.

For more information, please review our [COVID Protocol & Resources Page](#).

Hotel Reservations

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2021 Convention Opportunity Grant Recipients

Grant recipients, listed below and on page 18-21 will present their research at ASEEES 53rd Annual Convention.

Zulfiyya Abdurahimova, Harvard U, “Reaching the Poor: Welfare Regimes in Resource-Rich Authoritarian Regimes Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, and Russia”

Alessandro Achilli, Trier U (Italy), “Poetry between Individuality, Collectivity, and National Myth in Contemporary Ukraine and Belarus”

Svitlana Biedarieva, Ibero-American U (Mexico), “Documentary Turn in the New Ukrainian Art, 2013-2021”

George Bodie, Independent Scholar, “A Global GDR? The GDR, Decolonization, and Socialist Internationalism Beyond Legitimacy”

Nina Bogdan, U of Arizona, “Creating Russian Diasporic Worlds”

Riccardo Mario Cucciolla, Università degli Studi di Napoli L’Orientale (Italy), “Soviet ‘Disunion’ and the Federal Question in the Debates of the Russian ‘Democrats,’ 1989-1991”

Nicolas Dreyer, Otto Friedrich U Bamberg (Germany), “Nineteenth-century Transcultural German-Jewish-Russian Exchange”

Adam Farkas, UC Berkeley, “The Image of Russia in Hungary, 1830-1849”

Manuel Ghilarducci, Humboldt-U Berlin (Germany), “(Un-)Representing Belarus: Negative Ontology and Meta-Historiography in Ihar Babkoŭ’s Adam Klakotski and his Shadows (2001)”

Elena Goodwin, U of Portsmouth (UK), “Grotesque, Nonsense and Allegory: English Motifs in Soviet Cartoons of the 1970s-1980s”

Catalina Hunt, Kenyon College, “Fluid Identities in 19th-Century Ottoman Borderlands among the

Muslims of Southeastern Europe”

Maksym Klementyev, Independent Scholar, “Russia’s Ultimate Indian Gift Gamble: Notes on Symbolic and Commemorative Implications of 2014 Takeover of Crimea”

Evgeniya Makarova, McGill U (Canada), “DAUhaus: Towards an Understanding of Heterotopic Architecture”

Tatjana Schell, Independent Scholar, “Exploring the Persecution of Ethnic Minorities in the Soviet Union through Archival Documents on Ethnic Germans (Part I): 1930s-40s”

Aida Vidan, Tufts U, “Rajko Grlić: Cadences of Reality”

Marina Yusupova, Lancaster U (UK), “Sergey Shnurov as a ‘Chief Anaesthesiologist of Russia’: Numbing the Great Russian Inferiority Complex vis-à-vis the West”

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2021 Davis Graduate Student Grant Recipients

Donna Abdu, Emory U, “Soviet Policies Written and Lived: Soʻqmoqlar (Trails) by Saida Zunnunova”

Eve Barden, U of Pittsburgh, “The Sacred, the Profane, the Symbolic Space and Time, and the Medieval Self in the Stop-motion Short Secha pri Kerzhentse (1971)”

Fiona Bell, Yale U, “Staging the Soviet ‘Battle with Nature’: Ecocritical Approaches to Andrei Platonov’s Drama”

Oleksiy Bondarenko, U of Kent (UK), “Between Loyalty and Opposition: The Communist Party of Russia and a New Centre-Periphery Divide”

Mike Bowden, U of Leeds (UK), “Shamelessness Is the New Sincerity: The Ethics of Shame in Dostoevsky and David Foster Wallace”

Francesca Capossela, Trinity College Dublin (Ireland), “Reading Lolita with a Calculator: The 1.88% Project”

Katherine Crofts-Gibbons, King’s College London (UK), “Listening to the Streets? The Response of the Uzbek Government to Gas Supply Protests”

Kalina Damianova, King’s College London (UK), “Russia’s Social, Political, and Economic Order and the Case of Ownership Changes in Russia’s Gas Sector, 2010-2020”

Darija Davidovic, Independent Scholar (Germany), “When We Can’t Talk, We Sing: Staging Srebrenica Massacre in ‘Srebrenica. When We the Murdered Rise’”

Anna Davidson, U of Oxford (UK), “Russian Nuclear Energy Cooperation with Ukraine, Armenia, and Belarus: a Study of Identity”

Polina De Mauny, Sorbonne Nouvelle Paris 3 (France), “Serfdom in Fact and Fiction”

Isabelle DeSisto, Princeton U, “Healing the Nuclear Family: Explaining Variation in Foreign Aid for Chernobyl Victims”

Anna Dobrowolska, U of Oxford (UK), “Female

Bodies, Male Desires: Gender Order of the Polish Nativist Movement in Late State Socialism”

Severyan Dyakonov, Independent Scholar (Russia), “Soviet and American Evaluation of Each Others’ Public Diplomacy Programs in India in the 1950/60s”

Maya Garcia, Harvard U, “Beneath That Clothing of Brocade...: Travesti and Queerness in Tchaikovsky’s Oprichnik”

ANNOUNCING CATHARINE NEPOMNYASHCHY GRADUATE STUDENT TRAVEL GRANTS

The new program established to honor the late Professor Catharine Nepomnyashchy provides travel grants to graduate students in Slavic Languages and Literatures to present their research at the ASEES Annual Convention. The 2021 grant recipients are:

Aurelia Cojocar, UC Berkeley, “French Avatars of ‘scientific’ Literature in Russian Journals: The Symbolist Connection”

Hana Stankova, Yale U, “A ‘Window to the World’: Translation in the Works of Pushkin and Abai”

Help us continue the grant program for many years to come. We have a generous anonymous matching gift of \$2,000.

“I just contributed AGAIN to the fund. Why? Without the role that Cathy played in my career -- and at every ASEES conference I attended until her untimely death -- I never would have become the Slavist that I did. I know she was an instrumental colleague and mentor for many, many of you as well. Please help me in passing on her legacy to the next generation of ASEES contributors. Small gifts help. Larger gifts help more! Donate soon and you can take care of the current matching grant. Let’s pass our good fortune forward.”

--Judith Deutsch Kornblatt, University of Wisconsin

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Lucian George, U of Oxford (UK), “Greedy Farmers versus Workshy Workers: Urban-Rural Moral Competition and the Shadow of WWI in the Politics of Interwar Czechoslovakia”

Nana Gulic, U of Toronto (Canada), “Citizenship Education in the Aftermath of Social and Historical Trauma: A Postsocialist Perspective from Croatia”

Khrystyna Holynska, Pardee RAND Graduate School, “What Do We Know About the ‘Knowledge Production’ in ASEES”

Oksana Husieva, U of Kansas, “The Art of Lament: Reevaluating the Figure and Work of Irina Fedosova”

Olga Kartashova, New York U, “The Role of Jews in the Post-Holocaust Justice in Poland”

Jana Kujundzic, U of Essex (UK), “Women Worker and Partisan or a Rape Victim?: Yugoslavia’s Socialist Legacy and Violence Against Women”

Nataliia Laas, Brandeis U, “Soviet Consumer Rights Movement, Legal Consciousness, and the Perestroika-Era Press”

Oksana Lebedivna, National U of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (Ukraine), “Common Slavic r’ in Ukrainian: The Case of Hutsul Proper Names in -uk-”

Vladislav Lilic, Vanderbilt U, “War and Peace in Imperial Borderlands: The Ottoman-Montenegrin War of 1862 and the Dogged Indeterminacy of Sovereignty”

Ana Lozica, U of Zagreb (Croatia), “New Memory for the Old Trauma?: Recent Film Production on Jasenovac Camp”

Aleksandra Marciniak, U of Michigan-Ann Arbor, “Russian Battle Rap as a Forum of Free Expression”

Matyas Mervay, New York U, “Post-Habsburg Central Europe and Republican China. Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary’s Relations with China 1918-1949”

Veronique Mickisch, New York U, “Party Economists and the Emergence of Soviet Economics: The Cases of Fedor Dingelshedt and Lev Eventov”

Bradford Morith, Texas A&M U, “Follow the Money: The Deutsche Mark and East German Plans for Inner-German Commercial Integration Focused Westward, 1988-Early 1990”

Riikkamari Muhonen, Central European U (Hungary), “Foreign Friends of the Soviet Union? Soviet Internationalism in Higher Education”

Oliver Pejic, European U Institute (Italy), “Unpacking the ‘Ethnic Boxes’ of the Habsburg Education System: Textbooks and Ideological Fragmentation in the Late Habsburg Empire”

Ruxandra Petrinca, McGill U (Canada), “Supervision, Transgression, and Co-Habitation: The Secret Lives of Liminal Spaces”

Julia Popcheva, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (Bulgaria), “Spouses Left Behind: Gender Migration Impact on Separated Families”

Nataliya Puchenkina, U of Caen Normandy (France), “Workers as (Un)Desirable Audience for Soviet Films in the Interwar Europe”

Kailey Rocker, UNC at Chapel Hill, “Is There a Future for Youth in Albania? – Trying to ‘Go with the Flow’”

Daniel Schrader, U of Regensburg (Germany), “Duty, Deliberation, Contest, Battle: Visions of Electing and Being Elected in Russian Provincial Newspapers during the Spring and Summer of 1917”

Dora Vrkcic, U of Southampton (UK), “In Pursuit of a Federation: The Foreign Office and the Constitutional Structure of Interwar Yugoslavia, 1918-1921”

Amanda Williams, U of Leeds (UK), “[S]he should more carefully protect herself’: Abortion and Alternative Contraception in the Soviet Union, 1950s-1970s”

Svetlana Yefimenko, U of Exeter (UK), “Homeric Harlots in Nineteenth-Century Russia: The Reception of Helen of Troy in Tolstoy and Chekhov”

Taylor Zajicek, Princeton U, “‘Though Neighbors, We Hardly Know Each Other’: The Possibilities of Soviet-Turkish Scientific Exchange in the Interwar Period”



2021 Russian Scholar Grant Recipients

Irina Antoshchuk, St Petersburg State U (Russia), “Russian Geoengineering Research in International Scientific Networks”

Evgeniia Anufrieva, Volgograd State Technical U (Russia), “Comparative Analysis of Daily Practices of Residents of Front and Rear Areas (Based on Materials of Oral History Studies)”

Alla Burtseva, Independent Scholar (Russia), “Friendship Lives in Our Hearts: Soviet Translations from Turkmen Women’s Literature”

Anatoly Chernyaev, The Institute of Philosophy of Russian Academy of Sciences (Russia), “Evgenii Trubetskoi and Margarita Morozova: The Passion of Russian Philosophy”

Nikolay Erofeev, Independent Scholar (Russia), “‘Experiment on Ourselves’: Collective Housing, Self-Help Construction and Self-Management in Youth Residential Complex (MZhK) Housing Movement in the Late-Soviet Russia, 1969-1992”

Vladimir Gel'man, European U at St.Petersburg (Russia), “Fear and Loathing in Russia: Political Repressions as a Tool of Regime’s Domination”

Karina Khasnulina, European U at St. Petersburg (Russia), “Creating Urban Modernity in Maoist China: The Transfer of Komsomol Practices to Chinese Soil”

Anna Klepikova, European U at St.Petersburg (Russia)

Pavel Lukin, Institute of Russian History, Russian Academy of Sciences (Russia), “All Novgorod the Great’ and Novgorodian Republican Rhetoric”

Ekaterina Mikhailova, Independent Scholar (Russia), “Development and Decay in Post-Partitioned Bolshoy Ussuriysky Island and its Urban Vicinity”

Anna Nizhnik, Russian State U for the Humanities, Moscow (Russia), “F-pis’mo Poetic Project and Translation Strategies of Contemporary Russian Feminist Culture”

Ekaterina Rybkina, Independent Scholar (affiliated researcher at the European U at Saint Petersburg)

(Russia), “Wireless after Work: Technical Hobby, Private Communications, and Proletarian Purposes”

Alexei Shmelev, Russian Language Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Russia), “Special Cases of Gender Agreement in Russian

Kristina Tanis, Higher School of Economics (Russia), “‘What was not true? It was all about true’: To the Cinema Memory of Soviet Movie-Goers after the Soviet Union’s Collapse”

Alexander Verkhovskiy, SOVA Center for Information & Analysis (Russia)

Elena Volkova, Independent Scholar (Russia), “Biblical Protest: Alexey Navalny as Religious Character”

Natalia Yudina, Sova Center for Information and Analysis (Russia), “The Cossacks’ Violent Activity in the 2010s in Russia”

Elizaveta Zhdankova, Independent Scholar (Russia), “What Is Your Purpose of Movie Going?”: Cinemas, Workers, and the Soviet Idea of Proper Leisure in the 1920s”

CALL FOR ARTICLES

Please consider submitting articles to be published in future NewsNets. Articles are typically brief essays on contemporary issues or matters of broad professional interest. They can include discussions of new research, institutions, resources, etc. News is not a venue of extensive research essays; most cover articles are 2,500 words in length. We encourage members, including graduate students, who are interested in proposing a NewsNet article to contact the NewsNet Editor, Trevor Erlacher (aseees.grants@pitt.edu).

The views expressed in NewsNet articles are solely the views of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of ASEES or its staff.



2021 Regional Scholar Grant Recipients

Ardak Abdiraimova, Academy of Transport (Kazakhstan), “Daily Life of Evacuated Orphanages to Kazakhstan: Problems of ‘Labor Education’”

Ondřej Daniel, Metropolitan U Prague (Czech Republic), “Lifestyle against Politics: (Sub)cultures of Czech and Russian Postsocialist Antifascism”

Dmitry Halavach, Higher School of Economics (Belarus), “Unsettling Borderlands: The Polish-Soviet Population Exchange between Repatriation and Ethnic Cleansing, 1944-47”

Adela Hincu, Alexandru Dragomir Institute for Philosophy (Romania), “The Other of Marxism-Leninism: Debates on Existentialism in 1950s Romania”

Ola Hnatiuk, National U Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (Ukraine), “Between Feminism and Nationalism: Ukrainian Female Members of Polish Parliament (1928–1935)”

Vendula Hnidkova, Czech Academy of Sciences (Czech Republic), “Czech Minority Schools: A Massive Propaganda Tool?”

Sandor Horvath, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, (Hungary), “Children of Communism: Politicizing a Youth Revolt in 1960s Budapest”

Valeriya Korablyova, Charles U, (Czech Republic), “A ‘Dove of Peace’? The Populist Discourse of Warfare and Reconciliation under Zelenskyy’s Presidency”

Antonina Luszczykiewicz, Jagiellonian U (Poland), “Taiwan in the Polish Media Discourse in the Cold War Era, 1949-1960”

Hanna Mazheika, Polish Academy of Sciences (Poland), “Foreigners within the Reformed Communities of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania”

Alexandra Medzibrodzky, Independent Scholar (Hungary), “A Third Way: G. P. Fedotov and Social Christian Thought in Interwar Europe”

Piotr Puchalski, Pedagogical U of Kraków (Poland), “Reforming the Wilsonian System: International Expertise from Poland during a Period of Global Transition, 1936-1945”

Jure Ramsak, Science and Research Centre Koper, (Slovenia), “Development Ecumenism: Asymmetrical Socialisms and Symmetrical Outline of the 1970s Global Economic Reform”

Tatjana Rosic Ilic, Singidunum U (Serbia), “Winter Diary by Srdjan Valjarevic and Vesna Pavlovic: Mapping the Transitional Necropolitics”

Petr Roubal, Czech Academy of Sciences (Czech Republic), “Urban Dystopia on Socialist TV Screens: Czechoslovak Popular Media and the Challenge to Socialist Modernism”

Jasmina Sepetavc, U of Ljubljana (Slovenia), “Virgins and Mothers: Gender and Sexuality Politics of Slovenian Folk-Pop Music”

Nari Shelekpayev, European U at St. Petersburg (Kazakhstan), “Planning for the Tselina: Soviet Urban Design Projects in Northern Kazakhstan, 1957-1970”

Galina Yarmanova, National U Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (Ukraine), “Locating Queerness in (Post)Soviet Archives: Political and Methodological Challenges”

Magdalena Zdrodowska, Jagiellonian U (Poland), “Accessible Television for Deaf Poles”

Yevgeniy Zhovtis, Kazakhstan International Bureau for Human Rights and Rule of Law (Kazakhstan)



Publications

A Companion to the Russian Revolution, edited by Daniel Orlovsky, was published by Wiley-Blackwell in October 2020. This book offers more than thirty original essays, written by a team of scholars and historians and presents a wide range of contemporary perspectives. It discusses topics including the dynamics of violence in war and revolution, Russian political parties, the transformation of the Orthodox church, Bolshevism, Liberalism, and more. Although primarily focused on 1917, and the singular Revolutionary experience that year, this book also explores time-periods such as the First Russian Revolution, early Soviet government, the Civil War period, and the 1920s.

Bryn Rosenfeld's first book *The Autocratic Middle Class: How State Dependency Reduces the Demand for Democracy* was published by Princeton University Press in December 2020. Conventional wisdom holds that the rising middle classes are a force for democracy. Yet in post-Soviet countries like Russia, where the middle class has grown rapidly, authoritarianism is deepening. Challenging a basic tenet of democratization theory, Rosenfeld shows how the middle classes can actually be a source of support for autocracy and authoritarian resilience, and reveals why development and economic growth do not necessarily lead to greater democracy.

Milena A. Methodieva's book *Between Empire and Nation: Muslim Reform in the Balkans* (Stanford University Press, 2021) tells the story of the transformation of the Muslim community in modern Bulgaria during a period of imperial dissolution, conflicting national and imperial enterprises, and the emergence of new national and ethnic identities. In 1878, the Ottoman empire relinquished large territories in the Balkans, with about 600,000 Muslims remaining in the newly-established Bulgarian state. Milena B. Methodieva explores how these former Ottoman subjects, now under Bulgarian rule, navigated between empire and nation-state, and sought to claim a place in the larger modern world.

Conquering Peace: From the Enlightenment to the European Union, by Stella Ghervas, was published by Harvard University Press in March 2021. Ghervas shows that since the eighteenth century, European thinkers and leaders in pursuit of lasting peace fostered the idea of European unification. Ghervas draws on the work of philosophers from Abbé de Saint-Pierre to Kant, as well as statesmen such as Tsar Alexander I, Wilson, Churchill,

Schuman, and Gorbachev. Arguing for continuities from the ideals of the Enlightenment to the institutions of the European Union and beyond, *Conquering Peace* illustrates how peace as a value shaped the idea of a unified Europe long before the EU came into being. Seen in the long-range perspective of the history of peacemaking, this European society of states emerges as a step in the quest for a less violent world.

Paul W. Werth published *1837: Russia's Quiet Revolution* (Oxford University Press, April 2021), which reveals that many of modern Russia's most distinctive and outstanding features can be traced back to an inconspicuous but exceptional year. From the death of Pushkin in January to a colossal fire at the Winter Palace in December, Russia experienced much that was astonishing in 1837: the railway and provincial press appeared, Russian opera made its debut, Orthodoxy pushed westward, the first Romanov visited Siberia--and much else besides. The result was a quiet revolution, after which Russia would never be the same.

From the Annals of Kraków, which stems from Piotr Florczyk's time as a fellow at USC Shoah Foundation, was published by Lynx House Press in June 2020. Born of hours spent watching and listening to the testimonies of Polish Holocaust survivors and those who came to their aid, these poems document the evil unleashed by the Nazis in Poland, while also interrogating the very concept of memory literature. With fewer and fewer Holocaust survivors living among us each year, *From*

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the Annals of Kraków retells their stories of persecution, perseverance, and luck so they will continue to be heard and will keep alive the memory of survivors' suffering and bravery.

The Hoover Institution Press published *In the Wake of Empire: Anti-Bolshevik Russia in International Affairs, 1917-1920*, by Anatol Shmelev, in January 2021. Shmelev examines the relations of the Allies and other countries with the anti-Bolshevik "Whites," in order to disclose a broader understanding of the international ramifications of the Russian Civil War. Looking at diplomatic recognition of the White governments, Allied military aid, and attitudes toward the territorial integrity of the former Russian Empire, Shmelev concludes that Allied support for the White movement was far from unconditional, with the fear of a reborn Imperial Russia sometimes eclipsing the fear of Bolshevism. Russia's role at the Paris Peace Conference receives new consideration, as do questions of Russian relations with the newly independent border states in the light of strategic factors that lay at the basis of White foreign policy.

Japan's Russia: Challenging the East-West Paradigm, by Olga V. Solovieva and Sho Konishi, was published by Cambria in January 2021. The Russian cultural presence in Japan after the Meiji Revolution was immense. Indeed, Japanese cultural negotiations with Russian intellectuals and Russian literature, art, theology, and political thought, formed an important basis for modern Japanese transnational intellectual, cultural, literary, and artistic production. This book identifies thoughts and practices that helped produce a dynamic transnational cultural phenomenon known as "Japan's Russia." It tries to make sense of the magnitude and distinctiveness of Russia-related cultural and intellectual expressions and manifestations in Japan.

Stefani Hoffman's translation of Julius Margolin's memoir—the first English-language translation—titled *Journey into the Land of the Zeks and Back: A Memoir of the Gulag* was published by Oxford University Press in September 2020. The publication features a foreword by Timothy Snyder and introduction by Katherine R. Jolluck. Margolin (1900-1971) provides the perspective of a humane philosopher in depicting his experiences in Poland during the Nazi and Soviet invasions, his five years in the Gulag (1940-45), and his return via postwar Europe to his family in Palestine in 1946.

Böhlau Verlag published *Literature Redeemed: "Neo-Modernism" in the Works of the Post-Soviet Russian Writers Vladimir Sorokin, Vladimir Tuchkov, and Aleksandr Khurgin*, by Nicolas Dreyer, in July 2020. Based on literary analysis of representative works of fiction by three post-Soviet Russian writers, this book investigates the usefulness and accuracy of the notion of "postmodernism" in the post-Soviet context. Classic Russian literature and the modernism that succeeded it have often been seen as antipodes to postmodernist

principles. The author disputes this polarity and proposes "post-Soviet neo-modernism" as an alternative concept. "Neo-modernism" embodies the notion that post-Soviet writers have redeemed the tendency of earlier literature to seek the meaning of human existence in a transcendent realm, as well as in the treasures of Russia's cultural past.

Karla Huebner's *Magnetic Woman: Toyen and the Surrealist Erotic* was published by University of Pittsburgh Press in November 2020. Part art book and part biography, *Magnetic Woman* examines the life and work of the artist Toyen (Marie Čermínová, 1902–80) and focuses on her construction of gender and eroticism. Toyen's early life in Prague enabled her to become a force in Devětsil, Prague surrealism, and Paris surrealism. Toyen presented both her gender and sexuality as ambiguous and often emphasized erotic themes in her work. Huebner re-evaluates surrealism, the Central European contribution to modernism, and the role of female artists in the avant-garde, along with a view of women's roles in and treatment by the surrealist movement.

Nested Nationalism: Making and Unmaking Nations in the Soviet Caucasus, by Krista A. Goff, was published by Cornell University Press in January 2021. It is a study of the politics and practices of managing national minority identifications, rights, and communities in the Soviet Union and the personal and political consequences of such efforts. Titular nationalities that had republics named after them in the USSR were comparatively privileged within the boundaries of "their" republics, but they still often chafed both at Moscow's influence over republican affairs and at broader Russian hegemony across the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, members of nontitular communities complained that nationalist republican leaders sought to build titular nations on the back of minority assimilation and erasure. Goff argues that Soviet nationality policies produced recursive, nested relationships between majority and minority nationalisms and national identifications in the USSR. *Nested Nationalism* explains how Soviet-era experiences and policies continue to shape interethnic relationships and expectations today.

Allison Leigh's first book, *Picturing Russia's Men: Masculinity and Modernity in 19th-Century Painting*, was published by Bloomsbury Visual Arts in November 2020. By exploring how Russian painters depicted gender norms as they were evolving over the course of the century, each chapter shows how artworks provide unique insight into not only those qualities that were supposed to predominate, but actually did in lived practice. The book explores the structures of masculinity to reveal the conflicting desires and aspirations of men in the period. Readers are introduced to artists who produced realist art in dialogue with paintings made in Western European artistic centers. The result is a more culturally discursive account of art-making in the nineteenth century, one that challenges some of the enduring myths

of masculinity and provides a history of what constitutes modernism in the history of art.

Repression, Resistance and Collaboration in Stalinist Romania 1944-1964: Post-communist Remembering, by Monica Ciobanu, was published by Routledge in October 2020. This book examines how the process of remembering Stalinist repression in Romania has shifted from individual, family, and group representations of lived and witnessed experiences characteristic of the 1990s to more recent and state-sponsored expressions of historical remembrance through their incorporation in official commemorations, propaganda sites, and restorative and compensatory measures.

Margarita M. Balmaceda's book, *Russian Energy Chains: The Remaking of Technopolitics from Siberia to Ukraine to the European Union* (Columbia University Press, 2021) is part travelogue of three fossil fuel molecules travelling from Siberia to Germany via Ukraine, part an analysis of how the materiality of different types of energy effects how it can be used and misused. The book offers an overview of the broad European politics of natural gas, oil and coal.

Edinburgh University Press recently published David Lewis's *Russia's New Authoritarianism: Putin and the Politics of Order*. It is a detailed study of the ideas and worldviews that underpin Russia's political system, with a particular focus on the influence of Carl Schmitt on Russian conservative thought. It ranges widely across domestic and foreign policy and places the rise of authoritarianism in Russia in the context of a much wider global backlash against liberalism.

David Goldfrank and Kevin M. Kain have edited a two-volume edited collection: *Russia's Early Modern Orthodox Patriarchate: Foundations and Mitred Royalty, 1589-1647*; and *Russia's Early Modern Orthodox Patriarchate: Apogee and Finale, 1648-1721* (Academica, 2021). ASEEES members Ludwig Steindorff, Isaiah Gruber, Georg B. Michels, Aleksandr Lavrov, Alexei Lidov, Ovidiu Olar, Nikolaos Chrissidis, Donald Ostrowski, David Golfank, and Kevin M. Kain are among the sixteen contributors.

Matthew Rendle published *The State versus the People: Revolutionary Justice in Russia's Civil War, 1917-1922* (Oxford University Press, August 2020), which provides an account of the role of revolutionary justice in the early Soviet state with a particular focus on revolutionary tribunals. The Bolsheviks invested effort and resources in building a new legal system and this book argues that tribunals played a distinct and multi-faceted role. All this adds to our knowledge of the civil war and the early Soviet state, and ultimately how the Bolsheviks held on to power.

Utopia's Discontents: Russian Émigrés and the Quest for Freedom, 1830s-1930s, by Faith Hillis, was published by

Oxford University Press in April 2021.

In April 1917, Lenin set foot on Russian soil for the first time in over a decade. For most of the past seventeen years, he had lived in exile, moving between large and politically active communities of émigrés in London, Paris, and Geneva, among other cities. Thousands of fellow exiles who followed Lenin on his eastward trek in 1917 plunged themselves into politics, competing to shape the future of a country recently liberated from tsarist rule. Hillis examines how émigrés' efforts to transform the world played crucial roles in the articulation of socialism, liberalism, anarchism, and Zionism across borders. But they also produced unexpected--and explosive--discontents that defined the course of twentieth-century history. This transnational work demonstrates the indelible marks the Russian colonies left on European politics, legal cultures, and social practices, while underscoring their role during a pivotal period of Russian history.

Voice of the Silenced Peoples in the Global Cold War: The Assembly of Captive European Nations, 1954-1972, by Anna Mazurkiewicz, was published by De Gruyter Oldenbourg in December 2020. Founded by the Free Europe Committee, from 1954 to 1971 the ACEN tried to lobby for Eastern European interests on the U.S. political scene, in the United Nations and the Council of Europe. Since it was founded and sponsored by the Free Europe Committee, the ACEN operations were influenced and monitored by the CIA and US Department of State. This book argues that despite the émigré leadership's self-restraint in expressing criticism of US foreign policy, the ACEN was vulnerable to, and eventually fell victim of, the changes in American Cold War policies. This book is the first complete story of an organization that is quite often mentioned in publications related to the operations of the Free Europe Committee but hardly ever thoroughly studied.

Weak Strongman: The Limits of Power in Putin's Russia, by Timothy Frye, was published by Princeton University Press in April 2021. This book challenges the conventional wisdom about Putin's Russia, highlighting the difficult trade-offs that confront the Kremlin on issues ranging from election fraud and repression to propaganda and foreign policy.

Drawing on three decades of his own on-the-ground experience and research as well as insights from a new generation of social scientists that have received little attention outside academia, Frye reveals how much we overlook about today's Russia when we focus solely on Putin or Russian exceptionalism.

The Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center published Stefan M. Pugh's *Bimaeme! Welcome!: A Textbook of Rusyn* (2021). The first Rusyn textbook designed specifically for English speakers, *Bimaeme! Welcome!*, provides an overview of the Prešov Region variant of Rusyn for students with no previous knowledge of Slavic languages.

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In Memoriam

Maya Karin Peterson, Associate Professor of History at UC Santa Cruz, passed away in June 2021.

Her research engaged questions of health, the environment, and the transnational histories of science and technology in the modern era. Her first monograph, *Pipe Dreams: Water and Empire in Central Asia* (Cambridge UP, 2019), was a finalist for the Central Eurasian Studies Society's Award for Best Book in History and the Humanities. Peterson's research was supported by the Social Science Research Council, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Fulbright Program, the Henry Luce Foundation, the Rachel Carson Center for Environment and Society at Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, and Edrhard-Karls-Universität. In addition to her monograph, she published articles in *Slavic Review*, *Cahiers du Monde Russe*, and *Environmental History*. Peterson held a B.A. in History with High Honors, Phi Beta Kappa, from Swarthmore College, and an M.A. in Russia, Eastern Europe, and Central Asia Studies. She received a Ph.D. in History from Harvard University, where she was also a postdoctoral fellow

and lecturer in the History of Science Department.

The intelligence, wit, and devotion that characterized Peterson's scholarship were also defining traits of her pedagogy, which earned her a certificate of teaching excellence while at Harvard. After arriving at UCSC in 2012, she continued to inspire students with innovative, wide-ranging courses and mentored undergraduates whose theses and seminar papers garnered awards and prizes. She played an outsized role in departmental and university leadership, chaired an interdisciplinary faculty search for the Center for Southeast Asian Coastal Interactions, helped reinvigorate UCSC's Center for World History, and welcomed new faculty into the intellectual and social life of the campus and community.

The Humanities Division at UC Santa Cruz has established The Maya K. Peterson Memorial Fund which will be used to honor Maya's memory and legacy.

Excerpted from text provided by Jennifer L. Derr, Associate Professor of History, UC Santa Cruz

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Working in collaboration with the Slavic Reference Service (SRS), ASEEES is delighted to unveil a revamped and revived *American Bibliography of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies* (ABSEEEES). Previously based at the University of Illinois Library, this world-renowned indexing service and resource now includes an "E" for Eurasia. The current indexing team now includes four indexers, as well as volunteers.

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Personages

Bill Brumfield's book *Journeys through the Russian Empire* received design honors at the 2021 AUP (Association of University Presses) design show.

David Goldfarb is producing and hosting “[Encounters with Polish Literature](#),” a new hour-long video series in collaboration with The Polish Cultural Institute New York. Each month he discusses a different author or topic in Polish literature in English with scholars, critics, translators, and authors.

Marco Gabbas is currently doing an internship at the Cold War History Research Center, Corvinus University of Budapest, Hungary. He and his colleagues are dealing with a detailed Chronology of the Cold War.

Ivan Grek founded [The Bridge Research Network](#), a peer-to-peer network of field researchers in post-socialist states, who help to conduct field work in their respective localities. As a start up at American University, The Bridge has helped researchers access sources in 14 East European countries during the pandemic, including many PhD students who are unable to travel abroad. The Bridge is partnered with the George Washington University Institute for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies, Wilson Center, and the Havighurst Center (Miami U).

Biljana Obradović and **Dubravka Djurić's** *Cat Painter: An Anthology of Contemporary Serbian Poetry* received the Mihajlo “Miša” Djordjević Book Prize from the North American Serbian Society.

Wittenberg's **Christian Raffensperger**, Professor of History, Department Chair, and the Director of the University's Pre-Modern and Ancient World Studies Program, has been named the Kenneth E. Wray Endowed Chair in the Humanities. The Wray Chair in the Humanities honors a senior faculty member with demonstrated excellence in three areas: teaching, depth and breadth of scholarship, and distinguished publications within one's profession. Raffensperger is the fourth faculty member to hold the distinction.

Steven Seegel is now Professor of Slavic and Eurasian Studies at the University of Texas at Austin.

Justin Wilmes was granted tenure and is now an Associate Professor of Russian Studies at East Carolina University.

Svetlana Ter-Grigoryan (History, Ohio State U), was awarded a 2021 Cohen-Tucker Dissertation Completion Fellowship for her project, “There is No Sex in the USSR”: Sex, Soviet Identity, and Glasnost, 1986-1991.”

This dissertation explores why sex so captured the interest of Soviet people during perestroika. Between 1986 and 1991, Soviet researchers unearthed realities that the state had long concealed, such as rampant prostitution, sexually transmitted disease, and high rates of sexual violence. Disillusioned with these harrowing new statistics and political stagnation, Soviet filmmakers, artists, and writers used sexuality as a mode of expression during these years. The conversations of reformers, researchers, and creatives revealed deep fissures in Soviet ideology and moral values. By utilizing discourse analysis, this historical study explores the intersection of sexuality, power, and the state in the perestroika-era USSR. Ter-Grigoryan evaluates the context in which these debates existed and their impact on the revolution that led to the USSR's collapse. Thus, this project directly addresses the Soviet experience with reform and collapse. It also addresses a previously unexplored aspect of Soviet history – the birth of Russia's LGBT movement, made possible by glasnost. Most importantly, the dissertation demonstrates the importance of sexual revolutions as catalysts for change, solidifying sexuality studies alongside other modalities of historical study.

The American Council of Learned Societies Director of International Programs, **Andrzej W. Tymowski**, will retire after 26 years of service to ACLS.

Tymowski joined ACLS in 1995 and went on to develop and lead influential ACLS fellowships and other programs supporting scholars in Eastern Europe, Africa, and Asia. Tymowski worked with the support of Carnegie Corporation of New York to design and implement major international initiatives, including the Humanities Program in Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine (1998-2010), which provided 743 short-term grants to individuals doing exemplary work in exigent conditions in those countries. In 2007, with support from the Carnegie Corporation, he inspired the program's advisors to establish the International Association for the Humanities. The association's mission as a new learned society was to build connections among scholarly communities in the region, as well with their counterparts elsewhere in the world.

Beginning Fall 2021, Tymowski will work with ACLS as an advisor to International Programs, a consultant role that is anticipated to continue through Spring 2022.



Institutional Member News

INDIANA UNIVERSITY TO HOST UKRAINIAN STUDIES CONFERENCE March 25-27, 2022

Indiana University invites scholars to share research and participate in discussions related to Ukrainian studies. It welcomes submissions from fields that include but are not limited to: history, literature, memory studies, translation, linguistics, music, film, religious studies, political science, anthropology, sociology, gender studies, and mass media. In addition to this broad range of topics, to celebrate the 30-year anniversary of Ukraine's independence we welcome talks and presentations that touch upon the gains and challenges that Ukraine has witnessed since 1991: poetry and literature of independent Ukraine, memory politics, the Orange Revolution, the Revolution of Dignity, the Chernobyl consequences, the Russian occupation of Crimea and Donbas, Ukrainian cinema and literature, teaching in Ukraine and abroad, etc. Please email your (300-word) abstract, full name and academic/professional affiliation, and 2-page CV to Nataliya Shpylova-Saeed (nshpylov@iu.edu) and Ani Abrahamyan (aniabrah@iu.edu) by December 15, 2021.

THE KENNAN INSTITUTE AT THE WILSON CENTER George F. Kennan Fellowships

George F. Kennan Fellows will be based at the Wilson Center in D.C. for three-month residencies. The next application deadline is September 30. Applicants must submit a [completed application](#).

Fellows will receive access to the Library of Congress, National Archives, and policy research centers in D.C., as well as the opportunity to meet with key experts and officials. While conducting research, the George F. Kennan Fellows are expected to actively participate in discussions with the policy and academic communities, including speaking engagements at the Wilson Center as well as potentially outside of D.C., and attending meetings, conferences, and other activities organized by the Kennan Institute and Wilson Center. Upon completion of the fellowships, the grantees become alumni, for whom Kennan will continue to offer opportunities for collaboration and engagement. There are no citizenship requirements for this grant.

Applicants can apply for the fellowship as individuals or as part of a team. If applying as a team of 2-3 applicants, the applicants must be citizens of at least two different countries. The goal of such joint fellowships is to promote collaborative research projects among U.S., Russian, and Ukrainian experts. Kennan Fellowship Teams will: Produce joint paper(s) for policy-relevant publications; present work at events; conduct meetings and engage with policymakers in D.C.

Title VIII Short Term Scholarships

The next competition is for Title VIII-Supported Short-

Term Grants, which allow U.S. citizens whose policy-relevant research in the social sciences or humanities focused on the countries of Eurasia, to spend up to one month using the library, archival, and other specialized resources of the Washington, D.C. area, while in residence at the Kennan Institute. The deadline for these grants is September 30, 2021. See the [website](#) for more details.

The Kennan Institute welcomes its incoming scholars:

Title VIII Short-Term Scholars

- Michael Kraemer, PhD Candidate, OSU. "Reclaiming Sheet'ka: The History of Novo-Arkhangel'sk from 1799-1867." July–August 2021
- Paul Milliman, Associate Professor, University of Arizona. "Medieval and Early Modern Perceptions of Eastern Europe." July–August 2021

Title VIII Summer Research Scholars

- Andrei Korobkov, Professor, Middle Tennessee State University. "The Russian Academic Diaspora Abroad: Attributes and Political Involvement." August–Sept. 2021

George F. Kennan Fellows

- Hannah Chapman, Karen and Adeed Dawisha Assistant Professor of Political Science, Miami University; Faculty Associate, Havighurst Center for Russian and Post-Soviet Studies. "Democratic Decline, Authoritarian Resilience, and Individual Conceptualization of Democracy in the Former Soviet Union." August–November 2021

PUSHKIN HOUSE NEWS

A jury has unveiled the shortlist for the best non-fiction writing published for the first time during 2020 in English on the Russian-speaking world. The Pushkin House Book Prize is designed to showcase, reward and encourage original, insightful and well written books and to encourage public understanding and intelligent debate around the country and its culture. The shortlisted titles are:

- Catherine Belton, *Putin's People*
- Archie Brown, *The Human Factor*
- Evgeny Dobrenko, *Late Stalinism*
- Jonathan Schneer, *The Lockhart Plot*
- Andrei Zorin, *Leo Tolstoy*
- Katherine Zubovich, *Moscow Monumental*

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

The Slavic Reference Service is pleased to share a curated digital collection, [Memoirs of Russian, East European, and Eurasian Women](#). This is a collection of women's memoirs from the second half of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century that were included in I.I. Iukina's work, 'Istoriia zhenshchin Rossii: Zhenskoe dvizhenie i feminizm v 1850-1920-e gody. Materialy k bibliografii'. The goal is to amplify reference sources in REEES

and help improve the overall research experience of scholars. So far, there are 90 titles in the collection and SRS continues to add and curate this collection. If you have questions or would like to collaborate on this project, please email srscite@library.illinois.edu.

YALE UNIVERSITY

The Yale Program in Russian, East European, and Eurasian Studies welcomes its 2020-21 visiting scholars: Wendy Lower, Aya Marczyk, Aga Pasieka, Aniko Szucs, Lauren Woodard, and Rafal Wnuk.

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE HIRING ASSISTANT PROFESSOR IN RUSSIAN STUDIES

The Department of Russian at Dartmouth College invites applications for a tenure-track Assistant Professorship in Russian Studies, to begin July 1, 2022. We are especially interested in applicants with expertise in post-Soviet and contemporary literature, language, and culture; with a focus on the non-Russian cultures of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe; or on ethnicity/nationality/race in the former Soviet bloc. Qualified candidates must have a Ph. D. in Slavic languages and literatures or a related field at the start of appointment; native or near-native fluency in Russian and English; and the ability to teach language at all levels. In addition to specialized courses that reflect their research interests, the person in this position will also be expected to teach core courses in Russian literature and culture and to lead the joint (with the Government Department and the Irving Energy Institute) Foreign Study Program to Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Irkutsk. Faculty are also expected to be actively involved in contributing to the vital intellectual and extracurricular life of the department. Qualified candidates should demonstrate initiative and organizational experience as well as willingness to serve the larger College community. For a full description of the position and to apply, see: <https://apply.interfolio.com/92353>

Applications should include: a cover letter addressed to the Russian Search Committee which describes research interests and teaching experience; one representative sample of published or unpublished work of no more than thirty pages; and three or four letters of recommendation. Review of applications will begin on November 1, 2021 and will continue until the position is filled. Preliminary interviews will be conducted by teleconference (Zoom or Skype) the week of November 29. Please address any questions about the position to Professor Lynn Patyk, Chair of the Russian Search Committee (Lynn.E.Patyk@dartmouth.edu).

Dartmouth College is an equal opportunity/affirmative action employer with a strong commitment to diversity and inclusion. We prohibit discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, age, national origin, sexual orientation, gender identity or expression, disability, veteran status, marital status, or any other legally protected status.

Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies (ASEEES)

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Association for Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies (ASEEES), established in 1948, is a nonprofit, nonpolitical, scholarly society and is the leading private organization dedicated to the advancement of knowledge about Russia, Central Eurasia, and Eastern & Central Europe.

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January issue—1 Dec; March issue—1 Feb; June issue—1 May; Aug issue—5 July; October issue—1 Sept



Affiliate Group News

AATSEEL CONFERENCE

The AATSEEL national meeting is a forum for scholarly exchange of ideas in all areas of Slavic and East/Central European languages, literatures, linguistics, cultures, and pedagogy. The next annual AATSEEL conference will be held at the Sheraton Philadelphia Downtown in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, February 17-20, 2022.

PIASA 8TH WORLD CONGRESS

The Polish Institute of Arts & Sciences of America is pleased to invite proposals for its 8th World Congress to be held at the University of Białystok, Poland, June 10-12, 2022.

Proposals are solicited for complete sessions or individual papers in any of the disciplines in the liberal arts, sciences, or business/economics. The general theme of the conference is “Borderlands (Pogranicza),” for which Białystok, a city on Poland’s present-day eastern frontier adjacent to Poland’s historic borderlands (kresy), with its own distinctive multicultural past, is a most appropriate setting. Therefore, we particularly welcome panel and paper proposals which address the multiethnic and contested nature of borderlands, realms where the mixing and unmixing of populations and cultures have occurred. Since we value comparative sessions that place the Polish and East Central European experience in context, papers need not focus specifically on Poland or Polish themes. Similarly, sessions including presenters from more than one country are encouraged.

As the conference language is English, all single paper submissions are expected to be in that language. However, the organizers of complete sessions may opt for their sessions to be conducted entirely in Polish. Presenters are invited to submit their conference papers to be considered for possible publication in *The Polish Review* after the conference. To submit a paper or complete session, please send the name, e-mail address, institutional affiliation, tentative paper title and brief abstract for each presenter to program chair Patrice Dabrowski at pmd639[at]g.harvard.edu. The deadline for proposals is February 15, 2022. Participants are expected to pay the conference registration fee.

MIDWEST SLAVIC ASSOCIATION NEWS

As the MWSA has evolved, its leadership saw the need to formalize a set of bylaws outlining its governing structure and procedures. These bylaws were passed in November 2020 and will be updated in the future as needs arise. A key change implemented through the bylaws was institutionalizing the leadership position of vice-president that had been vacant

for numerous years. Nominations were received in fall 2020 and a final vote was held at the April 2021 MWSC. Dr. James McGavran, Kenyon College, was elected as vice-president to serve a 4 -year term from June 1, 2021 – May 31, 2025.

In June 2021, the president of the MWSA also changed. Dr. Brian J. Baer, Kent State University, has stepped down as president of the MWSA after having served in this role since 2013 and prior to this, as vice-president for numerous years. Dr. Tim Pogacar, Bowling Green State University, was elected as president also at the April 2021 MWSC and will serve a 4 -year term from June 1, 2021 – May 31, 2025.

The MWSA would like to thank Brian for his many years of service and dedication to the association. Over the years he has been a tireless supporter of Russian and East European area studies in Ohio and the Midwest region. In his role as MWSA president, Brian also served as the representative to the ASEEEES Council of Regional Affiliates, which included rotations on the ASEEEES Board of Directors. During his tenure, the Midwest Slavic Association’s Student Essay Prize Competition was launched, which gives both undergraduate and graduate students in the Midwest the opportunity to submit their written research for consideration. Since the essay prize competition was launched, as president Brian has convened judging committees to review the numerous submissions between the separate undergraduate and graduate competitions. The graduate winner then becomes the MWSA’s official nomination for that year’s ASEEEES Graduate Student Essay Prize.

The MWSA looks forward to welcoming attendees to Columbus at the 2022 MWSC and continuing its activities under the new leadership of Tim and James.

POLISH STUDIES ASSOCIATION PRIZES

The Aquila Polonica Prize is awarded every other year to the author of the best English-language article published (either online or in print form) during the previous two years on any aspect of Polish studies. The award carries a \$500 honorarium (thanks to the generous support of Aquila Polonica Publishing, which specializes in publishing the Polish experience of World War II), and is announced at the ASEEEES Annual Convention. Any article published in calendar years 2019 or 2020 will be eligible for the prize this year. All applicants for PSA awards must be current members of the Polish Studies Association. Nominations and self-nominations should be sent to the prize committee by September 1, 2021. The winning publication will be awarded

at the ASEEEES Convention in New Orleans.

The Polish Studies Association is now accepting applications for a research award in the amount of \$2,000. The award is intended to support active, graduate-level research on projects pertaining to Polish topics across all disciplines and methodological approaches; it is not intended as a write-up grant. Applications are due September 1, 2021 and include a two-page description of the project, a schedule of the research plan (including the location of relevant documents), and a budget. Please also include contingency plans to take into account any COVID-related restrictions on materials or opening times. All applicants for PSA awards must be current members of the Polish Studies Association. Applications for funds to support digitizing or scanning of materials in Polish collections must specify how/by whom the work will be done. The winner will be announced at the PSA annual member meeting to be held at the ASEEEES convention on November 19, 2021 and funds will be made available to recipients soon thereafter. Please submit application materials to: Kate Wroblewski (mwroblew@umich.edu) and Michał Wilczewski (michal.wilczewski@northwestern.edu)

CfP: SOCIETY FOR ROMANIAN STUDIES

Theme: "Borders and Transfers," 15-17 June 2022

Hosted by Universitatea de Vest and Muzeul de Artă, Timișoara

A melting-pot whose local realities reflect transnational influences, Timișoara is an ideal place for us to reflect on how borders and transfers shape the culture and society of the diverse peoples connected to Romania and Moldova.

- Keynote speakers: Maria Bucur (Indiana University, Bloomington) and Adriana Babeți (Universitatea de Vest, Timișoara)
- The official language of the conference is English, but panels, roundtables, and discussions may also be delivered in Romanian.
- Conference organizers are planning to hold the conference face to face, with no hybrid option. If the COVID-19 pandemic makes this unfeasible, SRS will communicate alternatives.
- Proposals for individual papers, panels, roundtables, book or movie presentations, and art installations should be sent by October 25, 2021, to srs2022conference@gmail.com.
 - Individual paper proposals should include a title, a brief abstract of up to 500 words, a one-page c.v., and contact information of the presenter.
 - Proposals for panels including 3-4 papers, one chair, and 1-2 discussants should provide a title and description of the panel topic, abstracts of all

papers, a one-page c.v., and contact information for all participants. Panel participants should be drawn from at least two different universities/ research institutes.

- Roundtable proposals of 3-5 participants should include a title and description of the topic, a one-page c.v., and contact information for all participants.
- In addition, the conference organizers will accept proposals for presentations of books, movies, and art installations; proposals should include a title, a description, a one-page C.V., and contact information.
- There is a limited number of fee waivers for people with modest incomes sponsored by the PLURAL Forum for Interdisciplinary Studies, Moldova. Please contact the conference organizers for details.

For more information about the SRS conference see <https://society4romanianstudies.org/2022-conference/>

CONGRATULATIONS TO THE WINNERS OF THE ASEEEES REGIONAL AFFILIATE ESSAY COMPETITIONS:

Moira O'Shea (University of Chicago) was the winner of the Midwest Slavic Association graduate essay contest for: "We took the national game and turned it into a sport': Playing Kok Boru and Re-inventing Tradition in Post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan."

The NESEEEES Graduate Student Essay Competition winner is Frances Cayton (Harvard University) for her paper: "The 'Storm Troops' of Populism: Illiberal Civil Society in Law and Justice's Poland."

ASEEES Launches New sees_announcements Listserv

ASEEES announces a new moderated listserv that communicates relevant academic and professional news in the field. Anyone with scholarly, professional involvement or interest in SEEES, including those who are not members of ASEEES, may subscribe.

For more information about sees_announcements, go to aseees.org/resources/sees-announcements-listserv.

Subscribe to the listserv at: archive.lists.aseees.org

Subscribers will be permitted to post once per day. Posts that fall into the following categories will be approved:

- Job and postdoc postings
- Calls for applications for programs
- Calls for papers
- Newly published books or articles
- Events (conferences, workshops, webinars, lectures, book talks, etc.)
- Fellowships, grants, other funding sources
- Awards and prizes
- Obituaries

