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Who's Laughing Now?: WHAT VOLODYMYR ZELENSKY'S PRESIDENTIAL WIN MAY MEAN FOR UKRAINE STUDIES

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It was not supposed to happen this way in Ukraine.

Comedian and entertainer Volodymyr Zelensky, a man with no political experience whatsoever, defeated incumbent President Petro Poroshenko, a prominent figure in Ukrainian politics for the past two decades. He won despite Ukraine being five years in a hybrid war with Russia that has cost at least 13,000 lives by late February 2019 and has led to as many as 1.8 million people still being registered as Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) as of July 2018.¹

It was not a defeat. It was a blowout. In the second round of voting held April 21, 2019, Zelensky defeated Poroshenko by an astonishing 73.22 percent to a mere 24.45 percent.² On the electoral map, Zelensky led in all regions of Ukraine where voting could take place, except for western Ukraine's Lviv Region.³

Television Crusader

Nationwide television had made Zelensky famous. In 2003 he started his television

company, *Kvartal 95* (Block 95), which has produced television programs, films, and live shows for not just Ukraine, but the post-Soviet sphere and Eastern Europe. Their television comedy show, *Vecherniy Kvartal* (Evening Channel), has been a hit with audiences since 2008. The television series *Svaty* (The In-laws), which has completed six seasons, had the highest ratings for three of them in Ukraine. In 2012-14, the Monte Carlo Television Festival considered it among the top three comedy series viewed worldwide, next to *The Big Bang Theory* and *Desperate Housewives*.⁴

The show that gave Zelensky the most political clout was the television series *Sluga Naroda* (Servant of the People), which premiered on Ukrainian television in 2015. *Servant of the People* is about a struggling high school history teacher in provincial Ukraine who, frustrated with his country's political system, delivers an impromptu speech against corruption that a student films in class. The student's video goes viral on YouTube and gets Zelensky's character, Vasyl Holoborodko, elected president. *Servant of the People* is about more than just a novice president battling corruption. The series portrays ordinary Ukrainian citizens complicit in this culture of corruption, from housewives urging their husbands to accept bribes so that they can buy fur coats to neighbors who abuse one another yet will go out of their way to please government ministers.⁵

Zelensky Hysteria

At first it looked like Zelensky had no chance of winning. Out of 40

candidates for president, Zelensky's campaign strategy was bizarre. As he began his campaign in January 2019, Zelensky, going by the brand name of "Ze," said idea crowdsourcing and popular referendums would determine his political program.⁶ Zelensky held few live political rallies. He did not engage in any ambitious billboard campaign. Instead, he performed with his comedy team. His campaign team used the social networks and YouTube to broadcast campaign messages. The television network hosting Zelensky's shows, 1+1, gave Zelensky a venue for appearing as a president on *Servant of the People*, narrating a documentary on the life of Ronald Reagan (another actor who became a president), and greeting viewers with the New Year at midnight, during a spot traditionally reserved for the President of Ukraine.

Due to his amorphous campaign rhetoric and his past comedy acts, Zelensky seemed like a clown, someone else's puppet. One suspected puppet master was Ihor Kolomoisky, a prominent oligarch who supported the Euromaidan protests and, after Russia's military intervention, funded volunteer battalions to defend Ukraine. While this led to him becoming governor of the Dnipropetrovsk Region in Ukraine's southeast in 2014, his relations with President Poroshenko soured, and he was out of office the next year. The owner of 1+1, Privatbank, and other assets, Kolomoisky allegedly embezzled some \$5 billion from Privatbank, causing the Poroshenko administration to nationalize the bank in 2016. Kolomoisky left Ukraine and claimed that the forced nationalization of his bank was illegal.

Kolomoisky gave Zelensky not only air time through the 1+1 channel, but also provided security and logistical support to Zelensky's campaign team. Andriy Bohdan, Kolomoisky's personal lawyer, became Zelensky's legal counsel.⁷

Russian president Vladimir Putin became Zelensky's second suspected puppet master, largely through a subtle smear campaign. Euromaidan Press claimed that Zelensky's campaign program bore an eerie resemblance to that of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy. A website known for intimidating journalists and political opponents, *Myrotvorets'* (Peacemaker) – called simply a "non-governmental organization" by some media – claimed that it had intercepted emails proving that a former pro-Russian Donbas militant, owner of a cryptocurrency trading platform, had organized the transfer of cash from Russia's FSB to the Zelensky campaign. Euromaidan Press reported this news, while being unable to verify the information completely.⁸ Yet at least some suggested, rightly, that this kind of Russian support was negligible, given the enormous resources Kolomoisky and his 1+1 television channel provided.⁹

Still, experts warned that Zelensky's victory would doom Ukraine because Putin would take advantage of his lack of political experience. Alexander Motyl claimed that *Servant of the People* episodes suggested Zelensky was "dangerously pro-Russian." He argued that Zelensky's show treats Ukrainian nationalists, not Russia, as the main threat to the country. Zelensky, if elected, may make all kinds

of concessions to Putin, including ceding the country's sovereignty.¹⁰ Such experts stressed the importance of Poroshenko winning reelection. Adrian Karatnycky of the Atlantic Council said this would protect Ukraine from Russian interference running rampant during the elections, and would keep it safe from further Russian military aggression. Quoting Ukrainian historian and public intellectual Yaroslav Hrytsak, Karatnycky concluded that it was just a matter of time before Ukraine's educated elite backed Poroshenko and thus guaranteed his victory at the polls: "The main decision for liberals today is whether to support Poroshenko in the first round or wait until the second."¹¹

Day of Reckoning

Hrytsak's liberals did not determine the outcome of the presidential race. Zelensky's electoral victory was a direct indictment of them and the view of Ukraine that they and their Western partners shared.

Educated elites most active in the Euromaidan protests of 2013-14 tied that revolution's fortunes to the Poroshenko presidency. Poroshenko himself played an active role in supporting the protests, through his television channel, Channel 5, and through his own intervention in key events that led to the toppling of President Viktor Yanukovich in February 2014.

The Poroshenko presidency, despite attempted reforms, ushered in yet another cycle of systemic corruption. Rather than breaking with a system of bribes, graft, and embezzlement

at all levels of state administration, it perpetuated it. A 2018 Gallup poll found 91 percent of Ukrainians claimed government corruption was widespread. Ukraine's national government was the least trusted in the world (9 percent), far below the median for former Soviet republics (48 percent) and the global average (56 percent). Even the Yanukovich administration, overthrown by protests in February 2014, did not have such a low rating, though admittedly confidence in that government was also extremely weak (no higher than 24 percent).¹² Rather than overcoming the arbitrariness and lawlessness of past regimes, Poroshenko's encouraged a "culture of impunity" where crimes remained unpunished or uninvestigated, security organs detained and tortured citizens, and far-right vigilante groups freely intimidated and assaulted their opponents.¹³ In late February 2019, investigative journalists claimed the son of one of Poroshenko's close business partners extorted millions of dollars from the state's military industries by selling them parts smuggled from Russia at grossly exaggerated prices.¹⁴

Despite greater openness with the European Union, including visa-free travel, continued economic decline and the Donbas war had ruined people's standard of living. The value of the hryvnia to the US dollar plummeted from 8 to 27 (as of 2018). In 2015, the average salary of Ukrainians was 190 US dollars a month (a little over 6 US dollars a day). From 2014 to 2017 (before even visa-free travel with EU countries began), over 25 percent of all working age, economically active citizens (those

not students, pensioners, mothers on maternity leave, or those disabled and unable to work) left Ukraine for employment abroad.¹⁵ The sharp drop in Ukrainians' living standards, made worse by austerity, has hardly been the prosperity of the "European dream" shared by Euromaidan activists and their supporters more than five years ago.

Ukraine's cultural and intellectual establishment, while grumbling about such corruption and economic hardships, chose to side with Poroshenko to the end. Poroshenko's presidency reinforced myths they shared and perpetuated (sometimes with Western help) about the Euromaidan protests and Ukraine's war with Russia. The Euromaidan protests were about a civilizational choice. They were a contest of wills between the "tolerant ones" (*tolerasty*), those who adhered to human rights, rule of law, democracy, and European values, and the "Soviet ones" (*sovky*), those who blindly followed their post-Soviet leaders and feared change.¹⁶ Marci Shore and Timothy Snyder have been the most fervent Western perpetrators of such myths. The protests represented a "rebirth of metaphysics" for not just Ukraine, but Eastern Europe, where the values of Europe acquired real meaning in acts of resistance on Ukraine's Independence Square.¹⁷ The Ukraine crisis occupied center stage in a global war for the "truth" and liberal democracy.¹⁸ Such myths transformed those who were indifferent to the Euromaidan protests, who refused to support the protests, or who openly opposed them into people who were culturally,

intellectually, and even spiritually lacking. This was especially true for residents of the Donbas region, who, according to Hrytsak, were allegedly too skeptical, too materialist, and too spiritually deprived to appreciate the altruism of the Euromaidan protesters.¹⁹ Such myths ignored the fact that the Euromaidan protests never gained support from half of the country – mostly residents of the east and south – and that the violence that eventually brought down the Yanukovich regime only polarized public opinion further. Only the threat of Russian military aggression ensured national unity.²⁰

As it failed to produce reforms that benefited ordinary citizens, the Poroshenko administration used the threat of Russian military aggression, and nationalist tropes, to bolster Poroshenko's reelection bid. "Army, Language, Faith" became his campaign slogan. Poroshenko guaranteed strong defense against Russian military aggression. When Russian naval forces seized three Ukrainian naval vessels and 24 sailors in November 2018 and closed the Sea of Azov off to Ukrainian shipping, Poroshenko with Parliament's approval temporarily imposed martial law in 10 regions along Ukraine's east and south, claiming that Russian forces threatened to seize those territories as well. The move was viewed as politically motivated, given that nearly all of these regions were least supportive of Poroshenko's presidency.²¹ In early January 2019, the Poroshenko administration succeeded in obtaining independent status for the Orthodox Church in Ukraine, removing it from the control of the



Moscow Patriarchate. Poroshenko later went on a tour across Ukraine with the document, known as the *Tomos*, claiming that Ukraine had achieved spiritual independence from the Russian world at last.²² Poroshenko voiced support for a law strengthening the use of the Ukrainian language in education and government. Parliament passed the law shortly after Poroshenko's electoral defeat.²³

Ukrainian cultural and intellectual figures lined up behind Poroshenko. At a late January 2019 rally in the Kyiv International Exposition Center, writers, actors, musicians, and politicians joined Poroshenko to express their support for his platform. They claimed that Zelensky, former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko, and other rival candidates threatened to undermine Ukraine with empty populist rhetoric, authoritarianism, and a return to the days of Yanukovich's "pro-Russian" regime. The rally offered an even more stark slogan on display: "Either Poroshenko or Putin," with portraits of the two leaders facing one another.²⁴ Once it became clear that Poroshenko was most likely to lose to

Zelensky in the first round and even in the second, Ukrainian intellectuals warned that a Zelensky victory would be a disaster for Ukraine. As many as 26 representatives of the Ukrainian intelligentsia—mostly writers, academics, and former Soviet dissidents—claimed Zelensky's election would make a mockery of Ukraine.²⁵ Western champions of Ukraine and the Euromaidan protests joined in the jeremiads against a possible Zelensky win. Bernard-Henri Lévy, who had spoken to the Maidan in early February 2014 and claimed that the Europe he was proud of stood before him, warned a Kyiv audience in late March 2019 that Zelensky was a "leap into the unknown."²⁶

Fear and Loathing of the 25 (Or Less) Percent

The jeremiads did little more than echo among the faithful. When the results of the first, and then the second, rounds of voting came in, intellectuals and public figures who supported the Euromaidan were furious. They took out their anger against the vast majority who had voted for Zelensky.

Volodymyr Viatrovych, director of the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory, whose work included the passing of controversial laws in 2015 banning Communist symbols and commemorating controversial nationalist figures who had collaborated with Nazi Germany, highlighted the dangers of "the majority" to his readers on Facebook one week before the second round of the elections.²⁷ "The majority does not read books," he wrote April 14,

2019. "The majority does not know a single foreign language. The majority has not seen the world not just beyond Ukraine, but even beyond their own televisions. The majority did not come to the Maidans [public protests in 2004 and 2013-14], they did not stop the 'Russian Spring' in the south and east, did not fight at the front, did not form volunteer groups to help soldiers." He claimed that "the majority" quickly changes its loyalties, and that it was "the majority" that brought to power such odious figures as Lenin, Hitler, Putin, and Yanukovich (a claim that clearly went against the historical record regarding Lenin and Hitler).²⁸

The second round of voting coincided with the beginning of Holy Week for the Eastern rite in Ukraine, and commentators were quick to add Biblical language to express their contempt for the majority. "It is not I beating (him), but the mob [*iuba*] is," wrote political scientist Volodymyr Kulyk, referring to Palm Sunday and the fickle crowd that greeted Jesus and then betrayed him. "On the day of [Christ's] arrival in Jerusalem they decided to return to Egypt..."²⁹ Writer Yuri Andrukhovych, who had already warned readers of *Zbruch* that Zelensky's victory would mean the return to power of a more subtle version of Yanukovich's Party of Regions, compared Poroshenko's resounding defeat to Jesus Christ's betrayal by the mob on Good Friday.³⁰

Other intellectuals opposed to Zelensky looked for signs of victory amid defeat. Facebook users affixed the number "25" to their profile photos, proudly identifying themselves as critically-reflecting

members of civil society. Poet, critic, and essayist Mykola Riabchuk claimed that Zelensky's presidency would be such a disaster that those supporting a modernized, Ukrainian future connected with Europe, free of the influences of the *sovky*, could win in a future political struggle.³¹

There was no soul-searching at all among the 25 percent or less. One exception could be art curator and former Euromaidan activist Vasyl Cherepanyn. He compared Zelensky's victory to a popular uprising like that of the Yellow Vests in France, only within the legal system, voting against such issues as the war in Donbas (namely politicians' exploitation of that war to benefit themselves), corruption, and the divisive nationalism that Poroshenko had turned to in order to maintain popular support. Still, as Cherepanyn admitted, what had united the 73 percent of Ukraine's voters behind Zelensky was not voting for Zelensky but voting against something.³²

While Zelensky's victory bridged regional divides, such divisions remain highly salient for the most important problems facing Ukraine. One survey by the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology indicates that in February 2019, around 62-65 percent of residents of Ukraine's west and center said that Russia bore responsibility for starting the war in Donbas, 10-12.5 percent said Ukraine was responsible, and 25 percent could not answer the question. In contrast, in Ukraine's south, as many as 47 percent could not answer the question, while 23 percent blamed Ukraine and only 30 percent blamed Russia. In the east, the contrast with the west and center was even starker. Most, a total

of 55 percent, could not answer the question, while 31 percent blamed Ukraine and only 14.5 percent said Russia was responsible for starting the war.³³

Zelensky's presidential win thus is no laughing matter for either his opponents or his supporters. Ukraine remains in dire economic straits. The corrupt system in *Servant of the People* pervades Ukrainian society and involves ordinary people who, regardless of their individual qualities, matter in any representative democracy that claims to live by its ideals. Russia remains a military threat, though far from all Ukrainians agree who is to blame for the war it continues to direct and support in the Donbas region. The gulf between educated elites and "the majority" bears resemblance to the Russian Empire of 1905-1917, where, Leopold Haimson wrote long ago, dual polarization between educated elites (*obshchestvennost'*) and the state and between educated elites and the masses threatened to topple the entire system.³⁴ While this latest drama in Ukraine's history could end as comedy, farce, or tragedy, it is clear that "the people" deserve better treatment than that given to it by the pundits, the experts, and some scholars over the past five years.

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WAR ON THE ACADEMY:

The Hungarian Government's Crackdown on Research Freedom

Stefano Bottoni

HUNGARIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

For years now, the nationalist-conservative Hungarian government led by Viktor Orbán has pursued a repressive grip on higher education, with the ultimate goal of exercising political control over research. Since 2014, a chancellor has supervised public universities. This position is only superficially similar to that of the administrative director. In fact, the chancellor - usually a scholar linked to the governing party - oversees expenditure, recruitment, and the general internal life of the university. This authority has paved the way for attacks against the Central European University (CEU).

An amendment to the higher education law issued in March 2017 forced foreign universities operating in Hungary to open a campus also in their country of origin. Founded by businessman George Soros in 1991, the CEU suddenly found itself in a legal limbo as an institution considered politically insidious. In December 2018, after a year and a half of futile negotiations with the Hungarian government, CEU President Michael Ignatieff announced the transfer of all graduate programs accredited in the United States from Budapest to Vienna, effective Fall 2019.

Until recently, the oldest and most prestigious Hungarian research institution, the Academy of Sciences, seemed safe because it is a national establishment. The Academy, which boasts over 400 academics and 5,000 employees, including 2,500 full-time researchers

in 15 centers. Besides this, 16,000 persons in possession of a doctorate or equivalent degree participate in the consultative body that regulates Hungarian scientific life. Having labored for years under the illusion of being a national symbol rooted in the social fabric and national history of Hungary, they too have now become a target like the CEU.

This rude awakening began during the electoral campaign that led to the third consecutive triumph of Prime Minister Orbán on April 8, 2018. In January the weekly *Figyelő* ("The Observer"), owned at that time by prominent Fidesz-ideologue and historian Mária Schmidt, began to publish defamatory articles that listed individual researchers or entire research institutes as politically hostile, useless, or even "harmful" to society. Meanwhile, the government developed a network of research institutes, parallel to those of the Academy, particularly in the humanities. For instance, the "Veritas" historical institute (founded in 2014) is a government entity that employs around thirty researchers engaged in the period between the creation of the Dual Monarchy in 1867 and the end of the Second World War. In the same year, the National Memory Commission (*Nemzeti Emlékezet Bizottság*) was established to promote an official narrative and research agenda for the period 1945-1990. The committee is made up of five members, strictly politically nominated, supervising a scientific body of about twenty researchers. Another institute commissioned by the government in 2014, Research Institute and Archives for the History of Regime Change (*Rendszerváltás*



Történetét Kutató Intézet), researches the transition of 1989-90. These institutions, instrumental to political power and generously financed by the state budget, have been joined over the years by various think tanks in fields such as economics, geopolitics and migration, including the government-backed (fin de siècle) Századvég Foundation—a powerful machine of policy-making and propaganda that moves hundreds of millions of euros.

The Hungarian Academy of Sciences was founded in 1825 on the initiative of Count István Széchenyi to promote the Hungarian language and culture. Until the Second World War, this body functioned as an exclusive club for established scholars and in the interwar period openly supported the ultra-conservative orientation of the governments appointed by Admiral Horthy, excluding scholars of Jewish origin. In 1948-49, the Sovietization of the country made a radical change to the "parlor" of Hungarian science. The purge of intellectuals was accompanied by a rigid separation of roles, on the Soviet model, between higher education

and academic research. In the early 1950s, the Academy became, on the structural level, a complex multi-level organization (academics-researchers-members of consultative body) subject to strict ideological control. The Academy and its research institutes carved out a niche of freedom in the "soft" but enveloping dictatorship of the 1970s and 1980s. The institutes of philosophy, history, sociology, and world economy employed dozens of internationally renowned scholars who, though barred from teaching in universities, were allowed to conduct their own research and publish in obscure journals.

The entry of the Soros Foundation in Hungary, allowed by the authorities through a memorandum of understanding with the Hungarian Academy of Sciences signed in 1984, marked the end of the public monopoly of the Communist state on research funding and scientific publications. In the following ten years, the Foundation sent 50 million dollars to Hungary. In addition to funding hundreds of economists, sociologists, and writers, it distributed 475 photocopiers to universities and research centers throughout Hungary. The state authorities retained influence over the recipients of scholarships and research projects granted in heavy currency, but, thanks to the Soros Foundation, the Academy of Sciences carved out a space of autonomy previously unthinkable.

After the post-Communist transition, the Academy chose the path of a gradual renewal, eschewing purges or abjurations of the Communist past. A law approved in 1994 secured freedom of public research through

the Academy's full managerial and financial autonomy. Under the chairmanship of two historians, the conservative Domokos Kosáry and the socialist Ferenc Glatz, the Academy struggled, not without success, to harmonize its traditional "national" profile with the challenges of technological change and the globalization of knowledge. In 2011-12, a comprehensive reform consolidated the network of research institutes into 15 administrative and scientific macro-units, the research centers. The one for humanities, for example, brought together seven previously independent institutes (including that of history) and today employs 440 researchers and administrative staff members. Over the years, the weight of external funding has progressively grown to approximately one third of the budget of the research institutes.

Despite these changes, the Minister of Innovation and Technology, the engineer and academician László Palkovics argues that the public research system in Hungary is still affected by the legacy of the Soviet system. Palkovics believes that the Academy enjoys excessive "freedom," while research in the humanities, a supposed luxury for a small country of modest wealth, should be replaced by technological innovation in support of industry.

However, international statistics tell a different story: public research carried out in the institutions of the Academy is among the most productive on the continent, if we compare the modest budget of less than 200 million euros per year with indicators such as publications or European project grants in the last decade. Hungary

stands out among the countries of Central-Eastern Europe with 69 ERC and Horizon-2020 grants (compared to 29 in the Czech Republic and 27 in Poland), 32 of which were won by the Academy's institutes.

Not surprisingly, the first battle between the Academy and the Ministry of Innovation and Technology was fought in the summer of 2018 over management autonomy. In June, Palkovics proposed a technical amendment aimed at diverting more than two thirds of the Academy's annual funding to the Ministry's budget. The real objective of this move was very clear: to transfer funds for basic and applied research to the Ministry in order to obtain full financial control over the Academy's research network. These logistical and financial premises were eventually used by Palkovics to achieve the suppression of the Academy's autonomy, which also led to the humiliation of its president, the world-famous mathematician László Lovász. The minister has in fact granted the legal department of the Academy just 54 minutes to view and comment on the bill, approved a few days later without any modification despite the protests from President Lovász and numerous academics. Starting from 2019, the minister would have linked the granting of funds to a "general assessment" of the functioning of the research network carried out in the first months of the same year by an equal commission made up of academics and experts appointed by the Ministry.

Events took a dramatic turn after the extraordinary meeting of the general assembly, the Academy's self-governing body, on December 6, 2018. Although entitled to attend

the minister did not show up, probably for fear of a confrontation, and the academics, wounded in their professional and corporate pride, approved by a large majority a resolution that committed President Lovász to reject the reform plan and ask the government to respect the autonomy of the Academy. Irritated by the unexpected resistance of a traditionally staid body, Palkovics opted for direct retaliation.

Since January 2019, the Ministry of Innovation and Technology holds "temporarily" (until March 31, the last term of the "general assessment" of academic efficiency) the sums previously allocated in the budget law to the institutions. The Academy can therefore provide only the basic salary of researchers and the administrative staff. A month and a half after the introduction of this punitive measure, numerous laboratory activities have been suspended, the editorial projects of 2019 have stalled, and applications to European funds are impossible due to the uncertainty regarding the availability of overheads. According to the legal department of the Academy, the government is violating not only the 1994 law on the functioning of the Academy but also its own budget law. To remedy the problem, Minister Palkovics announced on January 31 a "public tender" in which each research center must present a proposal of research activities planned until December 31, 2019. All this in 5,500 characters, spaces and financial tables included, by February 28, 2019. The Ministry suggested "culture" and "family" macro-sectors as research topics for the humanities and social sciences. As you can guess, the Academy was in fact forced to

participate, to earn its own budget, in a scientific farce. Furthermore, the “tender” for the approximately 85 million euros available, which is more or less equivalent to the “old” budget, is open to other competitors such as universities, public institutions, but also the previously mentioned alternative think tanks. However, unlike the Academy, these other actors have regular financing, while the Academic research centers are in fact private as of January 1, 2019.

At the time of writing, the future of the Academy of Sciences is completely uncertain. The political will to punish the academic world, considered insufficiently aligned, has stimulated an unprecedented bottom-up reaction. The thousands of researchers (with an average age of just 41 years) who represent the operating arm, though often forgotten, of the Academy of Sciences, feel betrayed by their superiors have self-organized, joining the trade unions for the first time in decades and forming a civil initiative called the “Academy Staff Forum.”

On February 12, 2019, the Forum organized the first protest demonstration ever carried out by the Academy’s employees in downtown Budapest, attended by over 3,000 people: not only scholars but also ordinary citizens indignant over the insult to the most ancient and prestigious national academic institution. That same day, the Academy Bureau, at the end of a dramatic meeting, decided - despite pressure from the crowd and the media - to reject the “thematic tender of excellence” proposed by the Ministry if it illegally withholds public funds already allocated

for the research institutes. In the Hungarian press, detailed reports on the attempted dismemberment of the current research centers have appeared. Rumors circulate of a gigantic public foundation, the control of which would be entrusted to the government, that will hijack the Academy’s research centers. The Ministry’s plans include the transformation, scheduled for July 1, 2019, of the Corvinus University of Budapest (formerly “Karl Marx” University), which specializes in economic sciences and international relations, into a foundation called “Maecenas Universitatis Corvini.”

Financed by a share package with a total value of over 1.2 billion euros, all the real estate and securities matrimony of the Corvinus University would come together in this foundation. Minister Palkovics has already outlined the unbundling of the research institutes and their transfer to a new foundation, telling the president of the Academy Lovász, that this is the basic prerequisite for reaching an agreement on research funding not only for 2019 but also for the foreseeable future.

Thus, the question of the Academy has acquired the dynamic of power-

2019 ASEES BOARD ELECTION

We are pleased to announce the slate of candidates for the 2019 election for positions on the ASEES Board of Directors: Vice President/President-Elect and two Members-at-Large, serves three-year terms from January 1, 2020 to December 31, 2022. We thank them for their willingness to stand as candidates to serve on the ASEES Board.

Candidates for Vice President / President Elect

- Sibelan Forrester, Professor of Russian, Swarthmore College
- Irina Shevelenko, Professor in German, Nordic, and Slavic Department at U of Wisconsin - Madison

Candidates for Members-at-Large

- Michael Kunichika, Associate Professor of Russian; Director of the Center for Russian Culture, Amherst College
- Karen Petrone, Professor of History and Chair of Department of History, U of Kentucky
- Kimberly St. Julian-Varnon, History Instructor, Lee College
- Emily Wang, Assistant Professor of Russian, U of Notre Dame

Candidates for Graduate Student Representative

- Christina Novakov-Ritchev, Teaching Fellow in Dept of World Arts and Cultures and Ph.D. candidate in Culture and Performance, UCLA
- Mina Magda, PhD candidate in Dept of Slavic Languages and Literatures, Yale U

For more information on the election including the candidate bios, visit our [website](#). Information on how to vote will be distributed by email to current members of ASEES by early July.

opposition. The leading bodies of the Academy, without offering a formal legitimacy to the Workers' Forum, received the message of the protest, and on February 26, 2019, the Presidency of the Academy of Sciences resolved almost unanimously to refuse to participate without written guarantees from the Ministry.

This gesture of dignity further raises the stakes as it puts the government at a crossroads: opting for a tactical retreat, implicitly recognizing the foolishness of the project, or accelerating on the same path to crush the resistance of scholars. The Academy has the financial resources necessary to cover the budget leaks for a few months but no more, and at the moment the government intends to guarantee the payment of salaries only until March 31, 2019. Thousands of researchers are therefore at the mercy of a conflict, now fueled by government propaganda, that the Academy tried to manage in an accommodating way before realizing that the government was aiming, not for a compromise, but a total victory.

On May 6, 2019, the General Assembly of the Academy of Sciences delivered a series of resolutions stating that the research network should remain under the purview of the Academy, even if the government is delegated substantially more power in their management system than at present. According to General Assembly's resolution, the Academy set up several conditions for agreeing to the new management system: a start date of January 1, 2020, at the earliest; the exclusive inclusion of institutions currently within the Academy's research network; the preservation

of the independent legal status of current institutions until that date; and the retention of public servant status of Academy's staff. Finally, the Academy called on the government to allow independent international partners to take an active part in the development of the new research structure.

The government has rejected these demands and seems determined to realize its centralization plans by overturning the 1994 Academy Law. The standoff continues, while the Academy staff has been living and working for almost one year under existential risk.

The question of the Academy concerns not only scientific policy, but also the freedom of research and expression. The fate of research institutes assumes a national political relevance, while the Academy Presidency is flooded with declarations of solidarity from Hungarian and especially international partners.

What are the reasons for the government's war on the Academy of Sciences? We can identify two closely related motivations: struggle for resources and ideological ambition.

The Hungarian government knows that with the next European budget Budapest will surely lose a significant part of the development funds provided by Brussels: an estimated 6 billion euros between 2021 and 2027. The only significant exception is the funds allocated to research and innovation, several billion euros of which will flow into the country. The forced detachment of research centers from the Academy structure eliminates an autonomous

competitive entity and guarantees the implementation of the so-called "vertical of power" on the crony management of this enormous amount of public money.

In any case, the most penalized are already the humanities and social sciences sectors: not because of their (low) cost of management but because they still represent an autonomous and critical factor for government policies in fields such as economy, demography, and the politics of the memory. What is at stake in the war launched by the Hungarian government on its own Academy of Sciences is therefore not just the management and financial autonomy of the latter. It now concerns the government's attempt to remove the islands of autonomy, criticism, and freedom in a country that the recent Freedom House report has downgraded, for the first time in the EU's history, from "free" to "partially free." Depriving the Academy of its research institutes is tantamount to destroying its social representation and indispensable function as a source of criticism and political stimulus.

Stefano Bottoni is a Senior Research Fellow at the Research Center for the Humanities of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. He was visiting fellow at the Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung (Potsdam, 2012) and Fellow of Imre Kertész Kolleg (Jena, 2015). He is the author of [Long Awaited West: Eastern Europe since 1944](#) (Indiana University Press, 2017), and [Stalin's Legacy in Romania: The Hungarian Autonomous Region 1952-1960](#) (Lexington Books, 2018).

NEW FROM SLAVICA PUBLISHERS

Laurie S. Stoff, Anthony J. Heywood, Boris I. Kolonitskii, and John W. Steinberg, eds. *Military Affairs in Russia's Great War and Revolution, 1914–22, Book 1: Military Experiences*, xviii + 594 p., 2019 (ISBN 978-0-89357-431-4), \$44.95.

This collection of articles by leading historians analyzes a wide variety of military experiences in Russia's First World War and to a lesser extent the Russian Civil War. Here the notion of the "front" extends far beyond the lines of trenches and even beyond the army-controlled front-zones to include not just combatants but also closely associated non-combatants such as nurses, military chaplains, front-zone civilian workers, POWs, and disabled veterans. The book's overarching conclusion is that while Russia's Great War shared many of the features of WWI in Western Europe, it was also

characterized by a host of factors that strongly differentiated the Russian experience of the war from the Western.

Arthur Bullard. *The Russian Pendulum: Autocracy—Democracy—Bolshevism*, ed. David W. McFadden, xiv + 171 p., 2019 (ISBN 978-0-89357-484-0), \$29.95.

Arthur Bullard's *The Russian Pendulum* (1919) is a personal and political analysis of the Russian Revolution, from the Revolution of 1905 through the beginning of the Civil War in 1918. Bullard's experience as an advisor to Colonel E. M. House, Woodrow Wilson's chief aide, and as a key staffer for the Committee for Public Information in Russia strongly influence his recommendation that the United States avoid military intervention and engage the new government by providing educational opportunities for its citizens.



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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.

Jan Novák. *So Far So Good: The Mašín Family and the Greatest Story of the Cold War*, xvi + 453 p., 2017 (ISBN 978-089357-458-9), \$19.95.

Voted Book of the Year by the Czech Republic's Magnesia Litera when published in Czech translation in 2004, *So Far So Good: The Mašín Family and The Greatest Story of the Cold War* by Jan Novák is now published by Slavica in the original English. Although it reads like a thriller, this "novel-document" is based on the true story of three young Czech men, Radek and Ctirad Mašín and Milan Paumer, whose daring exploits of anti-Communist resistance and flight through the Iron Curtain to West Berlin set off the *Tschechenkrieg*, a massive manhunt by 27,000 East German police and Red Army regulars.



Three String Books
Bohumil Hrabal. *Murder Ballads and Other Legends*, trans. Timothy West, viii +

109 p., 2018 (ISBN 978-089357-480-2), \$19.95.

"Some texts, after I've written them, have woken me up in the night so that I break out in a sweat and jump out of bed." With this confession legendary author Bohumil Hrabal concludes this genre-bending collection of stories published at the height of his fame in the 1960s. At the book's heart is "The Legend of Cain," an early version of the novella (and Oscar-winning film) *Closely Watched Trains*. Beautifully illustrated with woodcuts from early modern broadside ballads, *Murder Ballads and Other Legends* appears here in English for the first time, 50 years after it first appeared in Czech.

Bohumil Hrabal (1914–97) is regarded as one of the leading Czech prose stylists of the 20th century. His work has been translated into more than two dozen languages, and in 1995 *Publisher's Weekly* named him "the most revered living Czech writer."



Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History

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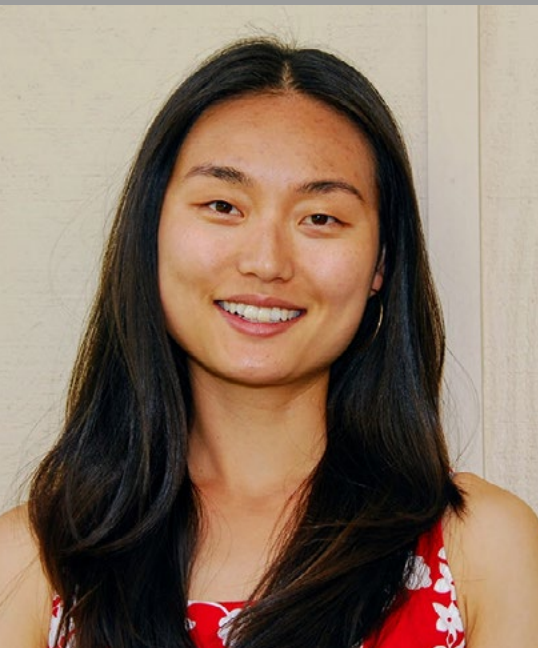
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2019 STEPHEN F. COHEN–ROBERT C. TUCKER DISSERTATION FELLOWS

DISSERTATION RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS

Tyler Adkins

Anthropology, Princeton University
“Talkan in the Age of Mechanical
Reproduction: Making, Working and
Consuming in the Late-Soviet Altai
Mountains”

Adkins’s project seeks to understand the indigenization of late Soviet modes of life in present-day Altai Republic, Russia through an oral history of domestic food production in rural areas. More specifically, this research project examines the paradox of why the domestic labor of food production—ostensibly a “survival” of pre-Soviet rural economy—is now remembered by post-Soviet Altai people as an exemplary instance of the virtues of the Soviet way of life. In combining oral history with ethnography, this project aims to understand not only the late-Soviet period but also contemporary, post-Soviet Altai and its relation to its Soviet past: how do Soviet-era ways of living and working now appear as objects of nostalgic desire, rejection or emulation in the creation of post-Soviet Altai selves?

Ismael Biyashev

History, University of Illinois at Chicago
“Beyond Myths and Ruins: Archaeology and
Nomadism in Russia, 1850-1925”

Biyashev’s dissertation is the first

attempt to write a history of the archaeology of nomadism in the Russian empire and the early Soviet Union. Biyashev raises new questions about the nature of Russian imperial modernity and about the ruptures and continuities between the late imperial and early Soviet contexts of studying nomadic archaeology. His dissertation devotes special attention to native and indigenous historical actors in Southern Russia, Central Asia, and Siberia. Additionally, the case studies that he examines call into question the effortless transition between the imperial and national, thus reevaluating Russia’s trajectory as an imperial power. He considers how multiple imperial agents and subjects, including representatives of nomadic cultures under Russian imperial rule, self-proclaimed amateur archaeologists, and other actors interpreted and instrumentalized ancient nomadic material culture. Lastly, his project answers the call to interdisciplinarity issued by specialists in both history and archaeology to shed new light on hitherto unexplored facets of both disciplines.

Geoffrey Durham

History, University of Pennsylvania
“The Standards of Evaluation: Weights,
Measures, and the Politics of Building a
Russian Imperial Economy, 1775-1857”

Durham’s dissertation investigates the drive to standardize the units of weight and measurement in the Russian Empire

between 1775 and 1857. He begins with Catherine II’s attempts to implement metrological uniformity in order to foster commercial development, and end with the turn to replace Russian units with the metric system. He approaches these reforms as technologies of economy- and state-building enacted during a period marked by substantial territorial expansion, the Napoleonic Wars, and the renovation of imperial governance. In analyzing how the non-standardized metrological system functioned, he also explores why an ethos of standardization emerged in these years. Identifying nodes of support for and opposition to the reforms within the broader population is a central concern of his project. Through the reactions of peasants, merchants, landlords, industrialists, academicians, and bureaucrats he attempts to delineate the consolidation of interest groups along political and economic lines. This project is thus at once a study of the state’s plans to mediate commercial relations and of the people who constituted those relations.

W. Forrest Holden

History, University of Michigan
“Disciplining Belief: Gender, Superstition,
and Witchcraft Persecution, 1760-1860”

Holden’s dissertation is a cultural history of magic-belief and witchcraft persecution in the eighteenth and



nineteenth centuries. Drawing on trial records, published divination pamphlets, and literary representations of magic and witchcraft, it considers the relationship between the Enlightenment notions of individual subjectivity, the decriminalization of witchcraft, and the increasing tendency to accuse women, rather than men, of practicing magic. Based on these sources, this dissertation argues that the Enlightenment understanding of gender that emerged in Western Europe informed the practice of witchcraft persecution on both the part of the state, and on the part of ordinary accusers in witchcraft cases.

Svetlana Ter-Grigoryan

History, The Ohio State University
 “There is No Sex in the USSR”: Sex, Soviet Identity, and Glasnost”

Ter-Grigoryan’s dissertation argues that Soviet public discourse, scholarly studies, and cultural representations on and about sexuality acted as a site for Soviet people to explore and negotiate larger issues around Soviet identity, moral upheaval, and rapid reform. Between 1987 and 1991, Soviet people engaged in literary, cultural, medical, and legal debates about the role of sex and sexuality in Soviet society. Prior to glasnost, the official stance of the state was that sex primarily a means to an end: the conception of future Soviet generations. Glasnost allowed people to reconsider several aspects of everyday life, including sexuality. Her project helps expand a limited understanding of the perestroika years by looking beyond the immediate political and economic instabilities and highlighting the country’s social and moral battles. She explores the mutually-constitutive relationship between sexuality and anxieties

regarding gender, family, crime, identity, morality, and more under late socialism. Additionally, her project contributes to a growing body of work in the history of sexuality in Russian studies by arguing that sexuality was integral to how people shaped their very identities as Soviet subjects vis-à-vis the Soviet system and state.

DISSERTATION COMPLETION FELLOWSHIPS

Nicholas Bujalski

History, Cornell University
 “Russia’s Peter and Paul Fortress: From Heart of Empire to Museum of the Revolution, 1825-1930”

Bujalski’s project is a cultural, intellectual, and spatial history of Russia’s Peter and Paul Fortress: founding site of St. Petersburg, mausoleum of the imperial family, and Romanov Russia’s most notorious political prison. Here the empire’s most illustrious dissidents – Bakunin, Chernyshevsky, Kropotkin, Trotsky – not only suffered, but also wrote novels and treatises, planned future political activities, and reimagined what it meant to be a revolutionary actor in tsarist Russia. As successive dissident generations learned to navigate (and narrate) the Fortress prison cell, this citadel was gradually transformed from a site of autocratic pageantry and mute discipline into a stage for the production of the radical self and, eventually, a soviet Museum of the Revolution. Tracing this development from 1825 to 1930 leads us to new insights into the birth of the Russian revolutionary intelligentsia; the entwinement of symbols, spaces, and subjects in cultures of dissent; and the history of political imprisonment in European modernity.

Virginia Olmsted-McGraw

History, UNC at Chapel Hill
 “Soviet by Design: Fashion, Consumption, and International Competition during Late Socialism, 1948-1980”

Olmsted-McGraw’s dissertation examines the evolution of a Soviet fashion industry and the primary state institution of clothing design, the All-Union House of Design (ODMO). The ODMO could influence every level of production, as its designers not only designed clothing, but also advised factory managers, decided which clothing went into mass production, and bore responsibility for marketing. Designers believed that fashion could unify the Soviet Union on two fronts: at home, with citizens wearing Soviet-designed and manufactured clothing, and abroad, at international competitions, as a symbol of the USSR’s artistic and cultural dominance. Olmsted-McGraw studies the ODMO in order to gain a greater understanding of the artistic and cultural history of the USSR, the “cultural” Cold War, and the nature of the command economy. Her project draws on the methodologies of institutional, gender, cultural, and transnational history, which allows me to examine the ODMO’s place within the Soviet state and economy, the impact of the organization domestically and internationally, as well as the artistic and cultural context influencing design. Her study speaks to the limited scholarship on Russian, Soviet, and Eastern bloc fashion, to debates on Cold War competition and consumption, and to emerging discussion of everyday life and the nature of “late” socialism.

The Cohen-Tucker Fellowship Program is sponsored by the KAT Charitable Foundation, which we thank for its generous support.





Irina Nakhova, Scaffolding, 1984 • Diptych, Oil on canvas
Norton and Nancy Dodge Collection of Nonconformist Art from the Soviet Union, Zimmerli Art Museum
Photo: Peter Jacobs © 2019 Irina Nakhova

21ST-CENTURY APPROACHES TO COPYRIGHT LAW

Janice T. Pilch

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY, THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW JERSEY

Given the fact that copyright norms are integral to the scholarly enterprise, the polarization that has developed around copyright law can be bewildering. As digital industry coalitions advance aggressive anti-copyright agendas, copyright law has become one of the most debated topics of the twenty-first century. It is nearly impossible not to be targeted by strategies aimed at replacing longstanding laws with behaviors and practices that re-channel the economic benefits of copyright protection from individual creators—writers, musicians, songwriters, filmmakers, and photographers, and others—to megacorporations under the rubric of fairness.

U.S.-led technology coalitions pull strings by funding and incentivizing an array of entities, ranging from non-governmental (including library) organizations to law school programs and centers, to individual faculty, instructors, and librarians to align with them under the umbrella of “public interest advocacy.” Social media, email lists, and academic conferences are flooded with anti-copyright messaging, a great deal of it underwritten by industry in an attempt to penetrate the policy sphere. Such efforts are global and are having influence in the Slavic, East European, and Eurasian region. Anti-copyright strategies have had deleterious effect upon the livelihoods of creators and challenged the rule of law itself. These outcomes have perplexed those with positive intentions toward authors and other creators.

Based on moral and economic principles, copyright law is included in the 1948 [United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a fundamental right. According to its provisions](#), “Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.” Spearheaded by Eleanor Roosevelt, this post-war declaration constituted a universal acknowledgment of the rights of all individuals and an affirmation of human dignity following the devastating policies of fascist regimes during World War II. It aimed and still aims to ensure that creativity and original expression are appropriately rewarded and encouraged. Current anti-copyright rhetoric defies this universally accepted principle of equality under the law.

While it has become popular to claim that copyright is an unnecessary evil that restricts people’s access to cultural works, history shows that balanced copyright law greatly benefits people and culture by ensuring that cultural production is funded. Copyright law does not unduly restrict use of copyrighted works for educational or scholarly uses. It has always been limited in duration and in scope, ensuring that works enter the public domain within a defined period. In addition, most national laws have generous limitations and exceptions to allow for reasonable, non-commercial, and personal uses. But for nearly three decades, technology corporations have fought these norms by advancing a campaign to promote negative attitudes and behaviors toward copyright and to erode copyright law from within through legislative



Irina Nakhova, Room No. 1, 1983
 Gelatin silver print on paper
 Norton and Nancy Dodge Collection of Nonconformist
 Art from the Soviet Union
 Zimmerli Art Museum
 Photo: Peter Jacobs © 2019 Irina Nakhova

change in their favor. More and more creators go unpaid as they become economically marginalized and as revenues are diverted from the cultural sector to the technology sector.

What is a balanced approach to copyright in an age when such influence may blur truth and create confusion, when formulas based on the notion of liberation from an oppressor may obscure a fundamental negation of human rights? How should scholars approach copyright issues? Should scholars resent copyright law or appreciate this system that honors the rights of creators and publishers who bring quality works to the public?

It may be helpful to take a look at a practical copyright question that frequently arises among scholars of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies: re-publication of an image -- typically a photograph, an illustration, or the image of a poster originally created or published in the former USSR or eastern Europe -- in a traditional scholarly publication. This situation confronts many scholars who wish to avoid legal liability but need to use relevant images found in unpublished collections or published volumes. The

purpose of this exercise is to show that a diligent copyright review is feasible, even if it involves some thought. Such a review not only limits a scholar’s liability, but more importantly, retains a critical application of reason, as well as mutual respect for creators, and affirms the value of human creativity and intellect.

When assessing the copyright status of an image, some basic facts need to be ascertained: the lifespan of the author/s, whether the work is anonymous or pseudonymous, the work’s published or unpublished status, its date of creation or first publication, its place of first publication, whether the work was initially published posthumously, and possibly other pertinent information.

U.S. law applies to a use within the U.S. of a work for which the country of origin is foreign. A scholar should determine, at a minimum, the U.S. copyright status of the work intended for reproduction in a U.S. publication and its copyright status in the country of origin. The work may be in the public domain in one or both countries because the copyright has expired or because it was never eligible for copyright, as may be the case for certain types of government documents. A scholar may also need to assess the work’s status in other countries, especially if the use of the work will be global in reach, as happens, for example, in an open access publication. That assessment is often based on the death date of the author and the date of publication.

Then there is the issue of contracts or licenses that would be binding over the terms of copyright law relative to the work in question. For example, if the image comes from a licensed

database, the terms and conditions of that database need to be checked. Copyright exceptions may still apply.

Although there is no copyright limitation or exception that easily applies globally to the republication of images in a scholarly work, its lack does not preclude the use of these images. Traditional publishers have different policies regarding republication of copyrighted images based on exceptions, permissions, or risk assessment. Ultimately, the publisher decides whether to allow republication based on the facts a scholar brings to the table as well as documentation of attempts a scholar has made to identify, locate, and contact a copyright holder. For images of well-known illustrators, artists, or photographers, likely places for scholars to search for names of current copyright holders are previous publications that contain such acknowledgments. Reasonable, but not necessarily exhaustive, searches of the internet and reference works to ascertain the names of rightsholders, who may be family members or other heirs, may be necessary. At the same time, publishers have become more understanding about the problems that can arise when a scholar is unable to identify or locate a copyright holder, or when the potential copyright holder does not respond to a permissions request, especially with respect to older images. The publisher may agree to rely on a copyright exception, such as fair use or an orphan works exception, without the scholar having to indemnify the publisher against legal damages; or the publisher may rely on a copyright exception on the condition that the scholar indemnify the publisher; or the publisher may

agree to go ahead if the risk is minimal, with or without an indemnification.

Dealing with republication of images in a scholarly publication need not be an onerous process.

The Committee on Libraries and Information Resources' (CLIR) [Subcommittee on Copyright Issues](#) guides scholars and librarians on copyright issues and can explain alternatives in the decision-making process. Our website is being revised and soon will have updated information. Please contact Janice T. Pilch, subcommittee chair, at janice.pilch@rutgers.edu with questions on Slavic, East European, and Eurasian

copyright, and we will be happy to help.

Janice T. Pilch is a member of the library faculty at Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey and chair of the ASEEEES CLIR Subcommittee on Copyright Issues that is dedicated to education in international copyright issues for the benefit of librarians and scholars in the field of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian studies.

The views expressed in this article belong solely to the author. These comments do not reflect and are not associated with any opinion, policy, or practice of Rutgers University or of ASEEEES.

Forthcoming in *Slavic Review* Volume 78, Summer 2019

CRITICAL DISCUSSION FORUM: NEW WAR FRONTIERS AND THE END OF POSTSOCIALISM

- Introduction by Neringa Klumbyte
- "Commemoration and the New Frontiers of War in Ukraine" by Catherine Wanner
- "Sovereign Uncertainty and the Dangers to Liberalism at the Baltic Frontier" by Neringa Klumbyte
- "Would You Flee, or Would You Fight? Tracing the Tensions at the Latvian-Russian Border" by Liene Ozolina
- "The Rhetoric of War and the Reshaping of Civil Society in the Republic of North Macedonia" by Vasiliki Neofotistos
- Afterword by Nancy Ries

ARTICLES

- "Phantom Borders in Eastern Europe: A New Concept for Regional Research" by Béatrice von Hirschhausen, Hannes Grandits, Claudia Kraft, Dietmar Müller, and Thomas Serrier
- "'Tis Eighty Years Since: Panteleimon Kulish's Gothic Ukraine" by Valeria Sobol
- "The Synchronous War Novel: Ordeal of the Unarmed Person in Serhiy Zhadan's *Internat*" by Tanya Zaharchenko

CLUSTER: VISIONS OF RUSSIAN MODERNISM-CHALLENGING NARRATIVES OF IMITATION, INFLUENCE, AND PERIPHERY

- Introduction by Allison Leigh
- "Il'ia Repin in Paris: Mediating French Modernism" by Allison Leigh
- "Painting Light Scientifically: Arkhip Kuindzhi's Intermedial Environment" by Viktoria Paranyuk
- "Shifting Peripheries: The Case of Russian Symbolism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood" by Daria V. Ezerova

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AATSEEL AWARDS

This is the second call for nominations for AATSEEL awards in the following five award categories:

- Excellence in Teaching (Secondary);
- Excellence in Teaching (Post-Secondary);
- Distinguished Service to AATSEEL;
- Outstanding Contribution to the Profession;
- Outstanding Contribution to Scholarship.

Please first verify that your candidate has not already won an AATSEEL award in the relevant category (nomination to another category is fine). Then, by August 1, please submit your nomination to the awards committee. The nomination should include the prize category; a brief testimonial and rationale as to why the candidate deserves the award; and the candidate's academic affiliation and email.

You can both check the list of past recipients and submit your nomination here: on the [AATSEEL website](#).

Candidates must be members of AATSEEL to accept the award. AATSEEL welcomes welcome nominations in smaller fields, international nominations, and other perceived professional lacunae. I look forward to your nominations.

AWSS AWARDS

2019 AWSS Outstanding Achievement Award recognizes the work of a scholar in the field of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies who has also served as a mentor in this field to students/colleagues who identify as female. To submit a nomination, please write a letter detailing what your candidate for this award has achieved in Slavic Studies in terms of scholarship or other professional accomplishment, as well as mentoring of female students/colleagues. In addition, please provide a short list of references with

accompanying email addresses so that the committee can contact these referees directly for further information. The committee recommends that this list include both peers and students/staff. A list of past Outstanding Achievement Award recipients is available at: <https://awsshome.org/awards/outstanding-achievement-award/>

Please send nominations to Paula Michaels at paula.michaels@monash.edu

2019 Mary Zirin Prize recognizes an independent scholar in the field of Slavic Studies.

Working as an independent scholar, Zirin produced and encouraged fundamental works in Slavic/East European Women's Studies and has been instrumental in the development of the AWSS. The Prize aims to recognize the achievements of independent scholars and to encourage their continued scholarship and service in the fields of Slavic or Central and Eastern European Women's Studies.

The Committee encourages the nomination of candidates at all career stages. For the purpose of this award, an independent scholar is defined as a scholar who is not employed at an institution of higher learning, or an employee of a university or college who is not eligible to compete for institutional support for research (for example, those teaching under short-term contracts or working in administrative posts). We welcome nominations from CIS and Central and Eastern Europe.

The Zirin Prize Committee will accept nominations (including self-nominations) until September 1, 2019. Nominations must include: (1) a nomination letter, no more than two pages long, double-spaced; (2) the nominee's current curriculum vitae; and (3) a sample publication (e.g., article or

book chapter). The nomination letter should describe the scholar's contribution to the field, as well as work in progress.

Nominations should be sent to Ellen Elias-Bursac at eliasbursac@gmail.com.

2019 Graduate Essay Prize is awarded to the author of a chapter or article-length essay on any topic in any field or area of Slavic/East European/Central Asian Studies written by a woman, or on a topic in Slavic/East European/Central Asian Women's/Gender Studies written by a woman or a man. This competition is open to current doctoral students and to those who defended a doctoral dissertation in 2018-2019. If the essay is a seminar paper, it must have been written during the academic year 2018-2019. If the essay is a dissertation chapter, it should be accompanied by the dissertation abstract and table of contents. Previous submissions and published materials are ineligible. Essays should be no longer than 50 double-spaced pages, including reference matter, and in English (quoted text in any other language should be translated). Completed submissions must be received by September 1, 2019. Send email essay and CVs to the Prize Committee as email attachments:

- Amy Randall, arandall@scu.edu
- Emily Schuckman-Matthews, ematthews@sdsu.edu
- Betsy Jones Hemenway, ehemenway@luc.edu

EARLY SLAVIC STUDIES ASSOCIATION PRIZES

The Early Slavic Studies Association (ESSA) announces it prizes for best monograph and best article in the field of Early Slavic Studies for 2019. The prize committee is also willing to consider a special award for best translation of primary source material in the field, to be awarded at the committee's discretion.

Books and peer-reviewed articles published between September 1, 2018 and August 31, 2019 are eligible for the award. All nominated works must be in English. The committee will accept nominations and self-nominations. Authors must be members in good standing of the ESSA. Please contact [Cynthia M. Vakareliyska](#), to confirm your eligibility.

All nominations should be sent to the chair of the prize committee, [Olga Grinchenko](#)



POLISH STUDIES ASSOCIATION
GRADUATE STUDENT RESEARCH AWARD

Each year the Polish Studies Association holds a competition 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 and is not intended as a write-up award. Applications for the research award are due July 1, 2019 and consist of a two-page description of the research project along with a schedule of the research plan (including the location of relevant documents) and a budget. Awards will be determined by September 1 and an official announcement of the award is made at the annual convention of the Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies. Please submit application materials to: [Kate Wroblewski](mailto:Kate.Wroblewski@utoronto.ca) and [Michał Wilczewski](mailto:Michal.Wilczewski@utoronto.ca).

SOCIETY FOR ROMANIAN STUDIES
GRADUATE STUDENT ESSAY PRIZE

The Society for Romanian Studies is pleased to announce the [Eleventh Annual Graduate Student Essay Prize competition](#) for an outstanding unpublished essay or thesis chapter. The submitted single-author work must be written in English by a graduate student in any social science or humanities discipline on a Romanian or Moldovan subject, broadly and inclusively understood.

The competition is open to current MA and doctoral students or those who defended dissertations in AY 2018–2019. Submitted work should have been completed during AY 2017–18. If the essay is a dissertation chapter, it should be accompanied by the dissertation abstract and table of contents. Expanded versions of conference papers are also acceptable if accompanied by a description of the panel and the candidate's conference paper proposal. Candidates should indicate the format of the essay submitted. Essays/chapters should be up to 10,000 words double spaced, including reference matter. Candidates should also indicate their institutional affiliation and the type of the essay submitted. Questions can be directed to [Marina Cap-Bun](mailto:Marina.Cap-Bun@utoronto.ca). Send a copy of the essay, any accompanying documentation (as both Word and PDF please) and updated CV to

2019srsPrize@gmail.com by July 1, 2019.

SHERA NEWS

The Board of the Society of Historians of Eastern European, Eurasian, and Russian Art and Architecture (SHERA) is pleased to announce that Kamila Kocialkowska (University of Cambridge) has been selected to receive this year's Graduate Student / Independent Scholar Research Grant for her dissertation "Abstraction Beyond Art: The Aesthetics of Censorship and the Russian Avant Garde."

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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.

10TH ICCEES WORLD CONGRESS

The Canadian Association of Slavists (CAS) is delighted to host the 10th World Congress of the International Council for Central and East European Studies (ICCEES). The event will be held at Concordia University in Montréal, Canada from 4-9 August, 2020.

The theme of the 10th World Congress is "Bridging National and Global Perspectives."

While proposals for complete panels are preferred, proposals are also invited for individual papers and round table discussions. The congress especially welcomes participation by young scholars and graduate students.

Submission deadline: September 15, 2019

To submit a proposal: https://sites.events.concordia.ca/sites/iccees/en/iccees2020/call_for_submissions

To become a CAS member: <http://www.ualberta.ca/~csp/Membership.html>

For questions, suggestions or concerns: iccees2020@concordia.ca



ICCEES
10th WORLD Congress
Concordia University, Montréal
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PUBLICATIONS



Brokers of Modernity: East Central Europe and the Rise of Modernist Architects, 1910-1950, by Martin Kohlrausch, was published by Leuven University Press in March 2019.

The first half of the twentieth century witnessed the rise of modernist architects. *Brokers of Modernity* reveals how East Central Europe turned into one of the pre-eminent testing grounds of the new belief system of modernism. By combining the internationalism of the CIAM organization and the modernising aspirations of the new states built after 1918, the reach of modernist architects extended far beyond their established fields. Yet, these architects paid a price when Europe's age of extremes intensified. Mainly drawing on Polish, but also wider Central and Eastern European cases, this book delivers a pioneering study of the dynamics of modernist architects as a group, including how they became qualified, how they organized, communicated and attempted to live the modernist lifestyle themselves. In doing so, *Brokers of Modernity* raises questions concerning collective work in general and also invites us to examine the social role of architects today.



Courting Gender Justice: Russia, Turkey, and the European Court of Human Rights, by Lisa McIntosh Sundstrom, Valerie Sperling, and Melike Sayoglu, was published by Oxford University Press in March 2019.

Women and the LGBT community in Russia and Turkey face pervasive discrimination. Only a small percentage challenge their mistreatment in court. A minority of activists who have exhausted their domestic appeals turn to their last hope: the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR). Russian citizens have brought tens of thousands of cases to the ECtHR over the past two decades. But only one of these cases resulted in a finding of gender discrimination—and that case was brought by a man. By comparison, the Court has found gender discrimination more frequently in decisions on Turkish cases. *Courting Gender Justice* explores the obstacles that confront those who try to bring gender discrimination

cases to court. To shed light on the factors that make victories possible in discrimination cases, the book compares forms of discrimination faced by women and LGBT people in Russia and Turkey. Additionally, it grounds the law in the personal experiences of individual people fighting to defend their rights.

Crimea in War and Transformation by Mara Kozelsky, published by Oxford University Press in 2019, examines the toll of violence on civilians and the environment. War landed on Crimea's coast in September 1854, and within a month, it had plunged the peninsula into a subsistence crisis. Having exhausted local resources, the imperial army extracted food and supplies from deep within Ukraine. The Allies conducted a *guerre de course*, burning cities and villages to the ground. Officers accused Tatars of betrayal and deported large segments of the local population.

Peace did not bring relief to Crimea. Removal of bodies and human waste took months. Epidemics swept away young children and the elderly. Officials estimated Crimean War devastation exceeded that of Napoleon's invasion. Recovery packages failed human need, and by 1864, nearly 200,000 Tatars left Crimea. Covering mobilization through reconstruction, *Crimea in War and Transformation* provides insight into an understudied conflict and suggests the experience of war produced the Great Reforms.



Crisis and Change in Post-Cold War Global Politics: Ukraine in a Comparative Perspective, edited by Erica Resende, Dovilė Budrytė, and Didem Buhari-Gulmez, was published by Palgrave in 2018.

This volume analyzes crises in International Relations (IR) in an innovative way. Rather than conceptualizing a crisis as something unexpected that has to be managed, the contributors argue that a crisis needs to be analyzed within a wider context of change: when new discourses are formed, communities are (re)built, and new identities emerge. Focusing on Ukraine, the book



explore various questions related to crisis and change, including: How are crises culturally and socially constructed? How do issues of agency and structure come into play in Ukraine? Which subjectivities were brought into existence by Ukraine crisis discourses? Chapters explore the participation of women in Euromaidan, identity shifts in the Crimean Tatar community and diaspora politics, discourses related to corruption, anti-Soviet partisan warfare, and the annexation of Crimea, as well as long distance impacts of the crisis.

Empire of Friends: Soviet Power and Socialist Internationalism in Cold War Czechoslovakia, by Rachel Applebaum, was published by Cornell University Press in April 2019.

Applebaum shows how the Soviet Union promoted a policy of transnational friendship with its Eastern Bloc satellites to create a cohesive socialist world. This friendship project resulted in a new type of imperial control based on cross-border contacts between ordinary citizens. Applebaum argues that in Czechoslovakia, socialist friendship was capable of surviving Stalinism and the Soviet invasion that crushed the 1968 Prague Spring. Eventually, the project became so successful that it undermined the very alliance it was designed to support: as Soviets and Czechoslovaks got to know one another, they discovered important cultural and political differences that contradicted propaganda about a cohesive socialist world. *Empire of Friends* reveals that the sphere of everyday life was central to the construction of the transnational socialist system in Eastern Europe—and, ultimately, its collapse.

In *The Icon and the Square: Russian Modernism and the Russo-Byzantine Revival*, (Penn State University Press, 2018), Maria Taroutina examines how the traditional interests of the crown, the church, and the Imperial Academy of Arts temporarily aligned with the radical, leftist, and revolutionary avant-garde at the turn of the twentieth century through a shared interest in the Byzantine past.

Focusing on the works of four different artists—Vrubel, Kandinsky, Malevich, and Tatlin—Taroutina shows how engagement with medieval pictorial traditions drove each artist to transform his own practice, pushing beyond the boundaries of his respective artistic and intellectual milieu. She also examines the activities of a number of cultural associations and institutions over the course of several decades. As a result, *The Icon and the Square* gives a more complete picture of Russian modernism: one that attends to the dialogue between generations of artists, curators, collectors, critics, and theorists.

Iron Curtain Twitchers: Russo-American Cold War Relations, by Jennifer M. Hudson, was published by Rowman & Littlefield in November 2018.

The Cold War is often viewed in absolutist terminology: the United States and the Soviet Union characterized one another in oppositional rhetoric and pejorative propaganda. Yet such characterizations neglect the complexities that created fissures throughout the ideological conflict. *Iron Curtain Twitchers* analyzes the disparate perspectives of public politicians and private citizens throughout the Cold War's duration and its aftermath to better understand the political, cultural, and geopolitical nuances of U.S.-Russia relations.

In *Justice Behind the Iron Curtain*, (University of Toronto Press, October 2018), Gabriel N. Finder and Alexander V. Prusin examine Poland's role in prosecuting Nazi German criminals during the first decade and a half of the postwar era. Finder and Prusin contend that the Polish trials of Nazi war criminals were a pragmatic political response to postwar Polish society and Poles' cravings for vengeance against German Nazis and that Poland's prosecutions of Nazis exhibited a fair degree of due process resembling similar proceedings in Western democratic countries.

The authors examine reactions to the trials among Poles and Jews. Although Polish-Jewish relations were uneasy in the wake of the German wartime occupation



of Poland, postwar Polish prosecutions of German Nazis placed emphasis on the fate of Jews during the Holocaust. This is the first book to approach communist Poland's judicial postwar confrontation with the legacy of the Nazi occupation.

Odessa Recollected: The Port and the People, by Patricia Herlihy, was published by Academic Studies Press in January 2019.

More ethnically diverse than St. Petersburg, Odessa became a remarkable, independent-minded, large cosmopolitan city, attracting and producing noted writers, artists, musicians and scholars.

Imperial Russian tsars and Soviet leaders maintained an ambivalent attitude towards the maverick city. With the withering of the lucrative grain trade by the time of the Soviet Union, Odessa became a neglected city, drained of its foreign flavor. With the independence of Ukraine in 1991, there were hopes raised that the architectural beauty and economic prospects of the city would be revived. Given the current hostilities in Eastern Ukraine with the potential of the Odessa area becoming a possible land bridge to the Crimean Peninsula, the fate of the former Pearl of the Black Sea hangs in suspension. This book brings together research on Odessa and its culture, community, and economy published by Herlihy over several decades of her work.

Pereslavl-Zaleskii: Architectural Heritage in Photographs is volume sixteen in *Discovering Russia* series, written and photographed by William Craft Brumfield, and published by Tri Quadrata publishers in 2018.

The first part of the book analyzes architectural monuments in their historical context, particularly the mid-twelfth century Cathedral of the Transfiguration of the Savior. The book also focuses on the town's five major monasteries, including the Trinity-Danilov Monastery, whose sixteenth-century Trinity Cathedral contains an Apocalypse fresco cycle that is among the most significant examples of medieval Russian art. The book

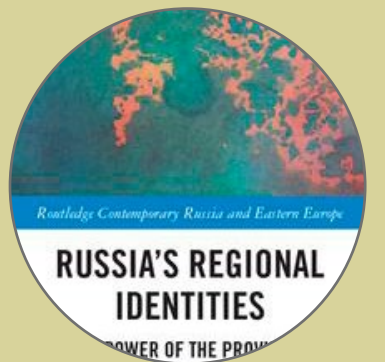
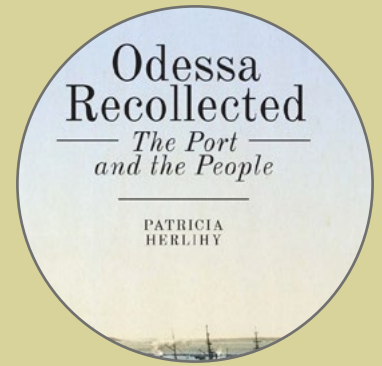
concludes with a photographic survey of architectural monuments mentioned in the text.

Rooted Cosmopolitans: Jews and Human Rights in the Twentieth Century, by James Loeffler, was published by Yale University Press in May 2018.

2018 marks the seventieth anniversary of the birth of the State of Israel and the creation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Both remain tied together in the ongoing debates about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, global antisemitism, and American foreign policy. Loeffler explores this history through the stories of five Jewish founders of international human rights, following them from the prewar shtetls of eastern Europe to the postwar United Nations, a journey that includes the Nuremberg and Eichmann trials, the founding of Amnesty International, and the UN resolution of 1975 labeling Zionism as racism. The result is a book that challenges assumptions about the history of human rights and offers a new perspective on the roots of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Russia's Regional Identities: The Power of the Provinces, edited by Edith W. Clowes, Gisela Erbslöh, and Ani Kokobobo, was published by Routledge in 2018.

Contemporary Russia is often viewed as a centralised regime based in Moscow, with dependent provinces, made subservient by Putin's policies limiting regional autonomy. This book, however, demonstrates that beyond this largely political view, by looking at Russia's regions more in cultural and social terms, a quite different picture emerges, of a Russia rich in variety, with different regional identities, cultures, traditions and memories. The book explores how identities are formed and rethought in contemporary Russia, and outlines the nature of particular regional identities, from Siberia and the Urals to southern Russia, from the Russian heartland to the non-Russian republics.



Sing to Victory! Song in Soviet Society during World War II, by Suzanne Ament, was published by Academic Studies Press in January 2019.

A woman wearing a ballgown singing in the snow for returning ski troops; a technician's tears ruining a master recording of a new wartime song; fresh recruits spontaneously standing and doffing their caps to a new song, thereby creating the new wartime anthem. This multi-faceted book depicts the relationship between song and society during World War II in the USSR. Chapter topics range from the creation and distribution of the songs to how the public received and shaped them. The body of song that came out of that era created a true cultural legacy which reflected both the hearts of the individuals fighting as well as the narrative of the party and state in bringing the nation to victory.

State of Madness: Psychiatry, Literature, and Dissent After Stalin, by Rebecca Reich (Northern Illinois University Press, March 2018), examines the collision between psychiatric and literary discourses in the years after Stalin's death. State psychiatrists deployed set narratives of mental illness to pathologize dissenting politics and art. Dissidents responded by highlighting a pernicious overlap between those narratives and their lifetimes. The state, they suggested, had crafted an idealized view of reality that itself resembled a pathological work of art. Writers Brodsky, Siniavskii, and Erofeev similarly engaged with psychiatric discourse to probe where creativity ended and insanity began. Together, these dissenters cast themselves as psychiatrists to a sick society. By challenging psychiatry's right to declare them or what they wrote insane, dissenters exposed as a self-serving fiction the state's renewed claims to rationality and modernity in the post-Stalin years.



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Anna Arays has taken over as moderator of the SlavLib listserv.

Wilson Bell earned tenure and a promotion from Thompson Rivers University (Canada).

The American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) announces the 2019 Mellon/ACLS Dissertation Completion Fellows. The 67 fellows, from 42 US universities, comprise one of the most institutionally diverse cohorts in the history of this fellowship. They were selected from a pool of more than 1,000 applicants. Now in its thirteenth year, the fellowship program offers promising graduate students a year of funding so that they can focus their attention on completing projects that form the foundations of their scholarly careers.

[Mellon/ACLS Dissertation Completion Fellows](#) and project titles are listed below; for more information about these ASEEES members, click [here](#).

- **Svetlana Borodina** (Anthropology, Rice University) for “Needed Subjects: An Ethnography of the Formation of the Inclusion Complex in Russia”
- **Gabrielle E. Cornish** (Musicology, University of Rochester) for “Sounding Socialist, Sounding Modern: Music, Technology, and Everyday Life in the Soviet Union, 1956-1975”
- **Ioanida Costache** (Music, Stanford University) for “Sounding Romani Sonic-Subjectivity: Counterhistory, Identity Formation, and Affect in Romanian-Roma Music”
- **Anna Karpusheva** (Slavic Languages and Literatures, University of Kansas) for “In Search of a Form for Soviet Trauma: Svetlana Alexievich’s Prose between History and Literature”

Beginning in July 2019, **Emanuela Grama** will be an Associate Professor of Anthropology and History at Carnegie Mellon University.

Among the 37 National Humanities 2019-2020 Fellows is ASEEES member **Agnes Kefeli** (History, ASU) for “Re-Enchanting the Eurasian Steppe: Eco-Nationalism and Eschatology in Tatar Literature, 1960-present” (Benjamin N.

Duke Fellowship of the Research Triangle Foundation).

The 2019 [Getty/ACLS Postdoctoral Fellowships in the History of Art](#) include ASEEES member **Angelina Lucento** for “Moving the Masses: Painting and Communication from Budapest to Bishkek, 1918-1941”

More information on the recipients and their projects can be found [here](#).

In 2018, **Danielle N. Lussier** was promoted to Associate Professor at Grinnell College.

On April 5, 2019, the Organization of American Historians (OAH) presented **Anna Mazurkiewicz**, University of Gdańsk, with their prestigious 2019 Willi Paul Adams Award, which is given biennially for the best book on American history published in a language other than English.

Mazurkiewicz’s book *Uchodźcy polityczni z Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej w amerykańskiej polityce zimnowojennej, 1948–1954* [Political Exiles from East Central Europe in American Cold War Politics, 1948–1954] (Institute of National Remembrance and University of Gdańsk) is a detailed study of the origins and dynamics of U.S. involvement on behalf of East Central European exiles in the early years of the Cold War. Covering exile groups such as Albanians, Romanians, Hungarians, Poles, and Slovaks, the book’s signal contribution is to join the literature of U.S. Cold War policy and propaganda formation with the literature on exile politics in these important but understudied regions of the Soviet bloc.

In 2018, **Colleen Moore** accepted a new position as an Assistant Professor of Russian/World History at

James Madison University.

Kristina Reardon was awarded a 2019 National Endowment for the Arts grant for \$12,500 to translate a Slovene novel by Natasa Kramberger.

Andrew Sloin’s first book, *The Jewish Revolution in Belorussia: Economy, Race, and Bolshevik Power* (Indiana University Press, 2017), won the [2018 Dorothy Rosenberg Prize from the American Historical Association](#).

Cinzia Solari has received tenure and will be promoted to Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Massachusetts Boston.

Starting Septmeber 2019, **Andy Willimott** will join the faculty of Queen Mary, University of London.



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The program is made possible thanks to the support of the Taube Foundation for Jewish Life & Culture, the William K. Bowes, Jr. Foundation, and the Association of the Jewish Historical Institute of Poland.



GENE BARABTARLO



Gene Barabtarlo, Professor of Russian at the University of Missouri, passed away in February 2019. Barabtarlo earned a degree in Russian literature from Moscow State University in 1972 and his PhD

from the University of Illinois in 1985. He taught at the University of Missouri from 1984 until his retirement in 2016. Barabtarlo was the driving force behind the creation of an MA program in Russian and Slavonic Studies, and he served the university in a variety of capacities, including as chair of the Department of German and Russian Studies.

Barabtarlo is best known for his research on Vladimir Nabokov. Barabtarlo extended the detail-focus of Nabokov studies, while identifying and interpreting patterns formed by those details. This sustained project yielded *Insomniac Dreams*, *Sochinenie Nabokova*, and a translation of *The Original of Laura* into Russian, as well as other books and articles upon which Nabokov scholars have come to rely. He was a board member of the Vladimir Nabokov Literary Foundation, and the International Vladimir Nabokov Society has named its prize for the best academic article or book chapter in Barabtarlo's honor.

Excerpted from text provided by Martha Kelly, Tim Langen, and Nicole Monnier, University of Missouri

ERIC P. HAMP



Eric Hamp passed away on February 17, 2019 at the age of 98. Hamp, an Indo-Europeanist, made contributions to the study of Slavic and Celtic as well as of many smaller IE

branches such as Albanian, many of these based on his own dialect field work. He added to our knowledge of the Balkan Sprachbund. Further, he was a scholar of American Indian language.

Hamp began his career as a University of

Chicago instructor in 1950, retiring in 1991 as the Robert Maynard Hutchins Distinguished Service Professor Emeritus of Linguistics, Slavic Languages and Literatures, Psychology, and the Committee on the Ancient World. He served as chair of the Department of Linguistics (1966-1969) and director for the Center for Balkan and Slavic Studies (1965-1991). He wrote more than 3,500 articles and reviews, and nearly every important aspect of historical linguistics has been dealt with, often multiple times, in Hamp's writings.

Six Festschrifts were dedicated to him, as was the unique honor of receiving a commemorative stamp (from the Albanian post office) while still living.

Excerpted from text provided by Wayles Browne.

MAYA TUROVSKAYA



Maya Turovskaya died on March 4, 2019, at her home in Munich, Germany. She was 94.

Turovskaya was born on Oct. 27, 1924, in Kharkov, Ukraine. After graduating from Moscow State University, where she studied philology, she

received a degree in theater science from the State Theater Institute.

Turovskaya began to write about theater, film and culture in the 1950s. In making the documentary 1965 "Ordinary Fascism" she and co-writer, Yuri Khanyutin, drew from Nazi propaganda footage; film from Hitler and Goebbels' private collections; soldiers' amateur film; and children's drawings and photographs of victims in concentration camps. The movie, viewed by millions, mocked Nazism and juxtaposed images of its evil actions with contemporary film scenes of lovers, mothers and children that stood in counterpoint to the malevolence of fascism.

After "Ordinary Fascism." she shifted her focus to film and theater criticism. In 2008, Turovskaya won a Nika Award, the Russian equivalent of an Oscar, from the country's Academy of Cinema Arts and Sciences for her contributions to cinematic science, criticism, and education.

Excerpted from New York Times obituary.

MARY ZIRIN



Mary Zirin, a freelance translator and scholar of Russian literature, passed away February 4, 2019. She was 86.

Having completed a

doctorate in Russian Linguistics at UCLA in 1971, Zirin devoted most of her energies to uncovering the lives and works of Russian women writers and advancing Slavic women's studies. Her elegant translation of Nadezhda Durova's memoirs, *The Calvary Maiden* (1988), became a classroom staple, while her *Dictionary of Russian Women Writers* (1994), co-edited with Marina Ledkowsky and Charlotte Rosenthal, became an essential resource in Russian literature and history. Starting in the early 1980s, Zirin became a regular participant in University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign's Russian and East European Center's summer Research Lab, often leading the Women's Seminar and serving as mentor for countless graduate students, faculty, and independent scholars, all the while collecting critical bibliographical references on women and gender in Russia and subsequently Eastern Europe. She established the newsletter *Women East-West* in late 1986, which three years later became the newsletter of the newly founded Association for Women in Slavic Studies (AWSS). She edited this networking resource concerned with the problems, status, and achievements of women in the profession until 1998. Zirin's bibliographies, which regularly appeared in the newsletter, were considerably expanded and published in the two-volume *Women and Gender in Central and Eastern Europe, Russia, and Eurasia: A Comprehensive Bibliography* (2007), now a standard in the field. In order to ensure continued support for independent scholars like herself, Zirin set up an endowment to support the University of Illinois's Slavic Reference Service. The latter has in turn honored her work by creating a searchable database of her "Bibliography of Pre-Revolutionary Writings by Women," which supplements her other reference works (<https://zlist.omeka.net>). In the 1990s AWSS established the Mary Zirin Prize in recognition of Zirin's indefatigable work as an independent scholar and encouraging others (see page 20 for more information).

Text provided by Christine Worobec.

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

The Political Police and the Soviet System: Insights from Newly Opened KGB Archives in the Former Soviet States An International Conference at Georgetown University. April 3-4, 2020

Sponsors include: [The Jacques Rossi Memorial Fund for Gulag Research](#), Georgetown University; Georgetown Office for Global Engagement; Russian History Seminar of Washington, DC; International Centre for the History and Sociology of WWII, Higher School of Economics; and Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center.

While the history of Stalinism and state repression is one of the most studied topics in the Soviet history, lack of archival materials about the institutions of state security has remained one of the largest missing pieces in our understanding of Soviet history. Historians have been relatively slow to take advantage of these new opportunities and interpret their import. This conference represents a major opportunity to showcase and explore how the hitherto classified materials change our understandings of Soviet system, its operations, and its place in the broader world.

As new sources become accessible, new problems of analysis emerge. The goal of this gathering is to explore those problems and ask how new scholarship incorporating these new materials changes our understandings of the Soviet system.

The major themes of the conference include: The Secret Police as an Institution; Entering and Exiting the Gulag; Police, Politics, and Society; Policing Culture; Identifying Enemies; Policing Normativity; Source Criticism and Methods; Operations Abroad and Foreign Intelligence; and Archival Access and the Politics of Declassification.

The conference will open with a book launch for the Russian (NLO, 2019) and English (University of Toronto, 2020) translations of *Jacques, le Français*, by Jacques Rossi and Michèle Sarde about Rossi's life and incarceration in the GULAG. Sarde will return to campus for this event.

Proposals and inquiries should be emailed to: md672@georgetown.edu and mn837@georgetown.edu.

The Kennan Institute at the Wilson Center

THE KENNAN INSTITUTE AT THE WILSON CENTER

George F. Kennan Fellowships

Kennan Fellows will be based at the Wilson Center in DC for three-month residencies. Fellows will receive access to the Library of Congress, National Archives, and policy research centers in DC, as well as the opportunity to meet with key experts and officials. While conducting research, Kennan Fellows are expected to participate in discussions with the policy and academic communities, including speaking engagements, 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 have an option to apply for the fellowship as individuals or as part of a team. If applying as a team, applicants must be citizens of at least two different countries. The goal of such joint fellowships is to promote collaborative research projects among US, Russian, and Ukrainian experts. Kennan Fellowship Teams will: Produce joint paper(s) for policy-relevant publications; Present work at DC, Russia, and/or Ukraine events; Conduct meetings and engage with policymakers in DC.

[Completed applications](#) are due by September 1.

Title VIII Short Term Scholarships

These grants allow US 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 DC area, while in residence at the Kennan Institute. The deadline for these grants is September 15, 2019. Please see the website for more details on the [Title VIII Short Term Grants](#).

The Kennan Institute welcomes the following scholars:

Title VIII Research Scholars

- Natalie Belsky, University of Minnesota Duluth, "Encounters in the East: Evacuees in the Soviet Hinterland during the Second World War"
- Jonathan Hunt, University of Southampton, "Atomic Condominium: The Soviet Union,

the Cold War, and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, 1958-1975"

Title VIII Summer Research Scholars

- Carolyn Coberly, University of Virginia, "Authoritarian Party Systems"
- Patrick Domico, Indiana University Bloomington, "Koussevitzky and the Russian Musical Diaspora"
- Keith Gessen, Columbia University, "The Russia Hands"

Title VIII Short Term Research Scholars

- Johanna Conterio, Flinders University, "Urban Planning as Social Engineering: The Politics of Green Space in the USSR, 1931-1941"
- Walter Hudson, Eisenhower School, National Defense University, "Residual Forces: Their Presence (and Absence) and US Grand Strategy During and After the Korean and Vietnam Wars"
- Olena Lennon, University of New Haven, "Lobbying for Ukraine: Perceptions of Advocacy Groups in the Washington, D.C. Area on New Challenges and Opportunities in Influencing the U.S.'s Foreign Policy"
- Thomas O'Donnell, Freie Universität Berlin, "Washington Viewpoints on the energy & geostrategic relations between Russia, Ukraine, Poland & Germany"
- Svetlana Ter-Grigoryan, OSU, "There is No Sex in the USSR"
- Sergei Zhuk, Ball State University, "Soviet Ukraine and Capitalist America: Ukrainian National Identity in Cultural Cold War, 1954-1991"

Galina Starovoitova Fellows on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution

- Olga Irisova, Political Analyst, Editor-in-Chief, 'Riddle,' "Improving Western Strategy of Combating Disinformation Campaigns: Cognitive Science Instead of Technical Debunking as a Key Solution to the Problem"

George F. Kennan Fellows

- Paula Ganga, University of Rochester, "The Eastern Alternative. Russia as a Model for State-led Economic Development and Democratic Breakdown in Eastern Europe"
- James Billington Fellow
- Dmitry Kozlov, Human Rights Center "Memorial," "Komsomol Meetings, Streets and Dancing Halls: Producing Spaces for Public Action in 1950-60s Leningrad"

ZIMMERLI ART MUSEUM AT RUTGERS

The [Zimmerli Art Museum at Rutgers](#) is pleased to announce *Mister Deviant, Comrade Degenerate: Selected Works by Yevgeniy Fiks*, a new exhibition on view June 15 through July 31, 2019. The nine works, consisting of still photographs and multimedia installations, address the subject of the political deviant, the sexual outlaw, and the uncensored artist, who all became the shared "others" for the Cold War-era Soviets and Americans, and remain a problematic political legacy that resonates today.

Mister Deviant, Comrade Degenerate confronts the instrumentalization of homophobia, anti-liberalism, and anti-modernism as tools of propaganda and ideology in both the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War. It explores the era's persecution of various nonconformist groups on both sides of the ideological divide, including political dissidents, queers, and avant-garde artists.

Ranging from dry factuality to humor and farce, the exhibition begins with a series of prints and photographs titled "Homosexuality is Stalin's Atom Bomb to Destroy America," highlighting the interlocking histories of the "Red" and "Lavender" scares during the McCarthy era in the United States.

The exhibition is not merely a history lesson for 21st-century audiences: it provides a lens through which visitors can critically examine how such witch hunts continue today. Many are preparing for a landmark pride month this June, celebrating once unimaginable social and legal gains since the Stonewall uprising on June 28, 1969, kicked off the gay rights movement. However, the imminent 50th anniversary is by no means an endpoint for action, as physical and legislative attacks against individuals in LGBTQ communities persist not only in non-democratic nations, but across the US.

Yevgeniy Fiks was born in Moscow in 1972 and has been living and working in New York since 1994. His multifaceted practice has bridged both worlds, exploring themes of memory, repression, and the legacy of the political Left in Russian society and the US. Fiks's engagement across time periods resonates strongly with the Zimmerli's commitment to contemporary issues in art and its rich collection of art from the Soviet period, as found in the Dodge Collection of Nonconformist Art from the Soviet Union.

Image right: Joe-1 Cruising in Washington DC (Franklin Park), Yevgeniy Fiks, 2012
C-print, Courtesy of Yevgeniy Fiks



PUSHKIN HOUSE

Serhii Ploky, professor of Ukrainian history at Harvard University, has won the Pushkin House Russian Book Prize for a second time, with *Chernobyl: History of a Tragedy* (Allen Lane/Penguin). *Chernobyl* is the first book to comprehensively explore the origins of the 1986 nuclear power station disaster, the fatal blast, clean-up and aftermath, and the longer term consequences that helped lead to the collapse of the USSR. It highlights deep tensions and dysfunctionality within the Soviet political system, individual stories of bravery and courage, and lessons for the global nuclear industry today. It also indicates how central the explosion and its aftermath were to the collapse of the USSR.

The prize, run by Pushkin House, the oldest arts charity in the UK exploring, celebrating and supporting the best of Russian culture, showcases, promotes and encourages the best accessible non-fiction writing in English about Russia and the Russian-speaking world. Ploky received the award on June 12, 2019.

The full shortlist (author interviews are available by clicking on the hyperlinked text below)

- [1983: The World at The Brink](#) by Taylor Downing (Little, Brown)
- [The Vory: Russia's Super Mafia](#) by Mark Galeotti (Yale University Press)
- [To See Paris and Die: The Soviet Lives of Western Culture](#) by Eleonory Gilburd (Belknap Press at Harvard University Press)
- [The Spy and the Traitor](#) by Ben Macintyre (Viking)
- [Maybe Esther](#) by Katja Petrowskaja, translated from German by Shelley Frisch (4th Estate)





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