

**ASN SEVENTH ANNUAL WORLD CONVENTION  
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY  
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS BUILDING**

**PROGRAM SCHEDULE**

**THURSDAY, 11 APRIL**

<b>11.00 A.M.– 6.00 P.M.</b>	<b>REGISTRATION LOCATION: 15<sup>TH</sup> FLOOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS BUILDING</b>
<b>1.00–6.00 P.M.</b>	<b>BOOK EXHIBIT LOCATION: ROOM 1501</b>
<b>1.00–3.00 P.M.</b>	<b>SESSION I</b>
<b>3.15–5.15 P.M.</b>	<b>SESSION II</b>
<b>5.30–7.30 P.M.</b>	<b>SESSION III</b>
<b>7.30 P.M.</b>	<b>OPENING RECEPTION</b>

**FRIDAY, 12 APRIL**

<b>8.00 A.M.– 5.00 P.M.</b>	<b>REGISTRATION LOCATION: 15<sup>TH</sup> FLOOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS BUILDING</b>
<b>9.00 A.M.– 6.00 P.M.</b>	<b>BOOK EXHIBIT LOCATION: ROOM 1501</b>
<b>11.00 A.M.– 6.00 P.M.</b>	<b>SALE OF CONVENTION PAPERS LOCATION: ROOM 1501</b>
<b>9.00–11.00 A.M.</b>	<b>SESSION IV</b>
<b>11.15 A.M.– 1.15 P.M.</b>	<b>SESSION V</b>
<b>1.15–2.15 P.M.</b>	<b>AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UKRAINIAN STUDIES ANNUAL MEETING LOCATION: ROOM 1027</b>
<b>2.15–4.15 P.M.</b>	<b>SESSION VI</b>
<b>4.30–6.30 P.M.</b>	<b>SESSION VII</b>
<b>6.45 P.M.</b>	<b>CENTRAL EURASIAN STUDIES SOCIETY MEETING LOCATION: ROOM 1512</b>

**SATURDAY, 13 APRIL**

<b>8.00 A.M.– 5.00 P.M.</b>	<b>REGISTRATION LOCATION: 15<sup>TH</sup> FLOOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS BUILDING</b>
<b>9.00 A.M.– 6.00 P.M.</b>	<b>BOOK EXHIBIT AND SALE OF CONVENTION PAPERS LOCATION: ROOM 1501</b>
<b>9.00 A.M.</b>	<b>ASN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING LOCATION: ROOM 717</b>
<b>9.00–11.00 A.M.</b>	<b>SESSION VIII</b>
<b>11.15 A.M.– 1.15 P.M.</b>	<b>SESSION IX</b>
<b>2.15–4.15 P.M.</b>	<b>SESSION X</b>
<b>4.30–6.30 P.M.</b>	<b>SESSION XI</b>
<b>7.00 P.M.</b>	<b>CLOSING RECEPTION</b>

**CALL FOR PAPERS**

**ASN EIGHTH  
ANNUAL WORLD CONVENTION**

**3-5 APRIL 2003**

**HARRIMAN INSTITUTE  
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS BUILDING  
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY**

**FOR INFORMATION  
PLEASE CONSULT THE ASN ANNUAL  
WORLD CONVENTION WEBSITE:  
[WWW.NATIONALITIES.ORG](http://WWW.NATIONALITIES.ORG)**

## CONVENTION PANELS

THURSDAY, 11 APRIL

**11.00 A.M.–  
6.00 P.M.**      **REGISTRATION**  
**LOCATION: 15<sup>TH</sup> FLOOR**  
**INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS BUILDING**

**1.00–6.00 P.M.**      **BOOK EXHIBIT**  
**LOCATION: ROOM 1501**

**1.00–3.00 P.M.**      **SESSION I**

**PANEL K3 (I)**      **ROUNDTABLE: APPROACHES TO PEACE IN  
CHECHNYA • DAG HAMMARSKJOLD LOUNGE,  
6<sup>TH</sup> FLOOR**

Chair: *Stephen Blank (US Army War College, USA)*

Participants: *Svante E. Cornell (Johns Hopkins U, USA)*  
*John B. Dunlop (Stanford U, USA)*  
*Glen E. Howard (American Committee for Peace  
in Chechnya, USA)*  
*Miriam Lanskoj (Boston U, USA)*

**PANEL G2 (I)**      **THE PRICE OF INDIFFERENCE: REFUGEE POLICY  
AND HUMANITARIAN ACTION IN THE NEW  
CENTURY • ROOM 1512**

Chair: *Gerald L. Neuman (Columbia U, USA)*

Main Speaker: *Arthur C. Helton (Council on Foreign Relations)*

Commentator: *Hans-Joerg Strohmeyer (UN Office for the  
Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs  
[OCHA])*

**PANEL U5 (I)**      **ROUNDTABLE: POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND LINGUISTIC  
IMPLICATIONS OF SURZHYK IN UKRAINE TODAY  
• ROOM 1510**

Chair: *Andrij Danylenko (Kharkiv U, Ukraine)*

Participants: *Michael S. Flier (Harvard U, USA)*  
*Laada Bilaniuk (U of Washington, USA)*  
*Antonina Berezovenko (Columbia U, USA)*  
*Volodymyr Kulyk (Institute of Political and  
Ethnic Studies, Ukraine)*  
*Larissa Onyshkevych (Shevchenko Scientific  
Society, New York, USA)*

**V1 (I)**                    **VIDEO PRESENTATION • ROOM 1219**  
***A HIGH LEVEL DELEGATION (UNE DÉLÉGATION DE***  
***TRÈS HAUT NIVEAU)***  
**BELGIUM 2000 (52 MINS.)**  
**DIRECTED BY PHILIPPE DUTILLEUL, RADIO**  
**TÉLÉVISION FRANÇAISE BELGE**  
**CONTACT: PHILIPPE DUTILLEUL (PDU@RTBF.BE)**  
**IN FRENCH (ENGLISH SUBTITLES)**  
Is North Korea the last earthly paradise? Fully aware of the bent and outright biases of the western press, *Une Déléation* wanted to set the record straight. The first western television crew to be allowed to film in North Korea in more than a dozen years, the crew of *Une Déléation* did not travel alone. They were in the company of a “top-level delegation” of distinguished official representatives from the Belgian government, conducting an investigative visit to the land of Kim Il-Sung, the Venerated Great Leader, and his son Kim Jong-Il, the Great Beloved Leader and reincarnation of his Daddy. A most disturbing journey to the unknown and forgotten country of President Bush’s “Axis of Evil.”

**PANEL G13 (I)**        **MONITORING THE EU ACCESSION PROCESS:**  
**MINORITY PROTECTION • ROOM 801**  
Chair: *Anna Moltchanova (Carleton College, USA)*

- Papers: *Jim Goldston (Open Society Institute, New York)*  
Monitoring the EU Accession Process:  
Minority Protection  
*Andrzej Mirga (Project on Ethnic Relations,  
Princeton, USA)*  
EU Accession Monitoring Program's  
Report on the Situation  
of the Roma in Poland  
*Ekaterina Papagianni (Columbia U, USA)*  
The Impact of European Union  
Enlargement on the Minority Policies of  
Romania and Slovakia
- Discussant: *André Liebich (Graduate Institute of International  
Studies, Geneva, Switzerland)*

**PANEL CA6 (I)**

**SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ASPECTS OF  
CONTEMPORARY KYRGYZSTAN • ROOM 700**

Chair:

*Wanda Dressler (Nanterre U, France)*

Papers:

*Regina Faranda and David Nolle (US Department  
of State)*

General Attitudinal Orientations toward  
Specific Ethnic Groups in Kyrgyzstan

*Boots Allen (U of Texas at Austin, USA)*

Ethnic Patterns of Migration in the  
Kyrgyz Republic

*James Leibert (Kazakhstan Institute of  
Management, Economics and Strategic  
Research)*

Democracy in Multinational States: The  
Case of Kyrgyzstan

Discussant:

*William Beeman (Brown U, USA)*

**3.15–5.15 P.M. SESSION II**

**PANEL R10 (II)**

**ISSUES IN RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY I: THE NEAR  
ABROAD • DAG HAMMARSKJOLD LOUNGE, 6<sup>TH</sup>  
FLOOR**

- Chair: *Dmitry Gorenburg (Center for Naval Analyses, Washington, DC, USA)*
- Papers: *Yasar Sari (U of Virginia, USA)*  
The Powerful—The Weak: Russian-Caucasus Republics Relations
- Ioulia Shukan and Alvaro Artigas (Institut d'Etudes Politiques, Paris, France)*  
The Game of Economic Interest Groups in Russian-Belarusian Integration
- Deborah Saunders (Joint Services Command and Staff College, USA)*  
Defense Diplomacy: Optimizing Outreach and Forging Mature Relations between Russia and Ukraine
- Christoph Bluth and Hessameddin Vaez (Leeds U, UK)*  
Yeltsin's Integration towards Central Asia: A Myth or Reality?
- Discussant: *Peter Rutland (Wesleyan U, USA)*



- PANEL BK5 (II) DIASPORIC IDENTITIES IN/OF SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE • ROOM 1512**
- Chair: *Boris Petric (Laboratoire d'anthropologie des institutions et des organisations sociales (LAIOS/CNRS), Paris, France)*
- Papers: *Tuba Unlu and Adam Tolnay (Georgetown U, USA)*  
Interplay of the International Community and Mobilization for Secession among the Kosovar Albanians and Vojvodina Hungarians  
*Birgit Bock (European U at Frankfurt [Oder], Germany)*  
Visions of the Future in the Light of a Violent Past: Serbian Exiles in the US  
*Cristian Urse (Georgetown U, USA)*  
The Vlachs of the Balkans—Evolution and Prospects. A Comparative Study of the Vlach Communities in Serbia and Greece  
*Georgia Kretsi (Freie Universität Berlin, Germany)*  
Cham Muslim Albanians: Past or Present Challenge for the “Albanian National Question”?
- Discussant: *Stefano Bianchini (U of Bologna, Italy)*
- PANEL CE1 (II) ROUNDTABLE: INCORPORATING CAPITALISMS AND THE NATION IN ROMANIA • ROOM 1510**
- Chair: *Laura Cosovanu (Columbia U, USA)*
- Papers: *Simona Bealcovschi (Université de Montréal, Canada)*  
From Trauma to Fiction: Food, Body and Nation in Post-Socialist Romania  
*Anamaria Iosif (Tulane U, USA)*  
Cradle, Manger, Granary: Carving the Body from the Nation’s Sacred Flesh



*David A. Kideckel (Central Connecticut State U,  
USA)*

Through the Stomach: Diet, Identity,  
and Politics among Post-Socialist  
Romanian Workers

*Sabina Stan (Université de Montréal, Canada)*

Nation, Cabbage Rolls, and Ham: The  
Semiotics of Pig Production and  
Consumption in Romania

**V2 (II)**

**VIDEO PRESENTATION • ROOM 1219**

*OIL ODYSSEY*

**USA/AZERBAIJAN 2002 (30 MINS.)**

**WRITTEN AND DIRECTED BY THOMAS GOLTZ**

**SHOT BY SPACE TELEVISION, BAKU, AZERBAIJAN**

**CONTACT: THOMAS GOLTZ (GOLTZ@WTP.NET)**

Who Says Geopolitics Can't Be Fun? Not  
TripZip, or Oil Odyssey Organizer, a.k.a.

Thomas Goltz, who gathered 40 folks, drawn  
from Alaska to Azerbaijan, and drove a dozen  
Soviet-style sidecar motorcycles down the  
Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan linemeaning, the pro-  
posed but still not implemented 2,000 kilome-  
ter, \$3 billion dollar pipeline that threads the  
needle between Iran and Russia and leads  
from the shores of the Caspian to the Mediter-  
ranean Sea.

And what about the dancers and singers  
from the Rashid Beybudov theater in Baku,  
tagging along with the bikers and performing  
in refugee camps and forgotten villages along  
the way?

What? A pack of Soviet Style sidecar  
motorcycles escorting a bus packed with Baku  
ballet dancers and the deep set of pipes  
known as Bilal, rolling through the blighted,  
war-scarred Caucasus region of the post-  
Soviet space, promoting an oil and gas pipe-

line route? Well, yes. Or better: why not? And who says Geopolitics Can't Be Fun?

*Thomas Goltz (Filmmaker, USA) will lead the discussion following the screening.*

**PANEL G12 (II)**

**SYMBOLISM AND ETHNICITY • ROOM 918**

Chair:

*John Glenn III (Council for European Studies, Columbia U, USA)*

Papers:

*Monica Popescu (U of Pennsylvania, USA)*

Identity and Statues in Transition

*Mottie Tamarkin (Tel Aviv U, Israel)*

Space War: Romanians, Hungarians, and the Struggle for the Symbolic Space of the City of Cluj/Kolosvar, Transylvania

*Eric Weaver (Independent Scholar, Budapest, Hungary)*

The Crucified Madonna

*Mounira Azzout (Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris, France)*

Cultural Heritage, Museum, and the Nation: The Construction of National Identity in Central Asia in the 1920s

Discussant:

*Alfred Darnell (Hartwick College, USA)*

**PANEL TK2 (II)**

**ROUNDTABLE: SHAPING TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY IN THE BEGINNING OF THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY • ROOM 802**

Chair:

*Mehmet Baykal (Zonguldak Kara Elmas U, Turkey)*

Participants:

*Kamer Kasim (Abant Izzet Baysal U, Turkey)*

*Ibrahim Kaya (Canakkale Onsekiz Mart U, Turkey)*

*Sedat Laciner (Canakkale Onsekiz Mart U, Turkey)*

*Ali Resul Usul (European Studies Department, Center for Eurasian Strategic Studies, Ankara, Turkey)*

**PANEL CA2 (II)      OVERVIEW: CENTRAL ASIA IN TRANSITION  
• ROOM 700**

Chair: *Alisher Khamidov (Notre Dame U, USA)*

Papers: *Melissa M. Burn (George Mason U, USA)*  
*No Longer Top Dog; Ex-Elites in Central Asia*

*Shaakhmat Mutalov (Indiana U, USA)*  
*Democratization in Central Asia, the Media, and Personal Behavior*

*Gulnara Abikeyeva (Bowdoin College, USA)*  
*Central Asia in Transitions: Ten Years Under Various Winds of Ideological Trends and Influences*

*Kathleen Collins (U of Notre Dame, USA)*  
*Promoting Security in Central Asia*

Discussant: *William Beeman (Brown U, USA)*

**5.30–7.30 P.M.      SESSION III**

**PANEL CE4 (III)      ROUNDTABLE: WILL KYMLICKA AND MAGDA OPALSKI'S NEW BOOK *CAN LIBERAL PLURALISM BE EXPORTED TO EASTERN EUROPE?* (OXFORD U PRESS, 2002) • THE DAG HAMMARSKJOLD LOUNGE, 6<sup>TH</sup> FLOOR**

Chair: *Karen Ballentine (International Peace Academy, New York, USA)*

Discussants: *Levente Salat (Ethnocultural Diversity Resource Center, Cluj-Napoca, Romania)*

*Dominique Arel (Watson Institute, Brown U, USA)*

*Hudson Meadwell (McGill U, Canada)*

Respondents: *Will Kymlicka (Queen's U, Canada)*

*Magda Opalska (Carleton U, Canada)*

**PANEL U6 (III)      ROUNDTABLE: CIVIC VALUES AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN UKRAINE TODAY • ROOM 1512**  
Chair: *Martha B. Trofimenko (Shevchenko Scientific Society, New York, USA)*  
Participants: *Thomas E. Bird (Queens College, City U of New York, USA)*  
*Jose Casanova (New School for Social Research, New York, USA)*  
*Illya Labunka (Ukrainian Catholic Education Foundation, USA/L'viv Theological Academy, Ukraine)*  
*Andrew Sorokowski (US Department of Justice)*  
*Jeffrey Wills (Ukrainian Catholic Academy, USA/L'viv Theological Academy, Ukraine)*

**PANEL G15 (III)      ISSUES OF JEWISH IDENTITY • ROOM 1510**  
Chair: *J.P. Dessel (U of Tennessee, USA)*  
Papers: *Zvi Gitelman (U of Michigan, USA)*  
*Consanguinity and Conviction: Biology, Culture, and Religion in the Ethnicity of Russian and Ukrainian Jews*  
*Robin Ostow (CREES, U of Toronto, Canada)*  
*From Victims of Anti-Semitism to Postmodern Hybrids: Representations of (Post) Soviet Jews in Germany*  
*Michael Shafir (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Washington, DC, USA)*  
*Between Denial and “Comparative Trivialization”: Holocaust Negationism in Post-Communist East Central Europe*  
Discussant: *Michael Rywkin (City College of New York, USA)*

**V3 (III)              VIDEO PRESENTATION • ROOM 1219**  
**SS IN BRITAIN**  
**UK 2000 (55 MINS.)**  
**DIRECTED BY JULIAN HENDY**  
**PRODUCED BY YORKSHIRE TV, LEEDS, UK**  
**CONTACT: JULIAN HENDY**

**(JULIAN.HENDY@GRANADAMEDIA.COM)**

A controversial British documentary on the Ukrainian Waffen-SS Division “Halychyna” during the Second World War. The film asserts that the Halychyna Division committed war crimes against civilians in Galicia (current day Ukraine) and Slovakia, and that survivors of the devastating Brody Battle against the Red Army in 1944 obtained citizenship in Britain after the War.

*Timothy Snyder (Yale U, USA) will lead the discussion following the screening.*

**PANEL G3 (III)**

**STATES AND NATIONS IN A TRANSNATIONAL  
CONTEXT • ROOM 1202**

Chair:

*Stefan Wolff (U of Bath, UK)*

Papers:

*Beate Andrees (Freie Universität Berlin,  
Germany)*

Migration, Human Insecurity, and the  
Power of Transnational Ethnic Networks

*Yulia Ghazaryan (American U of Armenia)*

Obstacles to Refugee Integration and  
Naturalization: Citizenship vs. Refugee  
Status

*Spyridon Kotsovilis (McGill U, Canada)*

National Identity and Ethnic Strife:  
Social-Psychological and Cognitive  
Dimensions in the Macedonian Conflict

*Kiran Pervez (American U, Washington, DC,  
USA)*

Waiting for Destruction?: Under-  
standing the Role of National Identity in  
the Indo-Pakistan Conflict

Discussant:

*Kailash Mohapatra (U of Rhode Island, USA)*





**PANEL G19 (III) INTERNATIONAL SECURITY ISSUES • ROOM 802**

Chair: *Kathleen Collins (U of Notre Dame, USA)*

Papers: *Eric A. Miller (Old Dominion U, USA)*  
Balancing Islamic Extremism: Security  
Cooperation between Uzbekistan,  
Russia, and the US

*Constantine Dmitriev (U of Western Ontario,  
Canada)*

US Foreign Policy in the Transcaspian  
Region, 1990–2001

*Tsveta Petrova (Cornell U, USA)*

A Theory of NATO Enlargement:  
An Institutionalist Explanation

Discussant: *Captain Joseph Bayerl (Presidential Translator,  
US Army, Joint Staff, Pentagon)*

**PANEL CA10 (III) SEARCH FOR A NEW MONGOLIAN NATIONAL  
IDENTITY IN THE POST-SOVIET ERA • ROOM 700**

Chair: *Gilbert Rozman (Princeton U, USA)*

Papers: *Paula L.W. Sabloff (U of Pennsylvania Museum of  
Archeology, USA)*

Genghis Khan and Modern Mongolian  
Identity: The Democracy Connection

*Francisco Gil-White (U of Pennsylvania, USA)*

Ethnocentrism Does Not Need  
Animosity: Torguud Mongol Attitudes  
Towards the “Other”

*Tsedendamba Batbayar (Woodrow Wilson Center,  
USA)*

The Search for a New National Identity  
and Its Impact on Mongolian Foreign  
Policy Orientation

Discussant: *Christopher Kaplonski (Rutgers U, USA)*

**7.30 P.M. OPENING RECEPTION**

## FRIDAY, 12 APRIL

8.00 A.M.–  
5.00 P.M.      **REGISTRATION**  
**LOCATION: 15<sup>TH</sup> FLOOR**  
**INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS BUILDING**

9.00 A.M.–  
6.00 P.M.      **BOOK EXHIBIT**  
**LOCATION: ROOM 1501**

11.00 A.M.–  
6.00 P.M.      **SALE OF CONVENTION PAPERS**  
**LOCATION: ROOM 1501**

9.00–  
11.00 A.M.      **SESSION IV**

**PANEL G11 (IV)      PARTITIONS BETWEEN HISTORIES AND DESTINIES**  
**• DAG HAMMARSKJOLD LOUNGE, 6<sup>TH</sup> FLOOR**

Chair: *Francesco Privitera (U of Bologna, Italy)*

Papers: *Stefano Bianchini (U of Bologna, Italy)*

**The Methodology of Partitions: The  
Matrioshka Process**

*Paolo Calzini (U of Milan, Italy)*

**Russia and Chechnya: Sovereignty  
and Separatism**

*Rada Ivekovic (Université de Paris VIII, France)*

**Colonization and Self-Determination:  
A Path to Partition?**

Discussant: *Julie Mostov (Drexel U, USA)*

**PANEL R3 (IV)      ROUNDTABLE: THE “STATE” OF CIVIL SOCIETY**  
**IN RUSSIA • ROOM 1512**

Chair: *Troy McGrath (Hartwick College, USA)*

Participants: *Nikolas Gvosdev (The National Interest,  
Washington, DC, USA)*

*Christopher Marsh (Baylor U, USA)*

*Justin Miller (Baylor U, USA)*

*James Warhola (U of Maine, USA)*

**PANEL CA5 (IV) ISSUES OF IDENTITY IN KAZAKHSTAN**

• **ROOM 1510**

Chair: *Adrienne Edgar (U of California at Santa Barbara, USA)*

Papers: *Meryem Kirimli (Cankaya U, Turkey)*

Kazakh Search for Identity from the Pages of History

*Wanda Dressler (Nanterre U, France)*

Kazakh Eurasianism: An Identity for the Future of Kazakhstan?

*David J. Meyer (Columbia U, USA)*

The Dog that Didn't Bark: Why are the Russians of Ethnocratic Kazakhstan Quiescent?

Discussant: *John Schoeberlein (Harvard U, USA)*

**PANEL CE7 (IV) CONTEMPORARY POLAND • ROOM 1302**

Chair: *Yaroslav Bilinsky (U of Delaware, USA)*

Papers: *Meg Rincker (Washington U in St. Louis, USA)*

Decentralization of Health Care Policy and Access to New Institutions in Poland and Hungary

*Aleksandra Jawornicka (U of Zielona Gora, Poland)*

Lemko Separatism and Ethnic Politics of the Polish Government in the Twenty-First Century

*Michael Carpenter (U of California at Berkeley, USA)*

From State to Civil Society: The Evolution of Liberal Ideologies in Poland, 1807–1989

Discussant: *John Micgiel (Director, Institute for East Central Europe, Columbia U, USA)*

**V4 (IV)**

**VIDEO PRESENTATION • ROOM 1219**

**TWO DOCUMENTARIES ON AFGHAN REFUGEES USA 2001 (60 MINS.)**



**DIRECTED AND PRODUCED BY NAJIB AZIZ AMIRI**

**CONTACT: RAMEEN MOSHREF**

*(RMOSHREF@YMCANYC.ORG)*

These two documentaries on the Afghan refugees are part of a series of 10 tapes that the Children of War President/Founder Najib Aziz Amiri has produced during his trips to Afghanistan, Iran, and Pakistan. During each visiting, he has taped food distribution. So far 10 tapes are available and more are in production. The last two tapes, which are screening at the ASN Convention, cover his most recent trips to Herat (Afghanistan), Mashad (Iran), and Peshawar (Pakistan).

Mr. Amiri will travel to Afghanistan in April 2002 to oversee the opening of a new orphanage / trade school in Kabul.

Tape 1 (Volume 9): “The Afghan Refugees in Mashad, Iran; Jalozaï Camp, Pakistan; and Maslakh Camp, Herat, Afghanistan” (March 2001, 30 mins.)

Tape 2 (Volume 10): “18 Days with Afghan Refugees in Peshawar” (November 2001, 30 mins.)

*Fraïba Nawa (Independent Journalist, USA)* will lead the discussion following the screening.

**PANEL U2 (IV) JEWISH IDENTITY IN UKRAINIAN CULTURE**

**• ROOM 1118**

Chair: *Henry Huttenbach (City College of New York, USA)*

Papers: *Michael Naydan (Penn State U, USA)*  
Jewish Identity in Ukrainian Poetry  
*Martin Horwitz (American Jewish World Service, New York, USA)*  
The Formation of New Jewish Identity in Ukraine Since Independence

*Antonina Berezovenko (Columbia U, USA)*  
Language Issues among Jewish-  
Ukrainian Writers

Discussant: *Yitzhak Brudny (U of Jerusalem, Israel)*

V5 (IV)

**VIDEO PRESENTATION • ROOM 1027**

**CINEMA VERITE INTERNATIONAL**

**CONTACT: (MPOLLNER@HOTMAIL.COM)**

This presentation will feature documentary shorts from Cinema Verite International. *The Former Soviet Union: Moving into the Future* is a comparative analysis of the transition process in five countries, confronting issues of crime, corruption, business growth, and investment. *The Former Soviet Union: Religious Birth* examines the growth of Orthodoxy, Christianity, Cults, and Judaism in four countries. *Suicide Bombers Cannot Silence Children's Voices* focuses on the single most important issue of the War confronting us today. Clips from two short films on Mexico will also be shown.

*Mildred Pollner (Cinema Verite International, USA) will present the short documentaries.*

PANEL G9 (IV)

**EMERGENT NATIONAL IDENTITIES AND CONFLICT  
IN THE POST-COMMUNIST WORLD • ROOM 902**

Chair: *Roger Petersen (Massachusetts Institute of  
Technology, USA)*

Papers: *Marc DeVore (Massachusetts Institute of  
Technology, USA)*

Accounting for the Failure of Yugoslav  
National Identity

*Luba Schwartzman (Boston U, USA)*

450 Years Later: National Memory,  
Political Identity, and Tatarstan's Moves  
toward Independence

*Scott Radnitz (Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA)*  
Prepared to Take a Stan?: The  
(Non)Threat of Islamic Fundamentalism  
to Central Asia's States

Discussant: *Chandler Rosenberger (Boston U, USA)*

**PANEL U7 (IV) RE-INTEGRATING PEASANTS INTO UKRAINIAN HISTORY • ROOM 802**

Chair: *David R. Marples (U of Alberta, Canada)*

Papers: *Andriy Zayarnyuk (U of Alberta, Canada)*

How the Peasantry Became a Class:  
The Case of Ukrainian Galicia

*Ostap Sereda (Ivan Franko L'viv National U, Ukraine)*

Cossackphiles or Peasant-lovers:

Ideological Dilemmas among the  
Ukrainian Intelligentsia in Austrian  
Galicia, 1860–1880

*Mark Baker (Harvard U, USA)*

Establishing Soviet Power in the  
Countryside: Peasants, Party, Bread and  
Insurgency in Kharkiv Province, 1919–  
1923

Discussant: *Mark von Hagen (Columbia U, USA)*

**PANEL BK12 (IV) ALBANIAN IDENTITY IN TRANSITION • ROOM 700**

Chair: *Ines Murzaku (Seton Hall U)*

Papers: *Gjergj Sinani (U of Tirana, Albania)*

Albanian Identity in the Post-  
Communist Period

*Viktor Ivezaj (Wayne State U, USA)*

Nationalism and Identity among the  
Albanians in Montenegro

*Shinasi A. Rama (Columbia U, USA)*

Nationalism and Identity Politics in  
Post-Conflict Kosova





*Iris Pilika (Wellesley College, USA)*

The Albanian Diaspora: The Arvanites  
and the Italo-Albanian Identity in  
Transition

Discussant: *G. Dale Thomas III (U of West Florida, USA)*

**11.15 A.M.–  
1.15 P.M.**

**SESSION V**

**PANEL R4 (V) THE ROAD TO FREEDOM: NATION-BUILDING IN  
RUSSIA IN XX–XXI CENTURIES • THE DAG  
HAMMARSKJOLD LOUNGE, 6<sup>TH</sup> FLOOR**

Chair: *Alexander Danilov (Moscow Pedagogical State U,  
Russia)*

Papers: *Ramazan Abdulatipov (Council of Federation of  
the Russian Federation)*  
Russian Nationhood: A Thousand Years  
of Dreams and War

*Vladimir Filippov (Ministry of Education of the  
Russian Federation)*  
Government and Nation-Building in  
Russia Today

*Irina Zernova (American Chamber of Commerce  
in Russia)*

What the Russian Nation Can Learn  
from Americans

Discussant: *Igor Souzdaltsev (Institute of Natiology, New  
York, USA)*

**PANEL CA14 (V) NEW APPROACHES TO CENTRAL ASIAN SECURITY  
• ROOM 1512**

Chair: *Sophia Clément (French Ministry of Defense)*

Papers: *Stephen Blank (Strategic Studies Institute, US  
Army War College)*

Geoeconomic Reconstruction in Asia

*Carol Saivetz (Harvard U, USA)*

Russia and Pipeline Politics

*Ariel Cohen (Heritage Foundation, Washington, DC, USA)*

How the War against Terrorism is  
Influencing the Balance of Power in  
Central Asia

Discussant: *Robert Freedman (Baltimore Hebrew U, USA)*

**PANEL R5 (V) THE LOGIC OF RUSSIAN FEDERALISM  
• ROOM 1510**

Chair: *Elizabeth Pascal (Wesleyan U, USA)*

Papers: *Henry Hale (Indiana U, USA)*

Divided We Stand: Russia, the USSR,  
and the Stability of Ethnofederal  
Systems

*Gulnaz Sharafutdinova (George Washington U, USA)*

Institutional Basis of the Russian Polity:  
Economic-Political Networks-Based  
Politics in Russian Region

*Walter Comins-Richmond (Occidental College, USA)*

A Balancing Act in Karachaevo-  
Cherkessia: Implications for the  
Northwest Caucasus

*Zulfia Karimova (U of Manchester, UK)*

Bashkortostan in Russian Federation:  
Assimilation or Dialogue?

Discussant: *Andrew Buck (Columbia U, USA)*

**PANEL CE10 (V) HISTORICAL ISSUES: ANTECEDENTS TO  
CONTEMPORARY EASTERN EUROPE • ROOM 1302**

Chair: *Bradley Abrams (Columbia U, USA)*

Papers: *Roland Spickermann (U of Texas at Permian Basin, USA)*

The Divisiveness of Radical  
Nationalism: Hugenberg's Empire-  
Building in Posen Province in the Late  
Imperial Germany

*Hugo Lane (Polytechnic U, Brooklyn, USA)*

Losing the Revolution, but Winning the War: 1848 and the Roots of Polish Domination of Galicia after 1867

*Bradley D. Woodworth (Indiana U, USA)*

The Tallinn City Council Elections of 1877: Estate and Nationality

*Ionas Aurelian Rus (Rutgers U, USA)*

Variables Affecting Nation-Building: The Bukovinian Romanian Case from 1880 to 1918

Discussant:

*Major Blaire Harms (United States Military Academy)*

V6 (V)

**VIDEO PRESENTATION • ROOM 1219**

*ALLIES AND LIES*

**UK 2001 (55 MINS.)**

**DIRECTED BY DAVID HEDBITCH, BBC**

**CONTACT: DAN HEDBITCH, PRODUCER**

**(DHEB@GLOBALNET.CO.UK)**

The Bosnian Muslim Army was covertly supplied with arms by the US during the 1990s. In an investigation across six countries, this stunning BBC documentary uncovers a series of incidents that have tested the Western Alliance to a breaking point. Senior European negotiators believe that with US backing the war could have ended two years earlier, but US desire to see the Serbs punished meant that they instead encouraged the Bosnian government to continue fighting. The price in human terms? Over 15,000 dead and nearly 600,000 refugees.

Exclusive interviews with Lt. General Sir Michael Rose, UN Peace Negotiator Thorvald Stoltenberg, and several other critical actors.

*Susan Woodward (Graduate Center, City U of New York, USA) will lead the discussion after the screening.*

**PANEL BK13 (V) IDENTITY, NATIONALISM, AND THE STATE IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA • ROOM 1118**

Chair: *Vjeran Pavlakovic (U of Washington, USA)*

Papers: *Biljana Bijelic (U of Washington, USA)*

*Balkanism: Identity and Responsibility  
Phil Lyon (School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins, USA)*

*Independent Montenegro?  
Tortko Jakovina (U of Zagreb, Croatia)*

*Were They Aware of the Problems?  
National Conflicts and US Diplomats in  
Tito's Yugoslavia*

Discussant: *Gordon Bardos (Harriman Institute, USA)*

- PANEL BK11 (V) PANEL ON CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN ALBANIA • ROOM 1101**  
Chair: *Sami Repishti (City U of New York, USA)*  
Papers: *Edita Tahiri (Kennedy School of Government, Harvard U, USA)*  
*Kosova and Euro-Atlantic Prospectives*  
*Elez Biberaj (Albanian Service at Voice of America, Washington, DC, USA)*  
*Post-Election Albania: Democratization at an Impasse*  
*Nicholas Pano (Western Illinois U, USA)*  
*The Albanian Parliamentary Elections of 2001*  
*Agron Alibali, LL.M. (Independent Scholar, Cambridge)*  
*Constitutional Developments in Albania and Kosova*  
Discussant: *Ines Murzaku (Seton Hall U, USA)*

- V7 (V) VIDEO PRESENTATION • ROOM 1027**  
**MY MOTHER'S VILLAGE**  
**CANADA 2001 (100 MINS.)**  
**DIRECTED BY JOHN PASKIEVICH**  
**CONTACT: JO ANNE WALTON**  
**(J.A.WALTON@NFB.CA)**  
With countless people fleeing their homelands to seek a better life, exile has become one of the most common experiences of the last century. In *My Mother's Village*, John Paskievich delves into the effects of exile and memory on the human spirit, using his own experiences as a child of refugees as a starting point.  
Almost 50 years after Paskievich's family left Ukraine to find freedom in Canada, the Winnipeg filmmaker attempts to reconcile his lifelong feeling of being caught between two cultures. He brings to light the

humour, anger, joy, and complexity of living between borders—obliged on the one hand to preserve the memories and traditions of his parents, and the need on the other hand to establish his own roots in a new country.

**PANEL U1 (V) BUILDING THE CRIMEAN TATAR NATION  
• ROOM 902**

Chair: *Sezai Ozcelik (George Mason U, USA)*

Papers: *Mica Hall (Defense Language Institute, Presidio of Monterey)*

Crimean-Tatar Russian as a Reflection of Crimean Tatar Nationality

*Kurtmolla Abdulganiyev (Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw)*

The Institutional Aspect of the Crimean Tatar National Movement

*Filiz Tutku Aydin (U of Toronto, Canada)*

A Case of Diaspora Nationalism: Crimean Tatars in Turkey

*Hakan Kirimli (Bilkent U, Ankara, Turkey)*

Self-Identification among the Crimean Tatar Diaspora

Discussant: *Amy Emel Muedin (Independent Scholar, Washington, DC, USA)*

**PANEL U12 (V) DOMESTIC POLITICS IN UKRAINE • ROOM 700**

Chair: *Alexander Tsiovkh (U of Kansas, USA)*

Papers: *Olena Nikolayenko (Kansas State U, USA)*

A Test to Press Freedom in Ukraine: The 1994 and 1999 Presidential Elections

*Lowell W. Barrington (Marquette U, USA)*

The Political Consequences of Regionalism in Ukraine

*Nataliya Boyko (Institut d'Etudes Politiques, Paris, France)*

Denominational Pluralism in Post-Soviet Ukraine and Its Impact on

Nation- and Identity-Building: The Role of the Orthodox and Greek Catholic Churches.

*Oleh Protsyk (U of Ottawa, Canada)*

Regime and Government Stability in Ukraine: Frustrating or Contributing to State-Building Efforts?

Discussant: *Robert DeLossa (Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, USA)*

**1.15–2.15 P.M. AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UKRAINIAN STUDIES ANNUAL MEETING**

**LOCATION: ROOM 1027**

**2.15–4.15 P.M. SESSION VI**

**PANEL G20 (VI) ROUNDTABLE: NATIONALISM, SECTARIANISM, AND TERRORISM • DAG HAMMARSKJOLD LOUNGE, 6<sup>TH</sup> FLOOR**

Chair: *Gordon Bardos (Harriman Institute, USA)*

Participants: *Jack Snyder (Columbia U, USA)*

*Adrian Karatnycky (Freedom House, New York, USA)*

*Sophia Clément (French Ministry of Defense)*

*Roger Petersen (Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA)*

*Susan Woodward (Graduate Center, City U of New York, USA)*

**PANEL R12 (VI) ROUNDTABLE: EURASIA AS A NEW POST-SOVIET PARADIGM • ROOM 1512**

Chair: *Andreas Kappeler (Institut für Osteuropäische Geschichte der Universität Wien, Austria)*

Paper: *Mark von Hagen (Columbia U, USA)*

Commentators: *Serguei Glebov (Rutgers U, USA)*

*Peter Holquist (Cornell U, USA)*





**PANEL U9 (VI) NATIONALITY AND LANGUAGE IN THE 2001  
UKRAINIAN CENSUS • ROOM 1510**

Chair: *Dmitry Gorenburg (Center for Naval Analyses,  
Washington, DC, USA)*

Papers: *Greta Uehling (U of Michigan, USA)*  
Counting Crimeans in the First Post-  
Soviet Census: Crimeans, Crimean  
Tatars, and Kirimli

*Jennifer Dickinson (U of Michigan, USA)*  
Choosing Sides in the Ukrainian  
Borderland: Self-Identification as  
Ukrainian, Rusyn, or Hungarian in the  
2001 Ukrainian Census in Zakarpattia

*Dominique Arel (Watson Institute, Brown U,  
USA)*

The Census as a Plebiscite: Interpreting  
“Nationality” and “Language” in the  
2001 Ukrainian Census

Discussant: *Laada Bilaniuk (U of Washington/Harvard U,  
USA)*

**PANEL CE5 (VI) THE LINGERING CONSEQUENCES OF EASTERN  
EUROPEAN HISTORY • ROOM 1302**

Chair: *Bradley Abrams (Columbia U, USA)*

Papers: *Odette Tomescu-Hatto (Institut d’Etudes  
Politiques, Paris, France)*

Romanian-Hungarian Relations since  
1989: A Theoretical Explanation of the  
Everlasting “Cold War”

*Nalan Soyarik-Senturk (Baskent U, Turkey)*

The Overlap of National Identity and  
Citizenship in the Early Republican  
Turkey and Its Current Reflections

*Joerg Hackmann (U of Greifswald, Germany)*

Concepts of Nationalities Policy in  
Eastern Europe 1920–1944 between  
Minority Rights and “Ethnic Cleansing”:  
The Case of Werner Hasselblatt

*Zuzana Jelokova (U of Maryland, USA)*  
Nationalism, Democracy, and Historical  
Memory in Slovakia

*Olga Maiorova (U of Michigan, USA)*  
The Greek-Bulgarian Church Schism  
(1872) in Russian Political Discourse

Discussant: *Timothy Snyder (Yale U, USA)*

V8 (VI)

**VIDEO PRESENTATION • ROOM 1219**

*L'OPIMUM DES TALIBANS*

**FRANCE 2001 (90 MINS.)**

**DIRECTED BY FRANÇOIS MARGOLIN**

**CONTACT: FRANÇOIS MARGOLIN**

**(FMARGOLIN@YAHOO.FR)**

**IN FRENCH AND AFGHAN LANGUAGES (ENGLISH  
SUBTITLES)**

Afghanistan under the Taliban was among the most repressive countries in the world. As we learned in early 2001 when they destroyed the ancient statues of Buddha, the Taliban did not tolerate any imagery—photos, painting, films, sculpture. Women could not go out alone; they could not work at jobs or go to school. Music and alcohol were banned. But these partisans of purity remained terribly hypocritical about drugs.

Ostensibly proscribed by religious edict, drug production flourished in Afghanistan. It supplied 75 percent of the world's opium. At first the Taliban outlawed even the growing of the opium poppies. Before long they had relaxed their interdiction to allow production and export of the drug.

Filmmaker François Margolin and writer Olivier Weber, who knew Afghanistan from previous visits to cover the mujahadeen and aid workers, returned to Afghanistan to

understand how the opium trade was rationalized by the Talibans. How they not only allowed it but even encouraged its growth.

*John Schoeberlein (Harvard U, USA) will lead the discussion following the screening.*

**PANEL CE8 (VI) DILEMMAS OF INTEGRATION AND MIGRATION IN EASTERN EUROPE • ROOM 1118**

Chair: *Robin Ostow (U of Toronto, Canada)*

Papers: *Eben Friedman (U of California at San Diego, USA)*

Political Integration of the Romani Minority in Post-Communist Slovakia and Macedonia

*Chris Hasselmann and Michael J. Popovic (Washington U in St. Louis, USA)*

Illegal Immigration and the EU's New Eastern Border

*Toivo Miljan (Wilfrid Laurier U, Canada)*

Integration or Assimilation: The Estonian and Latvian Minorities' Integration Policies in Light of Comparative Historical Experience

Discussant: *Stephen Deets (Oberlin College, USA)*

**PANEL G6 (VI) RETHINKING INSTITUTIONAL DESIGN APPROACHES TO SELF-DETERMINATION CONFLICTS • ROOM 1101**

Chair: *Hudson Meadwell (McGill U, Canada)*

Papers: *Wolfgang Danspeckgruber (Princeton U, USA)*

The Model of Self-Governance and Regional Integration as an Instrument to Enhance Peace, Stability, and Prosperity

*Stefan Wolff (U of Bath, UK)*

Autonomy in Ethnically Plural Societies: Limits and Opportunities for Managing and Preventing Self-Determination Conflicts



Marc Weller (*European Center for Minority Issues, Flensburg, Germany*)  
New Models of State Construction in the Balkans

Florian Bieber (*European Centre for Minority Issues, Flensburg, Germany*)  
Institutionalizing Ethnicity in Former Yugoslavia: Domestic vs. Internationally Driven Processes of Institutional Re-Design

Discussant: Brendan O'Leary (*U of Pennsylvania/London School of Economics, UK*)

V9 (VI)

**VIDEO PRESENTATION • ROOM 1027**

***AMERICAN GYPSY: A STRANGER IN EVERYBODY'S LAND***

**USA 2000 (80 MINS.)**

**DIRECTED BY JASMINE DELLAL**

**CONTACT: LORRI FULLING, UC MEDIA  
(UCMEDIA@UCXONLINE.BERKELEY.EDU)**

**IN ENGLISH AND ROMANI (ENGLISH SUBTITLES)**

There are one million Gypsies, or Rom, in America about whom little is known. Never before has a camera been allowed to explore their world. Shot over five years, this feature documentary tells the lyrical tale of one Romani family in the United States who have broken the wall of secrecy around their people.

*American Gypsy* follows the story of Jimmy Marks, a flamboyant community leader who becomes passionately obsessed with a civil rights battle to defend his family, his history, and his honor. His journey carries us into the Romani culture with scenes of Gypsies from around the world celebrating New Year in Las Vegas, the arranged marriage of teenagers, and car salesmen in

Stetson hats driving Cadillacs. *American Gypsy* shows a glimpse of an immigrant world that is either on the verge of extinction or at a critical turning point in its survival. It is a world that most have never experienced and for the first time is being presented on screen.

*Jasmine Dellal (Filmmaker, USA) will be present at the screening.*

*David Crowe (Elon College, USA) will lead the discussion following the screening.*

**PANEL CA3 (VI) SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ASPECTS OF CONTEMPORARY KAZAKHSTAN • ROOM 901**

Chair: *Bhavna Dave (U of London, UK)*

Papers: *Kristen L. Fauson (Georgetown U, USA)*

Civil Society as a Hindrance to Democratization: The Case of Kazakhstan

*Saulesh Esenova (McGill U, Canada)*

Modernization, Urban Development, and Kazakh Social Organization

*Michele Commercio (U of Pennsylvania, USA)*

Russian Emigration from Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, and Latvia: A Form of Identity Expression

Discussant: *Pauline Luong Jones (Yale U, USA)*

**PANEL BK8 (VI) THINKING ABOUT THE NATION IN AREAS OF THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA • ROOM 802**

Chair: *Marie-Joëlle Zahar (Université de Montréal, Canada)*

Papers: *Brigitte Le Normand (U of Toronto, Canada)*

Negotiating the Meaning of World War Two in Today's Croatian Textbooks

*Duska K. Hocevar (Scientific Research Center of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts)*

To Justify “Nation’s Essence” in  
Reporting on Fertility in Slovenia  
*Michael Rossi (Rutgers U, USA)*  
Resurrecting the Past: A Study of  
Collective Memory and Historic  
Reinterpretation among the Greek and  
Serbian Nations

Discussant: *James Satterwhite (Bluffton College, USA)*

**PANEL U14 (VI) BELARUS AFTER THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS  
• ROOM 700**

Chair: *Aileen Espiritu (U of Northern British Columbia,  
Canada)*

Papers: *Olga Belova (Yale U/Institut d’Etudes Politiques,  
Paris, France)*

The Presidential Election in the Context  
of Political Regime Consolidation in  
Belarus

*Nadia Lisovskaya (U of Manchester, UK)*  
Economic Transformation in Post-Soviet  
Countries: A Case Study of Belarus

*David R. Marples (U of Alberta, Canada/  
Uladzimir Padhol, Belarusian People’s U,  
Belarus)*

The Dynamics of the 2001 Presidential  
Election in Belarus

*Alex Danilovich (Ministere de l’éducation du  
Québec, Canada)*

Traditional Culture and Democrat-  
ization: The Case of Belarus

Discussant: *Alexandra Goujon (Davis Center for Russian  
Studies, Harvard U, USA)*





**4.30–6.30 P.M. SESSION VII**

**PANEL CA13 (VII) POLITICAL TRANSITION IN CENTRAL ASIA • DAG HAMMARSKJOLD LOUNGE, 6<sup>TH</sup> FLOOR**

Chair: *Elizabeth Teague (Foreign and Commonwealth Office, London, UK)*

Papers: *Pauline Luong Jones (Yale U, USA)*  
Economic Decentralization in  
Kazakhstan: Causes and Consequences

*Paul Geiss (German Institute for Middle East Studies, Germany)*

Power and Authority in Turkmenistan:  
On the Problem of Political Order in  
Central Asia

*Matteo Fumagali (U of Edinburgh, UK)*

Patterns of Cross-Border Cooperation in  
Central Asia: The Cases of the Kazakh-  
Uzbek and Uzbek-Kyrgyz Frontiers

Discussant: *Sally N. Cummings (U of Edinburgh, UK)*

**PANEL U4 (VII) ROUNDTABLE: THE NEW UKRAINIAN LITERARY CANON AND NATIONAL IDENTITY • ROOM 1512**

Chair: *Myroslava T. Znayenko (Rutgers U, USA)*

Participants: *Tamara Hundorova (Institute of Literature, Kyiv, Ukraine)*

*Marko Pavlyshyn (Monash U, Australia)*

*Maria Rewakowicz (Rutgers U, USA)*

*Taraz Koznarsky (U of Toronto, Canada)*

**PANEL BK9 (VII) NORMS AT STAKE: INTERNATIONAL DIMENSIONS OF RECENT BALKAN HISTORY • ROOM 1510**

Chair: *Thomas Hegarty (U of Tampa, USA)*

Papers: *Regina Akopian (Rutgers U, USA)*

The Regime of Territorial Integrity of  
States and the Changed Patterns of  
Interstate Conflict in the Balkans and  
South Caucasus

*Maria Kovacs (Central European U, Hungary)*  
Standards of Self-Determination and  
Standards of Minority Rights in the  
Post-Soviet Era: A Historical Perspective

*Stephen Tierney (U of Edinburgh, UK)*  
The Legal Accommodation of National  
Identity: The Use of Referendums in  
Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Canada,  
and the United Kingdom

Discussant: *Chip Gagnon (Ithaca College, USA)*

**PANEL G17 (VII) DEVELOPMENTS IN LANGUAGE • ROOM 1302**

Chair: *Mica Hall (Defense Language Institute, Presidio  
of Monterey)*

Papers: *Alisher Khamidov (Notre Dame U, USA)*  
Kyrgyz Language: After Ten Years of  
Independence

*Sevda Mamedova (Baku State U, Azerbaijan)*  
New Status of Languages in Azerbaijan:  
Soviet and Post-Soviet Eras

*Mirovari Teymurova (Indiana U/Baku State U,  
Azerbaijan)*  
Changes in the Azerbaijan Alphabet in  
the Twentieth Century

*Vassil Anastassov (Bilgi U, Istanbul, Turkey)*  
What Makes the National Language?  
Communist Policy towards Turkish  
Lexis in Modern Bulgarian

Discussant: *Alex Krouglov (Foreign and Commonwealth  
Office, UK)*

**V10 (VII) VIDEO PRESENTATION • ROOM 1219**

**BRING ME THE HEAD OF GEORGIY GONGADZE  
USA 2002 (60 MINS., WORK IN PROGRESS)**

**DIRECTED BY SUSIE DAVIS**

**CONTACT: SUSIE DAVIS**

**(SUSIE\_252001@YAHOO.COM)**

Ukraine, celebrating its tenth year of indepen-

dence, explodes into turmoil after a young journalist is found decapitated in the woods. This documentary is the true story of how one man's sacrifices unite a fractured nation and compel the population to examine the true meaning of the word "freedom."

Should we expect a new democracy to offer its citizens rights and privileges such as freedom of speech and freedom of the press? These were privileges that Ukraine's President Leonid Kuchma promised the country when he came to power in 1994. Since then, several more Ukrainian journalists and independent media outlets have been harrassed, and Kuchma has suggested that freedom of speech does not mean the freedom to criticize him.

*Susie Davis (Filmmaker, USA) will be present at the screening.*

**PANEL R11 (VII) ISSUES IN RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY II • ROOM 1118**

**Chair:** *Captain Joseph Bayerl (United States Army, Joint Staff, Pentagon)*

**Papers:** *Jeff Surovell (College of Aeronautics, USA)*

Strategic Partners or Strange Bedfellows? Relations of Putin's Russia with the West after September 11

*Colin Guillaume (Institut d'Etudes Politiques, Paris, France)*

"Naming the West," a Stake of Russian Political Discourse: The Kosovo Crisis as an Example

*Drew Walker (Columbia U, USA)*

Assessing the Possible Future Role of Pluralist States and New Reproductive Technologies in Russian-German-US Relations



Discussant: *Robert Freedman (Baltimore Hebrew U, USA)*

**PANEL CE2 (VII) INTER-ETHNIC AND INTRA-ETHNIC RELATIONS  
ACROSS STATE BORDERS: HUNGARIANS AND THEIR  
NEIGHBORS • ROOM 1101**

Chair: *James Satterwhite (Bluffton College, USA)*

Papers: *Gabriella Ancsin-Szonoky (Attila József U,  
Szeged, Hungary)*

*Cross-Border Yugoslav Investments and  
Joint Ventures: Vojvodina and the  
Szeged Region of Hungary*

*Beata Kovacs Nas (U of Maryland, USA)*

*The Hungarian Status Law of June 2001,  
and Romanian and Slovak Reactions*

*Andrew Ludanyi (Ohio Northern U, USA)*

*The Empowerment of Romania's  
Csango-Hungarians via the Internet*

Discussant: *Nicolae Harsanyi (U of North Carolina, USA)*

**PANEL G18 (VII) WHEN EAST MEETS WEST • ROOM 1027**

Chair: *Francesco Privitera (U of Bologna, Italy)*

Papers: *Barbara Dietz (Eastern European Institute,  
Munich, Germany)*

*East-West Migration and Its Impact on  
East European Migrant Populations: The  
German Case*

*Lyubov Bugaeva (St. Petersburg State U, Russia)*

*Eastern Minorities within the Western  
Context*

*József Borocz (Rutgers U, USA)*

*What is the EU?*

Discussant: *Z. Anthony Kruszewski (University of Texas at  
El Paso, USA)*

**PANEL CA9 (VII) (RE)CONSTRUCTING THE CHINESE STATE:  
HISTORICAL AND COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES  
• ROOM 902**

Chair: *Christopher Kaplonski (Rutgers U, USA)*

- Papers: *Elena Barabantseva (U of Manchester, UK)*  
Globalization and Changing Images of  
Chinese Identity
- Talant Mawkanuli (U of Wisconsin at Madison,  
USA)*  
The State and Language Policy: A  
Comparison of Language Policies in  
China and the Former Soviet
- Erez Manela (Yale U, USA)*  
Defining a Nation for a New World  
Order: Self-Determination, May Fourth,  
and the Rise of Chinese Nationalism at  
the Wilsonian Moment
- Susan McCarthy (Providence College, USA)*  
Gods of Wealth, Temples of Prosperity:  
The Chinese State as Minority Cultural  
Entrepreneur
- Discussant: *Christopher Marsh (Baylor U, USA)*

**PANEL TK4 (VII) ETHNICITY AND POLITICAL CULTURE IN TURKEY •  
ROOM 901**

- Chair: *Charles King (Georgetown U, USA)*
- Papers: *Peride Kaleagisi (Georgetown U, USA)*  
New Dimensions of the Kurdish  
Question in Turkey
- Simten Cosar (Baskent U, Ankara, Turkey)*  
The Crisis of Dual Identity in Post-1980  
Turkey: Reflections on the Historical  
Incapacity of Liberal Imagination in the  
Turkish Context
- Ekrem Karakoc (Indiana U, USA)*  
Nation under Siege—Paranoia or  
Pragmatism?: Political Culture in  
Turkey
- Ayhan Akman (Sabanci U, Istanbul, Turkey)*  
Between Ethnic and Civic Nationalism:  
Identity, Democracy, and Civil Society in  
Turkey

Discussant: *Neophytos G. Loizides (U of Toronto, Canada)*

**PANEL BK2 (VII) IDENTITIES IN A TRANSNATIONAL REGION: BOSNIA AND SERBIA FROM THE MID-NINETEENTH TO THE EARLY-TWENTIETH CENTURIES • ROOM 802**

Chair/Disc.: *Florian Bieber (European Centre for Minority Issues, Flensburg, Germany)*

Papers: *Edin Hajdarpasic (U of Michigan, USA)*  
Alternative Visions of Modernity: Mid- and Late-Nineteenth Century Bosnians and the Search for a Viable Polity, 1850–1882

*Jelica Zdero (U of Western Ontario, Canada)*  
The Rise and Fall of the Pan-Bosnian Idea: The Bosnian Serb Intellectuals, 1878–1914

*Dejan Guzina (Wilfrid Laurier U, Canada)*  
Negotiating Civic and Ethnic Identity in the “Golden Age” of Serbian Parliamentary Democracy (1903–1914)

**PANEL R6 (VII) RUSSIA’S ETHNIC MINORITIES • ROOM 700**

Chair: *Elizabeth Pascal (Wesleyan U, USA)*

Papers: *Jorunn Brandvoll (Norwegian Institute of International Affairs)*  
Only Peace and Harmony in the Steppe Republic? An Examination of Interethnic Relations in Kalmykia

*Kimitaka Matsuzato (Hokkaido)*  
Intra-Ethnic Politics in Russian National Republics: Bashkortostan, Mordoviya, and Udmurtiya

*Nadezhda Shalamova (Tomsk Polytechnic U)*  
Siberian Indigenous Peoples in Contemporary Society: Prospects for Survival





*Steven Mark Swerdlow (Columbia U, USA)*  
Ethnic Minorities of the Krasnodar  
Region: Transnational Identity,  
Discrimination, and the Prospects for a  
Local Multiculturalism

Discussant: *Walter Comins-Richmond (Occidental College,  
USA)*

**6.45 P.M.            CENTRAL EURASIAN STUDIES SOCIETY  
MEETING  
LOCATION: ROOM 1512**

## **SATURDAY, 13 APRIL**

**8.00 A.M.–**            **REGISTRATION**  
**5.00 P.M.**            **LOCATION: 15<sup>TH</sup> FLOOR**  
**INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS BUILDING**

**9.00 A.M.–**            **BOOK EXHIBIT AND SALE OF CONVENTION**  
**6.00 P.M.**            **PAPERS**  
**LOCATION: ROOM 1501**

**9.00 A.M.**            **ASN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING**  
**LOCATION: ROOM 717**

**9.00–**                 **SESSION VIII**  
**11.00 A.M.**

**PANEL K2 (VIII)    AZERBAIJAN, PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE • DAG  
HAMMARSKJOLD LOUNGE, 6<sup>TH</sup> FLOOR**

Chair: *Evan Siegel (Fordham U, USA)*

Papers: *Hovann H. Simonian (U of Southern California,  
USA)*

*Shahumian and Gardmank: With No  
Hope of Return*

*Peter G. Laurens (Columbia U, USA)*  
A Review of Economic Developments in  
Post-Independence Azerbaijan

*Aida Huseynova (Baku Music Academy,  
Azerbaijan/Indiana U, USA)*  
Twentieth Century Azerbaijani Music:  
The Soviet Legacy

*Fariz Ismailzade (Washington U in St. Louis,  
USA)*  
The OSCE Minsk Group and the Failure  
of Peace Negotiations on the Karabakh  
Conflict

*Elshad Iskenderov (Permanent Mission of the  
Republic of Azerbaijan to the UN)*  
Refugees and Azerbaijani Government  
Policy

Discussant: *Tadeusz Swietochowski (Monmouth College, USA)*

**PANEL U3 (VIII) NATIONALISM AND NATION BUILDING IN UKRAINE  
• ROOM 1512**

Chair: *Jaroslav Martyniuk (Intermedia, Washington  
DC, USA)*

Papers: *Stephen Shulman (Southern Illinois U, USA)*  
Civic, Cultural, and Ethnic Nationalism  
in Ukraine

*Glenn Goshulak (York U, Toronto, Canada)*  
The Ukrainian National Idea: A State-in-  
Society Perspective

*Taras Kuzio (U of Toronto, Canada)*  
Nation Building and Nationalism in  
Transitions: Ukraine and Spain in  
Comparative Perspective

Discussant: *Alexander J. Motyl (Rutgers U, USA)*

**PANEL G8 (VIII) DEALING WITH DIASPORAS • ROOM 1510**

Chair: *Vejas Liulevicius (U of Tennessee, USA)*

Papers: *Stephen Deets (Oberlin College, USA), and  
Sherrill Stroschein (Ohio U, USA)*

The Hungarian Status Law and the  
Coming of Neomedievalism in Europe  
*Jennifer Skulte-Ouaiss (U of Maryland, USA)*  
Leading the People from Out of the  
(Communist) Wilderness?: Diaspora  
Leaders and Post-Communist Politics in  
the Baltic States

*Wsevolod W. Isajiw (U of Toronto, Canada)*  
Ukraine's Loss of Human Resources:  
Immigrants from Ukraine to Canada,  
1991–2001

Discussant: *Alexander H. Joffe (West Asia Environmental  
Security Project, New Rochelle, NY, USA)*

**PANEL CE3 (VIII) RE-ETHNICIZATION IN POST-COMMUNIST EUROPE:  
THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE • ROOM 1302**

Chair: *Catalin Cosovanu (Stanford U, USA)*

Papers: *Suzanne Wertheim (U of California at Berkeley,  
USA)*

Language "Purity" and the  
De-Russification of Tatar

*Robin S. Brooks (U of California at Berkeley,  
USA)*

Step-Mother Tongue: Language and  
Identity Among Bulgarian Pomaks

*Daniel Kronenfeld (U of California at Berkeley,  
USA)*

Latvia after Ten Years: Assimilation,  
Integration, or Separation?

*Uldis Ozolins (La Trobe U, Melbourne, Australia)*  
European Impatience with Baltic  
Language Policies

Discussant: *Harsha Ram (U of California at Berkeley, USA)*

**V11 (VIII) VIDEO PRESENTATION PANEL • ROOM 1219  
YUGOSLAVIA—THE AVOIDABLE WAR, PART I  
USA 1999 (180 MINS.)**

DIRECTED BY GEORGE BOGDANICH AND MARTIN LETTMAYER

CONTACT: AVOIDABLEWAR@AOL.COM

A documentary arguing how serious errors and misjudgments made by western powers—particularly Germany and United States—helped spark the violent break up of the former Yugoslavia in 1991, how news coverage was manipulated by the warring sides, and how the US was involved in Operation Storm. A 75-minute excerpt of the documentary was screened by former Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic during his trial in The Hague in March 2002. The directors then publicly criticized the selective use of their film by Milosevic.

Due to the sudden political salience of the film, the ASN Convention will screen it in its entirety. (A portion of the film premiered at ASN in 2000).

*George Bogdanich (Filmmaker, New York, USA) will field questions following the screening that will take place in two installments over two consecutive panel slots.*

**BK10 (VIII)**

**MULTICULTURAL AND MULTIETHNIC BOSNIA  
• ROOM 1101**

Chair:

*Leon Lowder (Columbia U, USA)*

Papers:

*Cynthia Simmons (Boston College, USA)*

Multicultural, Multiethnic, and  
Multiconfessional Bosnia: Myth and  
Reality

*Djordje (George) Stefanovic (U of Toronto,  
Canada)*

Culture Strikes Back: The Crisis of the  
Instrumentalist Explanation of the  
Bosnian War

*Pilvi Torsti (U of Helsinki, Finland)*

The Representation of Nation in the  
History Schoolbooks of Bosnian Serbs,  
Croats, and Bosniaks

*Aydin Babuna (Bogazici U, Istanbul, Turkey)*

Albanians and Bosnian Muslims: The  
Changing Role of Islam in the 1990s

Discussant: *Vjeran Pavlakovic (U of Washington at Seattle,  
USA)*

**PANEL CA4 (VIII) SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ASPECTS OF  
CONTEMPORARY UZBEKISTAN • ROOM 1027**

Chair: *Peter Sinnott (Columbia U, USA)*

Papers: *Guli Yuldasheva (Indiana U, USA)*

Islam in Uzbekistan: Peculiarities and  
Perspectives for Development

*Kai Wegerich (U of London, UK)*

Political Decisions as Cause for Water  
Scarcity in Uzbekistan

*Alisher Ilkhamov (Center for Social Research  
"Expert-fikri," Uzbekistan)*

Archeology of Uzbek National Identity

*Boris Petric (Laboratoire d'anthropologie des  
institutions et des organisations sociales  
[LAIOS/CNRS], Paris, France)*

The Political Game at Local Level in the  
Post-Soviet Uzbekistan

Discussant: *Eric A. Miller (Old Dominion U, USA)*

**PANEL TK1 (VIII) DIVERSITY AND DEMOCRACY: CHANGE AND  
CONTINUITY IN TURKEY • ROOM 901**

Chair: *Michael Reynolds (Princeton U, USA)*

Papers: *Brendon J. Cannon (U of Utah, USA)*

Positivism and the Development of  
Kemalist Notions of Democracy and  
Society



*Murat Somer (U of Washington at Seattle, USA)*  
Ethnic Kurds, Endogenous Identities in  
Private and Public, and Democratic  
Transition in Turkey

*Etga Ugur (U of Utah, USA)*  
Identity, Security, Cooperation, and  
Democratic Consolidation in Turkey

*Ayse Betül Celik (State U of New York at  
Binghamton, USA)*  
Alevi, Kurds, and Hemsehris: Alevi  
Kurdish Revival in the 1990s

Discussant: *Henri J. Barkey (Lehigh U, USA)*

**PANEL BK6**      **EMPIRES, FAITHS, AND ECONOMICS: EXPLAINING**  
**(VIII)**            **BALKAN HISTORY • ROOM 802**

Chair: *Radmila J. Gorup (Columbia U, USA)*

Papers: *Neil Abrams (U of California at Berkeley, USA)*  
Nationalist Mobilization and Imperial  
Collapse: Serbian and Russian  
Nationalism Compared, 1987–1991

*Ronald Hatto (Institut d'Etudes Politiques, Paris,  
France)*

Religion and Identity in the Balkans:  
Agents of Peace or Risk Factors?

*Glen D. Camp (Bryant College, USA)*

Macedonia: Holding Together in the Eye  
of the Storm

*Zdravka Brunkova (Washington U in St. Louis,  
USA)*

In Search of the Balkan Grail: Analysis  
of the Elusive Regional Integration

Discussant: *Nadine Akhund (Independent Scholar, New York,  
USA)*

**PANEL R9 (VIII)**      **IDENTITY POLITICS IN THE NEW RUSSIA**  
                                 **• ROOM 700**

Chair: *Z. Anthony Kruszewski (University of Texas at El  
Paso, USA)*

- Papers: *Andrei Filtchenko (Rice U, USA/Tomsk State Pedagogical U, Russia)*  
Expendables of Modernization?  
*Tatyana Riabova (U of Wyoming, USA/Ivanovo State U, Russia)*  
Ours and Theirs in Russian Political Discourse: Gender Aspect  
*David Weber (U of Wisconsin, USA)*  
Public History and Private Memory: The Construction and Deconstruction of Moscow's Red Square
- Discussant: *Sergei Sokolovsky (Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Russia)*

**11.15 A.M.–  
1.15 P.M.**      **SESSION IX**

- PANEL G23 (IX)**      **ROUNDTABLE: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF PHILANTHROPIST GEORGE SOROS DISCUSSION OF THE NEW BOOK *SOROS: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF A MESSIANIC BILLIONAIRE* (KNOPF, 2002) • DAG HAMMARSKJOLD LOUNGE, 6<sup>TH</sup> FLOOR**
- Chair: *Peter Rutland (Wesleyan U, USA)*  
Author: *Michael Kaufman (New York Times, USA)*  
Commentators: *Jonathan Becker (Bard College, USA)*  
*Ian Bremmer (Eurasia Group, New York, USA)*  
*Nina Khrushcheva (New School U, USA)*

- PANEL BK3 (IX)**      **ROUNDTABLE: ETHNIC CLEANSING AND STATEHOOD • ROOM 1510**
- Chair: *Milena Michalski (U College London, UK)*  
Participants: *Cathie Carmichael (Middlesex U, UK)*  
*Funmi Olonisakin (UN Secretariat, New York)*  
*James Gow (King's College, London, UK)*

- PANEL R2 (IX)**      **NATIONALITY AND LANGUAGE IN THE RUSSIAN CENSUS, PAST AND PRESENT • ROOM 1512**



- Chair: *Stephen Del Rosso (Carnegie Corporation, New York, USA)*
- Papers: *Juliette Cadiot (Watson Institute, Brown U, USA)*  
Nationality in the 1897 Russian Imperial Census  
*Sergei Sokolovskiy (Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Moscow, Russia)*  
Census Category Construction in the First All-Russian Census of 2002  
*Valery Stepanov (Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Moscow, Russia)*  
The 2002 Russian Census: Approaches to Measure Identity
- Discussant: *Helge Blakkisrud (Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Oslo)*

**PANEL U11 (IX) HISTORICAL ISSUES AND POLICIES OF SLAVIC IDENTITIES • ROOM 1302**

- Chair: *Alexandra Hrycak (Reed College, USA)*
- Papers: *Anatoliy Rusnachenko (Harriman Institute, USA)*  
The Ukrainian Struggle for Independence in the 1940s–1950s: Anti-Soviet Fronts  
*Liliana Riga (U of Strathclyde, Glasgow, UK)*  
Identity, Empire, and the Bolshevik Elite  
*Alexandra Goujon (Davis Center for Russian Studies, Harvard U, USA)*  
National Revival in the Ideology of the Ukrainian and Belarusian Popular Fronts in the Last Years of the USSR
- Discussant: *Tatyana Muradova (Moscow State U, Russia)*

**V12 (IX) VIDEO PRESENTATION PANEL • ROOM 1219 YUGOSLAVIA—THE AVOIDABLE WAR, PART II USA 1999 (180 MINS.) DIRECTED BY GEORGE BOGDANICH AND MARTIN LETTMAYER**



**CONTACT: AVOIDABLEWAR@AOL.COM**

SECOND PART OF THE CONTROVERSIAL DOCUMENTARY  
YUGOSLAVIA—*THE AVOIDABLE WAR*. (SEE PP. 51)

**PANEL G10 (IX) DILEMMAS OF IMMIGRATION AND MIGRATION •  
ROOM 1118**

Chair: *Chip Gagnon (Ithaca College, USA)*

Papers: *Bayram Balci (European Institute of Florence,  
Italy)*

Migration between Central Asia and  
Saudi Arabia: Uzbek and Uighur  
Communities in Saudi Arabia

*Gardner Bovingdon (Washington U, USA)*

Mobile Constituencies: The  
Dispossession of Uyghurs and  
Palestinians through State-sponsored  
Immigration

Discussant: *Cynthia J. Buckley (U of Texas at Austin, USA)*

**PANEL K1 (IX) SUPPORTING THE NATION, UNDERMINING THE  
STATE? THE DIASPORA AND ARMENIA • ROOM  
1101**

Chair: *Bhavna Dave (U of London, UK)*

Papers: *Sossie Kasbarian (U of London, UK)*

The Myth and Reality of "Return"—  
Diaspora in the Homeland

*Anny Bakalian (City U of New York, USA)*

Identity and Service to Homeland  
among Young Armenian American  
Professionals

*Razmik Panossian (London School of Economics,  
UK)*

The "Foreign Policy" of a Diaspora:  
Genocide Recognition and Turkey

Discussant: *Khachig Tololyan (Wesleyan U, USA)*

PANEL CA8/V13 VIDEO PRESENTATION • ROOM 1027

(IX)

*THE CONFLICT IN AFGHANISTAN*

*QALA JANGI* (ROUGH CUT, WORK IN PROGRESS)

USA 2002 (APPROX. 30 MINS.)

DIRECTED BY DODGE BILLINGSLEY

(DODGE@COMBATFILMS.COM)

A dramatic day-by-day account of the fortress uprising outside Mazar-e Sharif at the end of November 2001. This film explores the events leading to the conflict beginning Saturday night as the Taliban prisoners from Konduz are met in the desert northeast of Mazar-e Sharif by General Rashid Dostum's Northern Alliance forces. It immediately moves to the actual uprising on Sunday. By Monday morning, the uprising has turned into a battle. U.S. forces arrive to assist the Northern Alliance but the battle continues into Tuesday. Finally, after three days of fighting the battle for Qala Jangi is over.

The film analyzes the true nature of the conflict: massacre, battle, or costly mistake, and delineates the respective roles of the Northern Alliance, captured Taliban, and U.S. military personnel as catalysts for the bloody outcome. The film was shot on location by one of the few westerners to witness the battle from within the fortress walls and includes additional footage shot by other cameramen and women on the spot.

*Dodge Billingsley will present his film-in-progress.*

*The film will be preceded by a paper presentation "Talibanized Pakistan's Afghan Imbroglia: A Thread that Connects Kashmir to Pushtunistan," by Kailash Mohapatra (U of Rhode Island, USA).*

*William Buckley (Georgetown U, USA) will chair the panel/film screening/discussion.*

*Robert Ware (Southern Illinois U at Carbondale, USA) will lead the discussion following the screening/paper presentation.*

**PANEL CE11 (IX) PANEL ON CONTEMPORARY MOLDOVA  
• ROOM 902**

**Chair:** *R. J. Hill (Trinity College Dublin, Ireland)*

**Papers:** *Vladimir Solonari (Woodrow Wilson Center, USA)*

*The History of Pridnestroviia or On Creating a Region*

*Thomas Hegarty (U of Tampa, USA)*

*Language Policy in Moldova*

*Elizabeth Teague (Foreign and Commonwealth Office, UK)*

*Territorial Administration in Moldova: The Case of Gagauzia*

**Discussant:** *Vladimir Socor (Jamestown Foundation, Munich, Germany)*

**PANEL TK3 (IX) HISTORICAL ASPECTS AND APPROACHES TO  
TURKISH IDENTITY • ROOM 901**

**Chair:** *Peride Kaleagisi (Georgetown U, USA)*

**Papers:** *Gokhan Kocer (Karadeniz Technical U, Trabzon, Turkey)*

*Islam and Turkish Identity in Turkish Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War Era*

*Ryan Gingeras (U of Toronto, Canada)*

*Brigands or Revolutionaries?*

*Paramilitarism and Muslim Society in Rumeli, 1904–1908*

*Michael Reynolds (Princeton U, USA)*

*Inchoate Nation Abroad: Tsarist Russia, Nation Building, and the Kurds of Ottoman Anatolia, 1908–1914*

*Cemil Koçak (Sabanci U, Istanbul, Turkey)*  
Religion, Nationalism, and Politics in  
Turkey during the Cold War Years: The  
Magazine “Buyuk Dogu”

Discussant: *Aydin Babuna (Bogazici U, Istanbul, Turkey)*

**PANEL G4 (IX)      DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF MINORITIES • ROOM 802**

Chair: *Mottie Tamarkin (Tel Aviv U, Israel)*

Papers: *Sherrill Stroschein (Ohio U, USA)*

How Ethnic Contention Can Be Good  
for Democracy (And Vice Versa)

*Steven Wheatley (Liverpool Law School, U of  
Liverpool, UK)*

Minorities and the Emerging Right to  
Deliberative Democracy

*Anna Moltchanova (Carleton College, USA)*

A Pragmatic Definition of Nationhood

*Brigita Zepa (Baltic Institute of Social Sciences,  
Latvia)*

Bilingual Education in Latvia: Politics  
*versus* Minorities

Discussant: *Dominique Colas (Institut d’Etudes Politiques,  
Paris, France)*

**PANEL G21 (IX)      SOCIAL ISSUES IN EASTERN EUROPE AND THE  
FORMER SOVIET UNION • ROOM 700**

Chair: *Troy McGrath (Hartwick College, USA)*

Papers: *Lydia Katrova (Medical U Sofia, Bulgaria)*

Professionalization in Transitional  
Societies of Central and Eastern Europe

*Daina Stukuls Eglitis (George Washington U,  
USA)*

Social Change and the Transformation  
of Gender and Family: Theorizing the  
Decline of Marriage and the Rise of

Non-Marital Births in Post-Communism

*Anna Lebedev (Institut d'Etudes Politiques, Paris, France)*

Democratization, Stability, and Middle Class in the Post-Soviet Russia

Discussant: *Sue Davis (American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, USA)*

**2.15–4.15 P.M. SESSION X**

**PANEL CA11 (X) ROUNDTABLE: AFGHANISTAN: "AFGHANISTAN IN THE PATH OF HISTORY" • THE DAG HAMMARSKJOLD LOUNGE, 6<sup>TH</sup> FLOOR**

Chair: *Rameen J. Moshref (Afghan Communicator magazine)*

Participants: *Saleh Keshawarz (U of Hartford, USA)*  
*Qadar Amiryar (George Washington U, USA)*  
*Dawer A. Nadi (Afghanistan Peace Association [APA])*

**PANEL BK1 (X) ROUNDTABLE: POST-WAR BOSNIA, STATE-MAKING IN THE SHADOW OF POLITICAL CONFLICT • ROOM 1512**

Chair: *Francine Friedman (Ball State U, USA)*

Participants: *Bob Donia (U of Michigan, USA)*  
*Cynthia Simmons (Boston College, USA)*

**PANEL K5 (X) ETHNICITY AND NATIONALISM IN THE CAUCASUS • ROOM 1510**

Chair/Dissc.: *Thomas Goltz (Independent Journalist)*

Papers: *Giorgi Tarkhan-Mouravi (Centre for Geopolitical and Regional Studies, Tbilisi, Georgia)*  
Prospects for Regional Security and Cooperation in South Caucasus: The View from Georgia

*Robert Ware (Southern Illinois U at Edwardsville, USA) and Enver Kisriev (Dagestan)*





*Scientific Center of the Russian Academy of Science)*

Ethnicity and Democracy in Dagestan  
*Esma Gregor (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Germany)*

Uses of the Internet as Medium of Information: Georgia and Abkhazia in the Early 1990s

*Laurence Broers (U of London, UK)*

Tolerance and Mission: Strands of Messianic Thought in Georgian Nationalism

**PANEL CA7 (X) SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ASPECTS OF CONTEMPORARY TURKMENISTAN AND TAJIKISTAN**  
• **ROOM 1027**

Chair: *Adrienne Edgar (U of California at Santa Barbara, USA)*

Papers: *Steven Sabol (U of North Carolina at Charlotte, USA)*

Turkmenistan's Foreign Policy since Independence

*Gul Geldimuradova (Turkmen State U, Ashgabat)*  
The Role of Turkmen Women in New Society

*Chinar Amanova (U of Wyoming, USA)*  
The National Movement in Turkmenistan

*Alla Kuvatova (Russian-Tajik Slavonic U, Tajikistan)*  
Gender Relations in Tajikistan in Post-Conflict Period

Discussant: *Rafis Abazov (La Trobe U, Australia)*

- PANEL U13 (X)      LANGUAGE POLICIES AND POLITICS IN UKRAINE AND BELARUS • ROOM 1302**
- Chair: *Aisoltan Bazarova (U of Montana, USA)*
- Papers: *Camelot Ann Marshall (Bryn Mawr College, USA)*  
Effects of Official Language Policy on the Language Use and Attitudes of Kyivan Youth  
*Alex Krouglov (Foreign and Commonwealth Office, UK)*  
Language Politics in Ukraine  
*Volodymyr Kulyk (Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies, Ukraine)*  
Constructing Common Sense: Public Discourses on Ethnolinguistic Problems and Transformation of Identity in Post-Soviet Ukraine  
*Tony Brown (Bryn Mawr College, USA)*  
Assessing Language Policy in Belarus: Rehabilitation or Death of Belarusian?
- Discussant: *Alexander Tsiovkh (U of Kansas, USA)*
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- PANEL R1 (X)      RUSSIA'S POLICY ON THE FAR NORTH • ROOM 1118**
- Chair: *Helge Blakkisrud (Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Oslo, Norway)*
- Papers: *Indra Overland (Cambridge U, UK/Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Oslo, Norway)*  
Indigenous Policy in the Russian Federation  
*Peter Waisberg (Carleton U, Canada)*  
Controlling Population Flows: Out-Migration, Closed Cities, and Labor in the Post-Soviet Russian North  
*Aileen Espiritu (U of Northern British Columbia, Canada)*  
Environmental Policy in the Sakha Republic

*Sue Davis (American Political Science Association, USA)*  
Regional Security and the Russian Far East

Discussant: *Jorunn Brandvoll (Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Oslo, Norway)*

**PANEL U10 (X)      UKRAINE: DEVELOPING FOREIGN POLICY • ROOM 1101**

Chair: *Stephen Shulman (Southern Illinois U, USA)*

Papers: *Elena Kovaleva (U of Kansas, USA)*  
Ukraine: Back to Europe? Integration in Foreign Policy Discourse

*Anna Makhorkina (Old Dominion U, USA)*

Lost at the Crossroads: Ukraine in Search of Its International Home

*Andrew Fesiak (York U, USA)*

Ukrainian Foreign Policy after September 11<sup>th</sup>

*Yaroslav Bilinsky (U of Delaware, USA)*

Strains in Recent Polono-Ukrainian Relations

Discussant: *Marta Dyczok (U of Western Ontario, Canada)*

**PANEL G5 (X)      THE BREAKDOWN OF FEDERAL SOCIALIST STATES AND THEIR RE-FORMATION • ROOM 902**

Chair: *Andre Liebich (Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva, Switzerland)*

Papers: *Ann Robertson (George Washington U, USA)*  
United We Stand? State-Building via Secession

*Allison Stanger (Middlebury College, USA)*  
External Threats and Processes of State Disintegration: The Rise and Fall of the Communist Multinational Federations

*Henry (Chip) Carey (Georgia State U, USA)*  
Post-Colonial States: A Valid Concept  
for the Post-Communist World?

*Alena K. Alamgir (Rutgers U, USA)*  
Divided We Stand: Comparative-  
Historical Analysis of Ethnic Relations  
in Czechoslovakia and Belgium

Discussant: *Roland Spickermann (U of Texas at Permian  
Basin, USA)*

**PANEL R7 (X) NATIONALISM IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE  
• ROOM 802**

Chair: *Tatyana Muradova (Moscow State U, Russia)*

Papers: *Michel Bouchard (U of Northern British  
Columbia, Canada)*  
Nationality and the Pre-Revolutionary  
Russian Peasant: A Revisionist  
Perspective

*Mikhail Dolbilov (Voronezh State U, Russia/  
Columbia U, USA)*

Bureaucratic Mind as an Obstacle to  
Nationalism: Russification in the  
Northwest Region of the Russian  
Empire in the 1860s

*Thomas Sherlock (US Military Academy, USA)*  
Baltic History and Soviet Empire:  
Recovering the Past in Soviet and  
Russian Discourse

*Oleg Riabov (Ivanovo State U, Russia)*  
“Mother Russia” and Constructing the  
Images of the Enemy in Russian  
Nationalistic Discourses During World  
War I

*Theodore Weeks (Southern Illinois U, USA)*  
Us or Them? Belorussians and the  
Russian Government, 1863–1914

Discussant: *Olga Maiorova (U of Michigan, USA)*

- PANEL G7 (X)      ETHNICITY AND RELIGION • ROOM 700**  
Chair: *Peter Juwiler (Columbia U, USA)*  
Papers: *Nikolas Gvosdev (Executive Editor, The National Interest, Washington, DC, USA)*  
*Geopolitics and the Russian Orthodox Church*  
*Inna Naletova (Boston U, USA)*  
*The Bases of the Social Concept of the Russian Orthodox Church*  
*Catherine Wanner (Penn State, USA) and*  
*Valentina Pavlenko (Kharkiv National U)*  
*Missionizing and the Growth of Protestant Fundamentalism in Post-Soviet Ukraine*  
*Jennifer B. Barrett and Cynthia J. Buckley (U of Texas at Austin, USA)*  
*Reinforcing Ties: Ethnicity and Religion in the Russian Federation*  
Discussant: *Jose Casanova (New School U, USA)*

**4.30–6.30 P.M.      SESSION XI**

- PANEL U8 (XI)      ROUNDTABLE: THE IMPACT OF WESTERN ASSISTANCE ON UKRAINE'S TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY • ROOM 1512**  
Chair: *Taras Kuzio (U of Toronto, Canada)*  
Participants: *Marta Dyczok (U of Western Ontario, Canada)*  
*Rebecca Golbert (U of Oxford, UK)*  
*Alexandra Hrycak (Reed College, USA)*
- PANEL G1 (XI)      ASSESSING RISK IN TRANSITION COUNTRIES: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE, SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE, AND THE FORMER SOVIET UNION • ROOM 1510**  
Chair/Disc.: *Alexander J. Motyl (Rutgers U, USA)*



- Papers: *Kristie Evenson (Eurasia Group, New York, USA)*  
Post-Conflict Reform Dynamics in the  
Former Yugoslavia: The Impact of  
Hague Cooperation on Political Reform  
Processes in Croatia and the Federal  
Republic of Yugoslavia
- Preston Keat (Eurasia Group, New York, USA)*  
Welcome to the West? Political and  
Social Conflict Generated by EU  
Accession in Poland and Hungary
- Leslie Powell (Eurasia Group, New York, USA)*  
Creating Political Consensus Around  
Reform: Why Russia and Ukraine Still  
Lag Behind

**PANEL G22 (XI) PUBLISHING IN SLAVIC AND EAST EUROPEAN  
STUDIES • ROOM 901**

- Chair: *Steven Sabol (Nationalities Papers, ASN, USA)*
- Participants: *Ann Robertson (Problems of Post-  
Communism, George Washington U,  
USA)*
- Patricia Kolb (ME Sharpe, USA)*
- Sue Davis (American Political Science  
Association, USA)*

**PANEL CA12 (XI) ROUNDTABLE: AFGHANISTAN: "SUSTAINABILITY OF  
RECONSTRUCTION?" • ROOM 1302**

- Chair: *Rameen J. Moshref (Afghan Communicator,  
New York, USA)*
- Participants: *Fraiba Nawa (Independent Journalist, USA)*
- Sima Wali (Refugee Women in Development,  
USA)*
- Peter Sinnott (Columbia U, USA)*
- Halima Kazem (New York U, USA)*

**V14 (XI) VIDEO PRESENTATION • ROOM 1219  
TIME TO GATHER STONES  
MOLDOVA 2001 (52 MINS.)**

**DIRECTED BY SERGEY TCACI**

**CONTACT: IGOR SHAPOVALOV, PRODUCER, PNP  
STUDIO (SHAPOVALOV@PNP-STUDIO.COM)**

**IN RUSSIAN WITHOUT SUBTITLES**

A harrowing look at the causes and consequences of the war in Transdnistria, Moldova, in 1992. The documentary, produced by Moldovan television, interviews key actors of the conflict (politicians, military officials) as well as relatives of victims. *Time to Gather Stones* was the winner of the first prize of International TV and Cinema Forum's "Together" award, which took place in Yalta, Ukraine, in September 2001.

*Sergey Tcaci, Igor Shapovalov, and Valery Demidetsky (Filmmakers, Moldova) will be present at the screening.*



*Charles King (Georgetown U, USA) will lead the discussion following the screening.*

**PANEL K4 (XI)**

**HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF ARMENIA IDENTITY • ROOM 1118**

Chair:

*Juliette Cadiot (Watson Institute, Brown U, USA)*

Papers:

*Vartan Matiossian (Universidad del Salvador, Buenos Aires, Argentina)*

*“Our Brightless Road:” Eghishe Charents and a Nationalist Interpretation of Armenian History*

*Marat Akopian (Rutgers U, USA)*

*The Emergence of the Modern Armenian Identity in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*

*Avedis Hadjian (CNN)*

*Political Dissent in the Soviet Union: The Underground Dashnak Party in Soviet Armenia*

*Jamil Hasanli (Milli Mejlis [Parliament] of Azerbaijan Republic)*

*Armenian Invasion of Azerbaijan and its Consequences at the End of the Twentieth Century*

Discussant:

*Khachig Tololyan (Wesleyan U, USA)*

**PANEL BK7 (XI)**

**CONSEQUENCES OF KOSOVO: LEGACIES OF INTERVENTION • ROOM 1101**

Chair:

*William Buckley (Georgetown U, USA)*

Papers:

*Marjorie Cohn (Thomas Jefferson School of Law, San Diego, USA)*

*Deadly Pipeline Politics in Kosovo and Afghanistan*

*Vladimir Ortakovski (U Sts. Cyril and Methodius, Macedonia)*

*Spreading the Kosovo Conflict and Constitutional Changes in the Republic of Macedonia*

Discussant: *Agron Alibali, LL.M. (Independent Scholar, Cambridge, MA, USA)*

**PANEL CA1 (XI) CHANGING FACES OF CENTRAL ASIA  
• ROOM 1027**

Chair: *Rafis Abazov (La Trobe U, Australia)*

Papers: *Ertan Efegil and Ayse Mine Olcay (Eastern Mediterranean U, Turkey)*

Cooperation among the Great Powers on Central Asia: Peace, Stability, and Economic Development Opportunities

*Farrukh Salikhov (Rutgers U at Newark, USA)*

Democratic Aggregation of Personal Interest in Afghanistan: A Public Administration Perspective

*Jamilya Ukudeeva (U of California at Riverside, USA)*

National Democratic Movements in Kyrgyzstan and Azerbaijan

*Doulatbek Khidirbekughli (Kazakh-American U, Kazakhstan)*

Kazakhstan's Place in US Policy towards Central Asia

*Kamchybek Omurzakov (Bishkek International School of Management and Business, Kyrgyzstan)*

The Changing Perception of Islam in Kyrgyzstan

Discussant: *Cholpon Kasymalieva (U of Richmond, USA)*

**PANEL G14 (XI) ECONOMICS AND TRANSITION • ROOM 902**

Chair: *Dominique Colas (Institut d'Etudes Politiques, Paris, France)*

Papers: *Yulia Bolotskikh (U of Pittsburgh, USA)*

Rethinking the Global and the National: Russia's New Capitalist Class, Economy, and Society

*Iryna Zayachuk (Ohio U, USA)*

Foreign Capital Inflows and Estonia's  
Transition to a Market Economy during  
1991–1999.

*Marcel Tomasek (Institute of Philosophy and  
Sociology, Poland)*

Corruption or the System? Economic  
Transition, a New State, and Systemic  
Corruption in the Czech Republic

*Oleksiy Omelyanchuk (Central European U,  
Hungary)*

Explaining State Capture and State  
Capture Modes: The Cases of Russia  
and Ukraine

*Anna Lebedev (Institut d'Etudes Politiques, Paris,  
France)*

Democratization, Stability, and Middle  
Class in the Post-Soviet Russia

Discussant: *Peter G. Laurens (Columbia U, USA)*

**PANEL BK4 (XI) PAST AND FUTURE IN BULGARIA AND MACEDONIA  
• ROOM 802**

Chair: *Nadine Akhund (Independent Scholar, New York,  
USA)*

Papers: *Nadège Ragaru (Institut d'Etudes Politiques,  
Lille, France)*

The Former "King" and the Former  
"Apparatchick": An Unlikely Duet for a  
Legitimacy Crisis in Post-Communist  
Bulgaria

*Ulf Brunnbauer (U of Graz, Austria)*

The Republic of Macedonia: Security  
and Identity Dilemmas

*Yioryos Makedonis (U College of London, UK)*

Blame the Ethnic, Praise the  
International? Communities in the  
"Republic of Macedonia"

*Joseph Benatov (U of Pennsylvania, USA)*  
Looking Back and Seeing in the Past:  
Kristeva's Western Perspective of  
Bulgaria

Discussant: *Glen D. Camp (Bryant College)*

**PANEL CE6 (XI) ISSUES OF EASTWARD ENLARGEMENT • ROOM 700**

Chair: *Vejas Liulevicius (U of Tennessee, USA)*

Papers: *Ruth Ferrero (Columbia U, USA)*

Eastern Enlargement and National  
Minorities

*Neophytos G. Loizides (U of Toronto, Canada)*

The Politics of Nationalism in the  
Eastern Mediterranean and the Cyprus  
EU Accession Process

*Monika Mokre (Austrian Academy of Sciences,  
Austria)*

Collective Identities in the Enlarged  
European Union

*Effie Fokas (London School of Economics, UK)*

The Cyclical Debate between Islamists,  
Government, and Military: Is Islamism  
or Secularism the Greater Barrier to  
Turkey-EU Relations?

Discussant: *Marie-Joelle Zahar (Université de Montréal,  
Canada)*

**6:30 P.M.**

**RECEPTION, ATRIUM, 15TH FLOOR**

## FILMS AT THE ASN 2002 CONVENTION

*For more details on the film presentations, refer to the number between brackets in the Convention Panels listing.*

**[V1] *A High Level Delegation*  
(*Une délégation de très haut niveau*)**

Thursday, 11 April, 1.00 p.m.,  
Room 1219  
Belgium 2000 (52 mins.)  
Directed by Philippe Dutilleul,  
Radio Télévision Française Belge  
In French (English subtitles)



**[V2] *Oil Odyssey***

Thursday, 11 April, 3.15 p.m., Room 1219  
USA/ Azerbaijan 2002 (30 mins.)  
Written and directed by Thomas Goltz, Space Television, Baku,  
Azerbaijan  
*Thomas Goltz will lead the discussion following the screening.*

**[V3] *SS in Britain***

Thursday, 11 April, 5.30 p.m., Room 1219  
UK 2000 (55 mins.)  
Directed by Julian Hendy, Yorkshire TV, Leeds, UK  
*Timothy Snyder (Yale U, USA) will lead the discussion following the screening.*

**[V4] *Two Documentaries on Afghan Refugees***

Friday, 12 April, 9.00 a.m., Room 1219  
The Afghan Refugees in Mashad, Iran; Jalozei Camp, Pakistan;  
Maslakh Camp, Herat, Afghanistan (March 2001, 30 mins.)  
18 days with Afghan Refugees in Peshawar (November 2001,  
30 mins.)  
USA 2001  
Directed and produced by Najib Aziz Amiri

*Fraiba Nawa (Independent Journalist) will lead the discussion following the screening.*



**[V5] Short Documentaries from Cinema Verite International**

Friday, 12 April, 9.00 a.m., Room 1027

This presentation will feature documentary shorts from Cinema Verite International. *The Former Soviet Union: Moving into the Future*, *The Former Soviet Union: Religious Birth*, *Suicide Bombers Cannot Silence Children's Voices*, and two short films on Mexico.

*Director Mildred Pollner will present the short documentaries.*

**[V6] *Allies and Lies***

Friday, 12 April, 11.15 a.m., Room 1219

UK 2001 (55 mins.)

Directed by David Hedbitch, BBC

*Susan Woodward (Graduate Center, City U of New York, USA) will lead the discussion after the screening.*

**[V7] *My Mother's Village***

Friday, 12 April, 11.15 a.m., Room 1027

Canada 2001 (100 mins.)

Directed by John Paskievich

**[V8] *L'Opium des Talibans***

Friday, 12 April, 2.15 p.m., Room 1219

France 2001 (90 mins.)

Directed by François Margolin

In French and Afghan languages (English subtitles)

*John Schoeberlein (Harvard U, USA) will lead the discussion following the screening.*

**[V9] *American Gypsy. A Stranger in Everybody's Land***

Friday, 12 April, 2.15 p.m., Room 1027

USA 2000 (80 minutes)

Directed by Jasmine Dellal

In English and Romani (English subtitles)

*Director Jasmine Dellal will be present at the screening.*

*David Crowe (Elon College) will lead the discussion following the screening.*

**[V10] *Bring Me the Head of Georgiy Gongadze***

Friday, 12 April, 4.30 p.m., Room 1219

USA 2002 (60 mins., work in progress)

Directed by Susie Davis

*Director Susie Davis will be present at the screening.*

**[V11] *Yugoslavia – The Avoidable War, Part I***

Saturday, 13 April, 9.00 a.m., Room 1219

Directed by George Bogdanich and Martin Lettmayer

USA 1999 (180 mins.)

*George Bogdanich (Filmmaker, New York, USA) will field questions following the screening that will take place in two installments over two consecutive panel slots.*

**[V12] *Yugoslavia – The Avoidable War, Part II***

Saturday, 13 April, 11.15 a.m.,

Room 1219

Directed by George Bogdanich and Martin Lettmayer

USA 1999 (180 mins.)

*George Bogdanich (Filmmaker, New*

*York, USA) will field questions following the screening that will take place in two installments over two consecutive panel slots.*



**[V13] *Qala Jangi (Rough Cut, work in progress)***

Saturday, 13 April, 11.15 a.m., Room 1027

Directed by Dodge Billingsley

USA 2002 (approx. 30 mins.)

*Dodge Billingsley will present his film-in-progress.*

*The film will be preceded by the paper presentation “Talibanized Pakistan’s Afghan Imbrolio: A Thread that Connects Kashmir to Pushtunistan,” by Kailash Mohapatra (U of Rhode Island, USA).*

*William Buckley (Georgetown U, USA) will chair the panel/film screening/discussion.*

*Robert Ware (Southern Illinois U at Carbondale, USA) will lead the discussion following the screening/paper presentation.*

**[V14] *Time To Gather Stones***

Saturday, 13 April, 4.30 p.m., Room 1219

Moldova 2001 (52 mins.)

Directed by Sergey Tcaci

In Russian without subtitles

*Director Sergey Tcaci, Producer Igor Shapovalov and Screenwriter Valery Demidetsky will be present at the screening. Charles King (Georgetown U) will lead the discussion following the screening.*



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