

**ASN 9th Annual World Convention  
Harriman Institute, Columbia University  
15-17 April 2004**

Registration: Thursday, 11 AM-6 PM; Friday, Saturday, 8 AM-5 PM  
Book Exhibit: Thursday 1-6 PM; Friday, Saturday, 9 AM-6 PM  
Sales of Convention Papers: Friday 11 AM-6 PM; Saturday 9 AM-6 PM  
Opening Reception: Thursday 7 PM  
Closing Reception: Saturday 7 PM

**Final Program  
as of 10 April 2004**

**Session I  
Thursday 15 April: 1.00-3.00 PM**

Panel (Thursday 15 April: 1:00-3:00)  
BK11: Negotiating Regional, National and Supranational Identity in the post-Communist Balkans

Chair  
Dusan Boric (Columbia U, US)  
<db2128@columbia.edu>

Papers  
John E. Ashbrook (St Cloud State U, US)  
<jeashbrook@stcloudstate.edu>  
Buying the Istrian Goat: The Economy and Regionalism in the 1990s

Zala Volcic (U of Colorado, US/U of Maribor, Slovenia)  
<zala.volcic@colorado.edu><zala.volcic@uni-mb.si>  
Marching from an "Artificial" Yugoslav Identity Towards the "Real" Serbian National Identity

Maria Stoilkova (Columbia U, US)  
<ms2684@columbia.edu>  
Negotiating Belonging in Postsocialist Bulgaria

Discussant  
Ana Devic (Aarhus U, Denmark)  
<devic@ps.au.dk>

Panel (Thursday 15 April: 1:00-3:00)  
BK13: Protectorates or Partnerships?

## Challenges for the International Community in Bosnia and Kosovo (Roundtable)

### Chair

Gordon N. Bardos (Columbia U, US)  
<gnb12@columbia.edu>

### Participants

Gerald Knaus (European Stability Initiative, Berlin, Germany)  
<r.gosejohann@esiweb.org>

Florian Bieber (European Centre for Minority Issues, Belgrade, Serbia)  
<bieberf@gmx.net>

Susan Woodward (CUNY Graduate School, US)  
<swoodward@gc.cuny.edu>

### Panel (Thursday 15 April: 1:00-3:00)

#### CE6: Roma Identity: Transnational Definitions, Institutions, and Community

### Chair

Susan E Hamilton (Dzeno NGO, NY, US)  
<sh@hamven.com>

### Papers

Eben Friedman (European Centre for Minority Issues, Germany)  
<friedman@ecmi.de>

"Avant-Garde of the Indian Proletariat" to "*MEGREO*": Social-Scientific  
Analyses of the "Gypsy Question" in Communist Czechoslovakia

Caroline Bayard (McMaster U, Canada)  
<bayard@mcmaster.ca>

The Roms in the Larger Europe, 2004

Zsuzsanna Vidra (Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales [EHESS], Paris,  
France)

<vzsuzsanna@hotmail.com>

The Construction of Ethnic Identity in the Public Discourses of Roma Elite: Case  
Study of a Hungarian Town

### Discussant

David Crowe (Elon U, US)  
<crowed@elon.edu>

### Panel (Thursday 15 April: 1:00-3:00)

#### G3: Reshaping Jewish Identity

Chair

Nickolai Butkevich (Union of Councils for Jews in the Former Soviet Union,  
Washington, DC, US)  
<nbutkevich@ucsj.com>

Papers

Olivia Gomolinski (Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales,  
France/Columbia U/US)  
<og2105@columbia.edu>

The Question of Jewish Identity, through the Personality of the Bolshevik  
Leader Solomon Abramovich Lozovsky (1878-1952)

Boris Morozov (Tel Aviv U, Israel)

<khanin@post.tau.ac.il>

Rethinking Jewish Emigration: Identity and Ethnicity in the Cold War Era

Sarah Fainberg (Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris, France)

<mashafainberg@hotmail.com>

The Identity Trajectories of Russian Jews from the Six-Day War up to Now

Lisa Vapné (Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris, France)

<lvapne@yahoo.com>

Persistence and Changes in the Identity of Jews in Belarus after the Collapse of  
USSR

Bella Zisère (Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris, France)

<bella.zisere@sciences-po.org>

Jewish Identity as Point of Reference of Latvian Jewry After the Perestroika.

Discussant

Lisbeth Tarlow (Harvard U, US)

<tarlow@fas.harvard.edu>

**Panel (Thursday 15 April: 1:00-3:00)**

**R5: Marriage and Communal Boundaries**

Chair

Nathaniel Knight (Seton Hall U, US)

<knightna@shu.edu>

Papers

Paul Werth (U of Nevada, US)

<werthp@nevada.edu>

Legal Regulation of 'Mixed' (Interconfessional) Marriage in the Russian Empire

Dmitry Gorenburg (Woodrow Wilson Center, US)  
<gorenbur@alumni.princeton.edu>  
Interethnic Marriage and Ethnic Assimilation in the Post-War Soviet Union

ChaeRan Freeze (Brandeis U, US)  
<cfreeze@brandeis.edu>  
The Marriage Question among Converted Jews in Imperial Russia

Discussant  
Richard Wortman (Columbia U, US)  
<rsw3@columbia.edu>

Panel (Thursday 15 April: 1:00-3:00)  
U10: Literary Mystifications and Their Social Function (Roundtable)

Chair  
Myroslava Znayenko (Rutgers U, US)  
<mtz2@columbia.edu>

Participants  
George Grabowycz (Harvard U, US)  
<Grabowic@fas.harvard.edu>

Taras Koznarsky (U of Toronto, Canada)  
<taras.koznarsky@utoronto.ca>

Vitaly Chernetsky (Harvard U, US)  
<vchernet@fas.harvard.edu>

Halyna Hryn (Harvard U, US)  
<HalynaHryn@aol.com>

Panel (Thursday 15 April: 1:00-3:00)  
V10/CA11: Recent Films from Afghanistan

*Dangerous Journey*  
US 2003 (20 mins.)  
Produced by Sedika Mojadidi and Erica Soehngen  
smojadidi@hotmail.com

After leaving Afghanistan for the US in 1972, Sedika Mojadidi returns to Kabul for the first time in thirty years. Sedika seeks the stories behind Afghanistan's staggering maternal mortality rates and whether or not women's lives have really changed since the fall of the Taliban. Dr. Mojadidi hopes that with the support of the US funding for the hospital, he can set in motion the changes needed to stem this epidemic. Despite his determination, Sedika finds him

struggling against disillusionment. By spending weeks in the labor and delivery ward, Sedika meets women facing the new realities of life under reconstruction.

*Sedika Mojadidi will lead the discussion following the screening.*

Followed by *A Vacation for Safawi*  
US 2001 (48 mins.)  
English, Swedish, Dari (with English subtitles)  
Directed by Carl Larsson  
cltvfilm@yahoo.com

The film is a piece of modern history from the weeks when the Taliban regime was being defeated. By the time Safawi is about to have his first vacation in two years, Mazar-e Sharif the second largest city in the country, is liberated from the Taliban. Safawi has his mind made up. He sees the opportunity to make fast money working as an interpreter for foreign war correspondents. He is determined to build a house in Kabul for his family as soon as the war is over.

*Rameen Moshref Javid (Executive Director, Afghan Communicator, rameen@afghancommunicator.com) will lead the discussion following the screening.*

## Session II Thursday 15 April, 3.15-5.15 PM

Panel (Thursday 15 April, 3:15-5:15)  
BK14: Interethnic Coexistence in the Balkans: The Example of Macedonia

### Chair

Peter Jordan (Austrian Institute of East and Southeast European Studies, Austria)  
<peter.jordan@osi.ac.at>

### Papers

Thede Kahl (Austrian Institute of East and Southeast European Studies, Austria)  
<thede.kahl@osi.ac.at>  
Macedonia and the Albanians

Hélène Sironi (Political Geography and Gender Studies, U of Berne, Switzerland)  
<sironi@giub.unibe.ch>  
Women's Initiatives for Enhancing Quality of Life and Overcoming Ethnic and Religious Barriers

Inan Ruma (Middle East Tech U, Turkey)  
<ruma@metu.edu.tr>  
Cul-de-Sac: The Common State Proposal in Macedonia

Discussant  
Gabriele Rasuly-Paleczek (U of Vienna, Austria)  
<Gabriele.Rasuly@univie.ac.at>

**Panel (Thursday 15 April, 3:15-5:15)**  
**CA2: Privatization in Eurasia Ten Years Later:  
Legal and Ethnographic Perspective (Roundtable)**

Chair  
Daria Hai Vaisman (Columbia U, US)  
<dhv2002@columbia.edu>

Papers  
Eric Sievers (Baker & McKenzie, New York, US)  
<eric.w.sievers@bakernet.com>

Scott Horton (Patterson, Belknap, Webb & Tyler LLP, New York, US)  
<shorton@pbwt.com>

Stephen Collier (New School U, US)  
<colliers@newschool.edu>

Neema Noori (Columbia U, US)  
<nn88@columbia.edu>

**Panel (Thursday 15 April, 3:15-5:15)**  
**CE5: Ethnicity and Change in Three Baltic Cities: Tallinn, Riga, Vilnius**

Chair  
Vejas Liulevicius (U of Tennessee, US)  
<vliulevi@utk.edu>

Papers  
Ulrike Hirschhausen (U of Göttingen, Germany)  
<uhirschhausen@web.de>  
Multiethnicity and the Borders of Civil Society: Riga, 1860-1914

Bradley Woodworth (Independent Scholar, New Haven, US)  
<bradley.woodworth@yale.edu>  
Reval to Tallinn, 1900-1920: A German Town in the Russian Empire Becomes Estonian

Theodore R. Weeks (Southern Illinois U, US)  
<tadeusz@siu.edu>  
From Russian to Polish: Vilna/Wilno 1914-1924

Discussant  
Eric Lohr (American U, US)  
<elohr@american.edu>

**Panel (Thursday 15 April, 3:15-5:15)**  
**K8: Citizenship, Elections and Orientation in Azerbaijan and Georgia**

Chair  
Tamara Zurabishvili (New School U, US)  
<tamzge@yahoo.com>

Papers  
Christian Staerklé (UCLA, US) and Carine Bachman (CIMERA, Yerevan, Armenia)  
<staerklé@issr.ucla.edu><carine.bachmann@cimera.org>  
Popular Conceptions of Citizenship in the South Caucasus: A Survey Study

Sabine Freizer (LSE, UK)  
Azerbaijan and Georgia in Fall 2003: Lessons to be Learned for Central Asia?  
<sabine\_freizer@hotmail.com>

Kelli Hash (American U, US)  
<kelhash@yahoo.com>  
Fear and Loathing in the Caucasus: Affect, Societal Beliefs, and Foreign Policy  
Between Georgia and Russia

Discussant  
Stephen Jones (Mt Holyoke College, US)  
<sfjones@mtholyoke.edu>

**Panel (Thursday 15 April, 3:15-5:15)**  
**N7: The Role of International Organisations in the Prevention, Management  
and Settlement of Self-Determination Conflicts**

Chair  
Eben Friedman (European Centre for Minority Issues, Germany)  
<friedman@ecmi.de>

Papers  
Mark Weller (European Centre for Minority Issues, Germany/Cambridge U, UK)  
<mw148@cam.ac.uk>  
Addressing Self-Determination Conflicts: The Universal Layer

Florian Bieber (European Centre for Minority Issues, Belgrade, Serbia)  
<bieberf@gmx.net>

Can Self-Determination Disputes Be Prevented? The Record of International Efforts to Prevent Violent Conflict in Southeastern Europe

Stefan Wolff (U of Bath, UK)  
<S.Wolff@bath.ac.uk>

Conflict Prevention and Crisis Management: Lessons from the European Union's Policy in the Balkans

Pieter van Houten (U of Cambridge, UK)  
<pjv24@cam.ac.uk>

The World Bank: Managing Ethnic Conflict through Development?

Discussant

John Packer (Harvard U/Tufts U, US)  
<john.packer@tufts.edu><john\_packer@ksg.harvard.edu>

**Panel (Thursday 15 April, 3:15-5:15)**

**U7: Ukrainian Nation-Building and National Identity Formation**

Chair

Zenon Kohut (U of Alberta, Canada)  
<zenon.kohut@ualberta.ca>

Papers

Brian Boeck (Loyola Marymount U, US)  
<bboeck@lmu.edu>

Semantic Separation and the Rise of the Ukrainian National Name

Alexander Dillon (Harvard U, US)  
<alex Dillon@earthlink.net>

Between Russia and Ukraine: The Cooperative Movement on the Black Sea Steppe, 1917-1920

John Holian (Independent Scholar, Ohio, US)  
<john.holian@tri-c.edu.>

Conducting a Village Ethnography

Discussant

Hugo Lane (Polytechnic U, Brooklyn, US)  
<hlane@duke.poly.edu>

**Panel (Thursday 15 April, 3.15-5.15)**

**V6/CE13: *Hungarian Certificate ID* (Video Presentation). Directed by Gábor Ferenczi (Hungary, 2003). In Hungarian with English subtitles.**



In June of 2001, Hungary passed the "Status Law," a controversial law which grants special benefits to ethnic Hungarians in Romania, Slovakia, Ukraine and former Yugoslavia through ethnic Hungarian ID cards administered by the Hungarian state. The documentary is an ironic and critical look at how the implementation of the ethnic ID card system in 2002 has affected the lives of ethnic Hungarians in Romania. It follows a number of individuals as they learn about, debate, and attempt to take advantage of the ID cards and the benefits they promise. In this way, the film offers a unique window into the flexible, contradictory and often instrumental nature of ethnic, religious, and national identities in post-communist Europe.

*Myra Waterbury (New School U, US) will lead the discussion following the screening.*

### Session III Thursday 15 April, 5.30-7.30 PM

Panel (Thursday 15 April, 5.30-7.30)  
BK6: Kosovo 1999 (Scholars' Initiative)

Chair  
Milena Michalski (U College London, UK)  
<mlmajw@btinternet.com>

Papers  
Amy Lyreman (Joint Analysis Center, US European Command, UK)  
<Amy.Lyreman@jac.eucom.mil>  
Albanian Armed Movements and their Centers of Power

James Gow (King's College London, UK)  
<mlmajw@btinternet.com>  
NATO, Serbia and Kosovo 1999: Strategy and War Crimes

Ivan Zverzhanovski (King's College London, UK)  
<ivan.zverzhanovski@kcl.ac.uk>  
Security Sector Reform in Serbia and Montenegro: Partnership for Peace Versus the War Crimes Legacy

Alan Kuperman (John Hopkins U, Bologna, Italy)  
<Akuperman@jhuc.it>  
Kosovo: the Grand Strategy of the KLA

Discussant  
Jan Willem Honig (King's College London, UK)  
<jan.honig@kcl.ac.uk>

**Panel (Thursday 15 April, 5.30-7.30)**  
**CE11: The Baltic Republics: Contemporary History and Current Challenges**

Chair

Saulius Suziedelis (Millersville U, US)  
<Saulius.Suziedelis@millersville.edu>

Papers

Ginta T. Palubinskas (George Mason U, US)  
<gpalubin@gmu.edu>  
Desovietization: Democratic State-Building in Lithuania

Richard Mole (U College London, UK)  
<r.mole@ucl.ac.uk>

The Discourse of European Identity in the Baltic States: Talking Security?

Juris Dreifelds (Brock U, Canada)  
<dreifeld@mergetel.com>

Defensive Language Policies in Latvia and Quebec

Discussant

Tomas Balkelis (U of Toronto, Canada)  
<balkelis@chass.utoronto.ca>

**Panel (Thursday 15 April, 5.30-7.30)**  
**G13: Reconciling the Nation and the State:  
New Challenges in the Prevention of Ethnic Conflict  
A Special Address by the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities**

Introductory Remarks

David Crowe (Outgoing ASN President)  
and Dominique Arel (Incoming ASN President)

Presentation

The Hon. Rolf Ekeus (OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities, The Hague, Netherlands)

**Panel (Thursday 15 April, 5.30-7.30)**  
**R7: Russian Identity in the Tsarist Empire**

Chair

Kimitaka Matsuzato (Hokkaido U, Japan)  
<kim@slav.hokudai.ac.jp>

Papers

George Liber (U of Alabama Birmingham, US)

<gliber@uab.edu>

Reassessing the Russian Empire as a Multi-National Empire

Olga Maiorova (U of Michigan, US)

<maiorova@umich.edu>

The Polish Uprising of 1863 and Redefinition of Russian National Identity

Claudia Weiss (U Bundeswehr Hamburg, Germany)

<claudiaweiss@mac.com>

"Nash": Appropriating Siberia for the Russian Empire

Sergei Medvedev (Marshall Center, Germany)

<sergei@gaponline.de>

Space Management and the National-Security State in Russia

Discussant

Nathaniel Knight (Seton Hall U, US)

<knightna@shu.edu>

**Panel (Thursday 15 April, 5.30-7.30)**

**TK3: Discourses of Nationalism in Turkey**

Chair

John Webster (Oxford U, UK)

<john.webster@st-antonys.oxford.ac.uk>

Papers

Sener Akturk (U California Berkeley, US)

<sakturk@uclink.berkeley.edu>

Eurasianism Turkish-Style: The Origins and the Rise of Eurasianism in Turkey

Iklim Goksel (U of Illinois at Chicago, US)

<igoksel@msn.com>

Drink Cola Turca, Eat Kokorec!: Rhetorics of Nationalism and the European Union

Laurent Dissard (U California Berkeley, US)

<dissard@uclink.berkeley.edu>

Kemalism and Hittite Archaeology

Discussant

Peride Kaleagasi-Blind (Georgetown U, US)

<peride@yahoo.com>

**Panel (Thursday 15 April, 5.30-7.30)**  
**U4: Ukrainian Migration, Migrants and Diasporas**

Chair

Marta Dyczok (U of Western Ontario, Canada)  
<mdyczok@uwo.ca>

Papers

Ihor Stebelsky (U of Windsor, Canada)  
<stebels@uwindsor.ca>

Ukrainians in Russia in 2002: A Preliminary Assessment of Census Results

Catherine Wanner (Pennsylvania State U, US)  
<cew10@psu.edu>

Religion, Refugees and Locating Home: Comparing Settlement Patterns Among Emigrés from Ukraine Since World War II

Stephan De Spiegeleire (Rand Europe, Netherlands) & Tetyana Dikhtyar (U of Minnesota, US)

<stephan@rand.org><tdikhtyar@hhh.umn.edu>

The Invisible Foot - The Impact of Migration on Ukraine's Regions

Discussant

Wsewolod Isajiw (U of Toronto, Canada)  
<isajiw@chass.utoronto.ca>

**Panel (Thursday 15 April, 5.30-7.30)**

**V5/BK22 *War for Peace* (Video Presentation). Directed by Koca Pavlovic (obalaprodukcija@cg.yu). Montenegro, 2003.**

The TV documentary *War for Peace* highlights the chain of events that lead to the 1991 siege of Dubrovnik and explores the internal dynamics of the entire process. It presents this military campaign as a segment of a larger story about expansionist nationalism, and war for territories and ideologies in the former SFR Yugoslavia. It also compares past and present views of participants in the process (politicians, army commanders, soldiers, journalists), as well as various observers such as political analysts, historians, and ordinary people. This film offers a comprehensive analysis of the entire campaign and is based on archival material (both video and audio) and on a number of interviews with individuals! that participated in the events.

*The screening of the documentary will be preceded by the presentation of the paper "Reckoning: the 1991 Siege of Dubrovnik," by Srdja Pavlovic (U of Alberta, Canada, srdjapavlovic@yahoo.com).*

**Opening Reception: 7.30 PM**

**Session IV**  
**Friday 16 April, 9-11 AM**

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 9-11 AM)**

**BK7: Formation of National Identity in the Southern Balkans (late 19th-early 20th century)**

Chair

Glen Camp (Bryant College, US)

<gcamp@bryant.edu>

Papers

Angelo Georgakis (Westmont College, US)

<georgaki@westmont.edu>

The Young Turks, Salonika, and Greek Identity, 1880-1912

Stefan Detchev (U of Blayoegrad, Bulgaria)

<stdetchev@yahoo.com>

Between "Slavic," "Bulgarian," "Balkan" and "European" - Russophile and Russophobe Ideologies about Bulgarian National Identity, 1886-1894

Discussant

Nadine Akhund (Columbia U, US)

<EDarA@aol.com>

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 9-11 AM)**

**BK12: The Dynamics of Nationalist Mobilization in former Yugoslavia**

Chair

Chip Gagnon (Ithaca College, US)

<vgagnon@ithaca.edu>

Papers

Nina Caspersen (London School of Economics & Political Science, UK)

<n.f.caspersen@lse.ac.uk>

Processes of Outbidding in the Serbian Democratic Party: Intra-party Flanking in Croatia and Bosnia

Aleksandra Sasha Milicevic (UCLA, US)

<sasham@ucla.edu>

From MTV to Czar Lazar: Nation, Myth and Warfare in Serbia (1991-1992)

Discussant

Neophytos Loizides (Kennedy School, Harvard U, US)

<neophytos\_loizides@ksg.harvard.edu>

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 9-11 AM)**

**CA5: Islamist Movements in Central Asia and the Middle East**

Chair

Steve Sabol (U of North Carolina, Charlotte)  
<sosabol@email.uncc.edu>

Papers

Ismail Demirezen (U of Maryland College Park, US)  
<idemirezen@socy.umd.edu>

Dynamics of Islamist Movements in the Middle East

Mirjam Künkler (Columbia U, US)

<mk2081@columbia.edu>

Advocating Women's Rights in the Language of Islamic Sacred Texts: The  
Tripartite Struggle for Women's Rights in Iran

Edward Schatz (Southern Illinois U, Carbondale, US)

<schatz@siu.edu>

Toward a Comparative Perspective on Central Asia's Islamist Movements

Discussant

Berna Turam (Hampshire College, US)  
<bernaturam@hotmail.com>

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 9-11 AM)**

**CE2: Jewish Life in Poland and Ukraine**

Chair

Joshua Zimmerman (Yeshiva U, NY, US)  
<JZimme6084@aol.com>

Papers

Robin Ostow (U of Toronto, Canada)  
<rostow@chass.utoronto.ca>

Problems of Musealizing Jewish Memory in Warsaw: Before World War II and  
Today

Jeffrey Shandler (Rutgers U, US)

<shandler@rci.rutgers.edu>

Staging the Shtetl: Yaffa Eliach's Shtetl Museum

Vladimir Khanin (Bar-Ilan U, Israel)

<khaninz@mail.biu.ac.il>

The Struggle for the Holocaust Memory, the Civil Society and Prospects for Ethnic Peace in Ukraine: the Babii Yar Heritage Center Project Crisis

Discussant

Joanna Michlic (Brandeis U, US)  
<jmichlic@brandeis.edu>

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 9-11 AM)**

**G1: Language and Identity in Areas of Ethnic Conflict (Roundtable)**

Chair

Antonina Berezovenko (Columbia U, US)  
<ab476@columbia.edu>

Participants

Mica Hall (Defence Language Institute, Monterey, US)  
<mica.hall@lackland.af.mil>

Vesna Zrinski (Medina Language Center, US)  
<vesnazrinski@hotmail.com>

Branko Grdjic (Defence Language Institute, Monterey, US)  
<branko.grdjic@lackland.af.mil>

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 9-11 AM)**

**G11: Federalism & Self-Determination**

Chair

Dominique Colas (Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris, France)  
<dcolas@noos.fr>

Papers

André Liebich (Graduate Institute of International Studies, Switzerland)  
<liebich@hei.unige.ch>

No Self-Determination Without Justification: The Case for Czechoslovakia During World War I

Asli Sirin (Bilgi U, Turkey)  
<asirin@bilgi.edu.tr>

Secede or Not To Secede: Three Cases Of Nationalism From Socialist Federal Republic Of Yugoslavia

Oleh Protsyk (European Centre for Minority Issues, Germany)  
<protsyk@policy.hu>

Ethno-Political Conflicts in Moldova: Can Federalization Solve Them?

Discussant

Stefano Bianchini (U of Bologna, Italy)  
<bianchini@spbo.unibo.it>

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 9-11 AM)**

**K3: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Addressing the Meskhetian Dilemma:  
Human Rights, Citizenship, Immigration Policy, Identity**

Chair

Elise Giuliano (U of Miami, US)  
<egiulian@miami.edu>

Papers

Steve Swerdlow (UC Berkeley, US)  
<sms2008@columbia.edu>

Human Rights and Immigration Policy: The Changing Face of Discrimination and  
Solutions for the Deported Meskhetian Population

Mark Hetfield (Immigration Counsel, United States Commission on International  
Religious Freedom)

<mhetfield@uscirf.gov>

Washington's Policy on Meskhetian Resettlement: An Insider Perspective

Lisa Koriouchkina (Brown U, US)

<Lisa\_Kor@brown.edu>

Meskhetian Turks and the Predicament of Citizenship: A Comparative  
Perspective

Indra Overland (Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Norway)  
International Organisations and the Meskhetian Turks

Discussant

Oxana Shevel (Purdue U, US)  
<shevel@polsci.purdue.edu>

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 9-11 AM)**

**CA8 : Regime Change in Central Asia/Russia's Influence (Roundtable)  
*Sponsored by Transitions Online (TOL)***

Chair

Andrew Gardner (*Transitions Online*, Prague, Czech Republic)  
<gardnera@tol.cz>

Participants

Peter Rutland (Wesleyan, U, US)  
<prutland@wesleyan.edu>



Russia and the Georgian Example:  
Impact of Putin's Reelection on Regimes in Central Asia

Alisher Khamidov (John Hopkins U, US)  
<akhamido@nd.edu>  
The Impact of Political Patronage Networks on  
Potential Regime Change and Uzbekistan

Richard Giragosian (Abt Associates, Inc, Washington, DC, US)  
<giragosi@msn.com>  
Regions at Risk: The Russian Reassertion of Influence in the South Caucasus &  
Central Asia

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 9-11 AM)**  
**R8: Geopolitics and Geo-Economics of Eurasia (Roundtable)**

Chair  
Ariel Cohen (US)  
<ariel.cohen@heritage.org>

Participants  
Stephen Blank (US Army War College, US)  
<Stephen.Blank@carlisle.army.mil>  
Russian Attempts to Penetrate Neighbors' Infrastructure

Edward C. Chow (Carnegie Endowment, Washington, DC, US)  
<echow@ceip.org>  
North East Asia - The Dragon Awakes?

Robert O Freedman (Baltimore Hebrew U, US)  
<freedman@bhu.edu>  
Russia, Iran and the Caspian

Robert Cutler (Institute of European and Russian Studies, Carleton U, Canada)  
<rmc@alum.mit.edu>  
Eurasian Pipelines as a Complex System

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 9-11 AM)**  
**U9: How Does Transliteration Reflect National Identity:  
The Case of Ukrainian (Roundtable)**

Chair  
Larissa Onyshkevych (Shevchenko Scientific Society, New York, US)  
<Larissa@Onyshkevych.com>

Participants

Andriy Danylenko (Pace U, US)  
<adanylenko@pace.edu>

Michael Flier (Harvard U, US)  
<flier@fas.harvard.edu>

Yuriy Tarnawsky (Shevchenko Scientific Society, New York, US)  
<yutar@computer.net>

Myroslava Znayenko (Rutgers U, US)  
<mtz2@columbia.edu>

**Session V**  
**Friday 16 April, 11.15 AM-1.15 PM**

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 11.15 AM-1.15 PM)**  
**BK5: Processes of Post Conflict Reconstruction: Reports from Bosnia and Kosovo**

Chair  
Gordon N. Bardos (Columbia U, US)  
<gnb12@columbia.edu>

Papers  
Anne Sofie Pedersen (Institute of Anthropology, U of Copenhagen, Denmark)  
<annesofieped@hotmail.com>  
The Fight over Real Security: Peacekeepers Face Civilian Decisionmakers in Kosovo

Gulnur Aybet (U of Kent, UK)  
<G.Aybet@kent.ac.uk>  
Inter-institutional Frameworks in Post Conflict Bosnia: Functionalism and International Norms

Ana Devic (Aarhus U, Denmark)  
<devic@ps.au.dk>  
Waste After Waste? Perceptions of the Post-Conflict International Assistance in Kosovo

Haluk Uçel (Bilgi U, Turkey)  
<haluku@bilgi.edu.tr>  
Infrastructure of Television in Post Conflict Bosnia and Hercegovina

Discussant  
Chip Gagnon (Ithaca College, US)  
<vgagnon@ithaca.edu>

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 11.15 AM-1.15 PM)**  
**BK8: The Uses of History and Knowledge: Teaching, Researching and Remembering the Past in Southeastern Europe**

Chair

Charles Ingrao (Purdue U, US)  
<cingrao@purdue.edu>

Papers

Nadia Kaneva (U of Colorado, US)  
<Nadezhda.Kaneva@colorado.edu>

Whose Memory, Whose History? Discursive Appropriations of Survivor Narratives from Internment Camps in Communist Bulgaria

Oto Luthar (Scientific Research Center Ljubljana, Slovenia)  
<Luthar@zrc-sazu.si>

Old Frame, New Picture!? History Teaching in Slovenia After 1991

Besnik Pula (U of Michigan, US)  
<bpula@umich.edu>

Can Knowledge be National? Institutions, Knowledge and the Nation

Discussant

Ines Murzaku (Seton Hall U, US)  
<murzakui@shu.edu>

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 11.15 AM-1.15 PM)**  
**CA6: Foreign and Security Policies in Central Asia**

Chair

Michael Rywkin (City College, US)  
<mrywkin@aol.com>

Papers

Sureyya Yigit (Samarkand U, Uzbekistan)  
<samarkand2020@yahoo.com>

Uzbek-Turkish Relations: The End of the Beginning or a Fresh Start?

Odil Ruzaliev (Tufts U, US)  
<uzland@mail.ru>

Turkistan: Consolidating Factors for Its People

Erica Marat Iskakova (U of Bremen, Germany)  
<Iskakova@gsss.uni-bremen.de>

Incoherence in Security Policies in Central Asia

Payam Foroughi (U of Utah, US)  
<PayamForoughi@aol.com>  
Ethno-Islamism, Regionalism, and Counter-Hegemony:  
Components of Chinese Policy toward Central Asia

Discussant  
Ariel Cohen (Heritage Foundation, US)  
<ariel.cohen@heritage.org>

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 11.15 AM-1.15 PM)**  
**CE12: Political Integration and European Union Expansion: Comparing  
Experiences and Mapping Divides**

Chair  
Lydia M Pulsipher (U of Tennessee, US)  
<lpulsiph@utk.edu>

Papers  
Jacques Rupnik (CERI, Paris, France)  
<jacquesrupnik@hotmail.com>  
The “Europeanists” vs “National-Sovereignists” Divide in the Process of East-  
Central Europe’s Integration in the European Union

Toivo Miljan (Wilfrid Laurier U, Canada)  
<tmiljan@wlu.ca>  
Divergent Roads to Europe: A Comparison of Estonia and Poland

Borbala Kriza (Institut d’Etudes Politiques de Paris, France)  
<krizab@freemail.hu>  
Marches and Myths - Comparative Analysis of Far Right Mass Demonstrations in  
Hungary and France

Krzysztof Jasiewicz (Washington & Lee U, US)  
<JasiewiczK@wlu.edu>  
Knocking on the Europe’s Door: The EU Accession Referendum in Poland in a  
Comparative Perspective

Discussant  
Francesco Privitera (U of Bologna, Italy)  
<priviter@spbo.unibo.it>

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 11.15 AM-1.15 PM)**  
**G2: Religion & Politics (Roundtable)**

Chair

Lisbeth Tarlow (Harvard U, US)  
<tarlow@fas.harvard.edu>

Participants  
Thomas W. Simons (Harvard U, US)  
<tsimons@fas.harvard.edu>  
Islam

Zvi Gitelman (U of Michigan, Ann Arbor, US)  
<zvigitel@umich.edu>  
Judaism

Frank Sysyn (U of Alberta, Canada)  
<f.sysyn@utoronto.ca>  
Orthodoxy

Catherine Wanner (Pennsylvania State U, US)  
<cew10@psu.edu>  
Evangelicalism

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 11.15 AM-1.15 PM)**  
**N16: Special Roundtable on Liah Greenfeld's *The Spirit of Capitalism: Nationalism and Economic Growth* (Harvard, 2001).**

Chair  
Jonathan Becker (Bard College, US)  
<jbecker@bard.edu>

Participants  
Cecilia Miller (Wesleyan U, US)  
<cmiller@wesleyan.edu>

Yitzhak Brudny (Hebrew U of Jerusalem, Israel)  
<ybrudny@aol.com>

Peter Rutland (Wesleyan U, US)  
<prutland@mail.wesleyan.edu>

Liah Greenfeld (Boston U, US)  
<lvg@bu.edu>

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 11.15 AM-1.15 PM)**  
**R2: National Identity in Russian Censuses**

Chair  
Mark von Hagen (Columbia U, US)

<mlv2@columbia.edu>

Papers

Juliette Cadiot (Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, US)

<cadiot@fas.harvard.edu>

The 1897 Census: The Limits of Imperial Control and the National Question

David Darrow (Dayton U, US)

<David.Darrow@notes.udayton.edu>

The Russian Empire's First Census and Identities in Late Imperial Russia

Sergei Sokolovsky (Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Russia)

<sokolovskiserg@mail.ru>

The Kriashen Case in the 1926 and 2002 Russian Censuses: The Uses and Abuses of Anthropological Knowledge in Political Discourse

Discussants

William Rosenberg (U of Michigan, Ann Arbor, US)

<wgr@umich.edu>

Francine Hirsch (U of Wisconsin, Madison, US)

<fhirsch@wisc.edu>

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 11.15 AM-1.15 PM)**

**U12: Politics, State-Making and Nation-Building in Belarus**

Chair

Alexandra Hrycak (Reed College, US)

<hrycak@reed.edu>

Papers

Yann Breault (Université du Québec à Montréal [UQAM], Canada)

The Ongoing Transformation of the Belarusian Pan-slavic Identity

<ybreault@mail.com>

Ioulia Shukan (Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris, France)

<ioulia\_sh@yahoo.fr>

The Presidential Partimonialism in Contemporary Belarus : A Case Study of the Direction of Presidential Affairs Under Alexandr Loukachenka's Regime

Peter Voitsekhovskiy (U of Maryland, US)

<pvoitsekhovskiy@gvpt.umd.edu>

A "Denationalized Nation" or an "Opening for the Savior": Alternative Perspectives on Ukraine-Belarus Path Divergence

Discussant

Curt Woolhiser (Harvard U, US)  
<cwoolhis@fas.harvard.edu>

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 11.15 AM-1.15 PM)**  
**V9/CE13 Video Presentation**  
**Days of the Miners: Life and Death of a Working Class Culture**

US 2003 (43 min.), directed by David A. Kideckel

Romania's Jiu Valley 150 year old coal mining culture has come undone by unemployment, dangerous and outmoded production, and disrespect of Romanian society due to miner political violence. The movie depicts mining family struggles to overcome these conditions as it progresses from a memorial service for victims of a Vulcan mine explosion to interviews with people suffering economic decline. Today's conditions are contrasted to mining's heyday from 1850 through socialism's end. The continuing difficulties and dangers of mining are depicted in scenes from a typical work day and of the Vulcan mine disaster. Mining dangers aside, Jiu Valley families worry more about life than death though people take joy where they can, as closing celebration scenes attest.

*David A. Kideckel (Central Connecticut State U, US, Kideckel@mail.ccsu.edu) will lead the discussion following the screening.*

## **Session VI**

### **Friday 16 April, 2.45-4.45**

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 2.45-4.45)**  
**BK9: Artists, Intellectuals**

Chair  
Keith Brown (Brown U, US)  
<keith\_brown@brown.edu>

Papers  
Breda Luthar (U of Ljubljana, Slovenia)  
<breda.luthar@uni-lj.si>  
Celebrity Culture and Formation of Cultural Nationalism

Damjana Mraovic (Institute Of Balkan Studies, Serbia-Montenegro)  
<m\_damjana@yahoo.com>  
Love Stories As a Political Weapon: Women For and Against the Serbian Regime

Vojislava Filipcevic (Columbia U, US)

<vf38@columbia.edu>

"East"/"West" Encounters in the Balkan Cinema: Dichotomies of Loss in Milcho Manchevski's "Before the Rain" and "Dust"

Anna Botta (Smith College, US)

<abotta@smith.edu>

The Siege of Sarajevo: Displacing the Borders of Contemporary Europe

Discussant

Allison Comins-Richmond (Occidental College, Los Angeles, US)

<ace@oxy.edu>

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 2.45-4.45)**

**BK19: Perspectives on Bosnia-Herzegovina**

Chair

Timothy Donais (York U, Canada)

<tdonais@yorku.ca>

Papers

Francine Friedman (Ball State U, US)

<fsfriedman@hotmail.com>

Bosnia's 'Final Solution'

Berit Bliesemann (U of the Federal Armed Forces, Hamburg, Germany)

<berit.bliesemann@unibw-hamburg.de>

National and Security Identities in Post-Internal War Societies Between Intra-Societal and International Ideas and Interests.

Camille Germanos (Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris, France)

<jarmushotto@yahoo.com>

Two Maps of BiH Internal Entities: Dayton Limits and War Minefield Borderlines  
Which Concessions for What Peace?

Rory Conces (U of Nebraska at Omaha, US)

<rconces@mail.unomaha.edu>

A Sisyphean Tale: The Pathology of Ethnic Nationalism and the Pedagogy of Forging Humane Democracies in the Balkans

Discussant

James Satterwhite (Bluffton College, US)

<satterwhitej@bluffton.edu>

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 2.45-4.45)**

**CA4: Identity among Uzbeks and Tajiks**



Chair

Laura Adams (Georgetown U, US)  
<lladams2@earthlink.net>

Papers

Anaita Khudonazar (Berkeley, US)  
<anaitkin@yahoo.com>

The Image of the "Other" in the Tajik Poetry of the 70's and 80's

Frederique Guérin (Graduate Institute Of International Studies, Switzerland)  
<guerinf1@hei.unige.ch>

Uzbek-Tajik "Eternal Friendship" and the Trials of Modern Identities

Jennifer Barrett (U of Texas, Austin, US)  
<jbb@mail.la.utexas.edu>

Ethnicity, Language, and Religious Identity in Uzbekistan: A Research Note

Discussant

William Beeman (Brown U, US)  
<william\_beeman@brown.edu>

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 2.45-4.45)**

**N8: Everyday Experiences of Nationhood and National Identity**

Chair

Cynthia Miller-Idriss (NYU, US)  
<cynthia.miller.idriss@nyu.edu>

Papers

Elizabeth A. Anderson (NYU, US)  
<eea217@nyu.edu>

"Don't Falsify Our History!" Moldovan Teacher and Student Reactions to State Proposed History Courses

Jon E. Fox (U of California, San Diego, US)  
<j3fox@weber.ucsd.edu>

Missing the Mark: Nationalist Politics and Student Apathy

Lisa Fein (U of Michigan, Ann Arbor, US)  
<lisafein@umich.edu>

Nationality As Practice: Reproducing Difference In Estonia

Discussant

Bess Rothenberg (Clemson U, US)  
<rothenb@clemson.edu>

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 2.45-4.45)**

**CE1: Ghosts of Jewish Past: Casting Shadows Over Contemporary East  
Central European National Identities**

Chair

Donald Jensen (RFE/RL, Washington, DC, US)  
<jensend@rferl.org>

Papers

Jovan Byford (Nottingham Trent U, UK)  
<jovan.byford@ntu.ac.uk>

Canonizing the "Prophet" of Antisemitism: Apotheosis of the Bishop Nikolaj  
Velimirovic and the Legitimization of Religious Antisemitism in Contemporary  
Serbian Society

Alix Landgrebe (Jagiellonian U, Cracow, Poland)  
<alix@poczta.fm>

The So-Called Jewish Question and its Meaning for the Polish National Identity

Discussant

Robin Ostow (U of Toronto, Canada)  
<rostow@chass.utoronto.ca>

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 2.45-4.45)**

**G4: The Wider Europe and Its Unstable Neighborhood:  
Conditionality vs. Conflict**

Chair

Stefano Bianchini (U of Bologna, Italy)  
<bianchini@spbo.unibo.it>

Papers

Julie Mostov (Drexel U, US)  
<mostovj@drexel.edu>

The Stabilization and Association Process and the Unstable Neighborhood

Francesca Arato (U of Bologna, Italy)  
<francesca.arato@libero.it>

Identity in Cyprus Between Territorial Partition and EU Integration: Challenges  
and Perspectives

Craig Nation (US Army War College, US)  
<NationR@awc.carlisle.army.mil>

CIS and the EU New Neighborhood Policy

Monika Ewa Kaminska (Warsaw School of Economics, Poland)

<me\_kaminska@wp.pl>

Poland in the Enlarged EU and Its Eastern Neighbors: Redrawing Relations and Identities

Discussant

Francesco Privitera (U of Bologna, Italy)

<priviter@spbo.unibo.it>

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 2.45-4.45)**

**K4: Chechnya: The Emergence of an Ideologized Conflict**

Chair

Walter Comins-Richmond (Occidental College, Los Angeles, US)

<richmond@oxy.edu>

Papers

Anne Le Huérou (Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris, France)

<anne.le-huerou@laposte.net>

Enlarging or Distorting Lens? Russian Society Through the Prism of the War in Chechnya

Silvia Serrano (Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Paris, France)

<silvia.serrano@wanadoo.fr>

Nationalizing Jihad : A Paradoxical Feedback Effect of the Islamization of the War in Chechnya

Julie Wilhelmsen (Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Norway)

<jw@nupi.no>

Between a Rock and a Hard Place- An Analysis of the Islamisation of the Chechen Separatist Movement

Mia Bloom (Center for Global Security, Rutgers U, US)

<mbloom@princeton.edu>

The Contagion Effect of Suicide Terror: Women Suicide Bombers in Chechnya

Discussant

John Dunlop (Hoover Institution, Stanford U, US)

<dunlop@hoover.stanford.edu>

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 2.45-4.45)**

**N15: Special Roundtable on Anthony Marx's Book *Faith in Nation: Exclusionary Origins of Nationalism* (Oxford, 2003).**

Chair

Mark Beissinger (U of Wisconsin, US)

<beissinger@polisci.wisc.edu>

Participants

Lowell Barrington (Marquette U, US)  
<lowell.barrington@marquette.edu>

Dominique Colas (Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris, France)  
<dcolas@noos.fr>

Aristide Zolberg (New School U, US)  
<arizol@newschool.edu>

Anthony Marx (Amherst College, US)  
<marx@amherst.edu>

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 2.45-4.45)**

**N4: Ethnopolitical Cleavages and Institutional Design**

Chair

Tim Potier (European Rim Policy and Investment Council)  
<T.Potier@erpic.org>

Papers

Shaheen Mozaffar (Bridgewater State College, US)  
<smozaffar@bridgew.edu>

Ethnopolitical Cleavages and Institutional Design

Stefan Wolff (U of Bath, UK)

<S.Wolff@bath.ac.uk>

The Vertical Layering of Authority in Complex Power-sharing Systems

Sherrill Stroschein (Ohio U/Harvard U, US)

<sstroschein@wcfia.harvard.edu>

What Belgium Can Teach Bosnia: Lessons of 'Divided House' States

Discussant

Florian Bieber (European Centre for Minority Issues, Belgrade, Serbia)  
<bieberf@gmx.net>

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 2.45-4.45)**

**R1: The 2002 Russian Census: A Preliminary Assessment of Results**

Chair

Dominique Arel (Brown U, US/U of Ottawa, Canada)  
<darel@uottawa.ca>

Papers

Yoshiko Herrera (Harvard U, US)

<herrera@fas.harvard.edu>

Goskomstat and the Census: Evaluating Process and Results

Valery Tishkov (Institute Of Ethnology & Anthropology, Moscow, Russia)

<tishkov@orc.ru>

The Changing Ethnic Demography of Russia since 1989

Cynthia Buckley (U Texas, Austin, US)

<cbuckley@mail.la.utexas.edu>

Making Migrants Count: Insights from the 2002 Russian Census

Discussant

David Kertzer (Brown U, US)

<david\_kertzer@brown.edu>

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 2.45-4.45)**

**U6: Language Revival in Ukraine and Belarus: Politics, Policy-Making and Practices**

Chair

Jaroslawn Martyniuk (Intermedia, Washington, DC, US)

<martyniukj@intermedia.org>

Papers

Alexandra Hrycak (Reed College, US)

<hrycak@reed.edu>

Schooling, Language and the Policy-Making Power of State Bureaucrats in Ukraine

Margrethe Sövik (Baltic and East European Graduate School, Södertöm

University College, Sweden)

<margrethe.sovik@sh.se>

Perceptions of Language and Identity Among Students in Kharkiv

Tony Brown (Bryn Mawr College, US)

<nabrown@brynmawr.edu>

Ethnicity and Mother Tongue: Toward an Understanding of Language Utilization and Identity in Belarus

Discussant

Michael Flier (Harvard U, US)

<flier@fas.harvard.edu>

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 2.45-4.45)**

## V8/CA10 Video Presentation

### The Crimes of East Turkestan Terrorist Power: On the Spot Report

China 2002 (60 min.), directed by Wang Meng

Shown on CCTV in July 2002 but never outside China, this documentary covers acts of terrorism by Eastern Turkestan organizations in Xinjiang in the 1990s and related activities. Produced after September 11, it demonstrates the official Chinese view by showing training camps, bus-bombing, arms smuggling, storing and production, murders and attempted murders not only of Han Chinese but also of Uyghur by-stander and "collaborators", and relations with other countries including Afghanistan and Bin Laden. The documentary is based on interrogations of Uyghur prisoners and interviews with public security officials and victims. It uncovers the deep Islamic motivations (including *Jihad*), commitments and intentions behind these activities.

*Yitzhak Shichor (The University of Haifa, Israel, shichor@telhai.ac.il) will lead the discussion following the screening.*

## Session VII

Friday 16 April, 5.00-7.00

Panel (Friday 16 April, 5.00-7.00)

**BK1: Balkanism and Post-colonialism (Roundtable)**

Chair

Gayatri Ch. Spivak (Columbia U, US)

<mam187@columbia.edu>

Participants

Maria Todorova (U of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, US)

<mtodorov@uiuc.edu>

Alexander Kiossev (U of Sofia, Bulgaria)

<akiossev@cas.bg>

Dusan Bjelic (U of Southern Maine, US)

<bjelic@usm.maine.edu>

Kriss Ravetto-Biagioli (Emerson College, US)

<gojko@earthlink.net>

Panel (Friday 16 April, 5.00-7.00)

**BK16: Minorities in the Balkans**

Chair

Thede Kahl (Austrian Institute of East and Southeast European Studies,  
Austria)

<thede.kahl@osi.ac.at>

Papers

Alexandra Nacu and Lamia Zaki (Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris, France)

<alexnacu@yahoo.fr><lamiazaki@yahoo.fr>

Marginality and Political Apathy. Bulgarian Roma, Moroccan Slum-Dwellers: a  
Transcontinental Comparison.

Milthiades Potts (Oxford U, UK)

<milthiades.potts@sant.ox.ac.uk>

The Parallel Story of the Greek Minority in Albania and of the Albanian Minority  
in Greece During the Second World War

Dan Dungaciu (U of Bucharest, Romania)

<ddungaciu@fastmail.fm>

Rethinking Nationalism and Religious Pluralism in South Eastern Europe:  
The Case of Romanian/Vlach Population in Serbia-Montenegro

Discussant

Katia Papagianni (Columbia U, US)

<ep236@columbia.edu>

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 5.00-7.00)**

**CE9: Poland Abroad and at Home: Self-Perception and Symbolism**

Chair

John Micgiel (Harriman Institute, Columbia U, US)

<jsm6@columbia.edu>

Papers

Melissa Szwanke (U of Texas, Austin, US)

<finkey525@hotmail.com>

Ethnic Persistence of the Polish Population in Kazakhstan

Marysia Galbraith (U of Alabama, US)

<mgalbrai@nc.ua.edu>

Local, National, and Transnational Loyalties in Polish Youths' Life Stories

Geneviève Zubrzycki (U of Michigan, US)

<genez@umich.edu>

"Keep Jesus at Auschwitz!": Ethno-Nationalism and Religious Symbols in Post-  
Communist Poland

Janusz Ryzner (European U Institute, Italy)

<janusz.ryzner@iue.it>

Struggle for Recognition: the Weakening Silesian Ethnic Identity in Poland

Discussant

Jan Kubik (Rutgers U, US)

<kubik@rci.rutgers.edu>

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 5.00-7.00)**

**G6 : The State of the Roma Today: Myth Versus Reality Around the World (Roundtable)**

Chair

David Crowe (Elon U, US)

<crowed@elon.edu>

Participants

Dilyana Giteva (Columbia U School of Law, US)

<dgitev@law.columbia.edu>

Suat Kolukirik (Ege U, Izmir, Turkey)

<suatkolukirik@yahoo.com>

Alexandra Oprea (American Romani Alliance, New York, US)

<aloprea2002@yahoo.com>

Gonca Sonmez-Poole (Channel 5 TV Producer, Boston, US)

<gonca@mediationway.org>

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 5.00-7.00)**

**G10: Comparative Islam**

Chair

Mirjam Künkler (Columbia U, US)

<mk2081@columbia.edu>

Papers

Cynthia Simmons (Boston College, US)

<simmons@bc.edu>

The Women's Peace Movement in Bosnian Muslim Society

Alima Bissenova (American U in Cairo, Egypt)

<alimabis@aucegypt.edu>

Islamic Discourse in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan

Olessia Vovina (Montclair State U, US)



<ovovina@attglobal.net>  
Islam and the Redefinition of Sacred Space:  
The Mishar Tatars in Chuvashia

Discussant  
Thomas W. Simons (Harvard U, US)  
<tsimons@fas.harvard.edu>

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 5.00-7.00)**  
**K6: Politics and Ethnicity in the North Caucasus**

Chair  
Lisa Koriouchkina (Brown U, US)  
<Lisa\_Kor@brown.edu>

Papers  
Nina Tyurina (Northwestern U, Evanston, US)  
<raduganina@yahoo.com>  
Interpreting Violence in the Northern Caucasus

Walter Comins-Richmond (Occidental College, Los Angeles, US)  
<richmond@oxy.edu>  
Ethnic Politics in Action: An Analysis of the 2003 Presidential Election in  
Karachaevo-Cherkessia

Kimitaka Matsuzato (Hokkaido U, Japan)  
<kim@slav.hokudai.ac.jp>  
Islam at the Subregional Level of Dagestan: Ethnicities, Tarikats, Localism and  
the Spiritual Administration

Tinatin Zurabishvili (Gogebashvili Telavi State University, Georgia)  
<emigh@bigstar.sscnet.ucla.edu><tinatamro@yahoo.com>  
Age at Death in Rural Georgia: A Historical Analysis of Mortality Records in the  
Kistauri Commune

Discussant  
Sergei Sokolovsky (Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Russia)  
<sokolovskiserg@mail.ru>

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 5.00-7.00)**  
**N2: The Constructivist Approach to the Study of Nationalism**

Chair  
Ron Suny (U of Chicago, US)  
<rgsuny@umich.edu>

Presentation

Walker Connor (Middlebury College, US)  
<walkconnor@aol.com>

Discussants

Mark Beissinger (U of Wisconsin, Madison, US)  
<beissinger@polisci.wisc.edu>

Keith Brown (Brown U, US)  
<keith\_brown@brown.edu>

Andre Liebich (Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva, Switzerland)  
<liebich@hei.unige.ch>

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 5.00-7.00)**

**R9: Leadership Issues in the Russian Federation**

Chair

Alex Tsiovkh (U of Kansas, US)  
<alexukr@ku.edu>

Papers

Jeff Surovell (College of Aeronautics, US)  
<surovell@yahoo.com>

Evgenii Primakov: Political Hard-Liner—Or Victim of the Conventional Wisdom?

Ann Robertson (NCEEER, Washington, DC, US)  
<popc@nceeer.org>

Founding Fathers and Red Presidents

Troy McGrath (Harriman Institute, Columbia U, US)  
<troy\_mcgrath@hotmail.com>

Weapons of Mass Distraction: A Comparison of Presidential Misuse of the “War on Terrorism” for Partisan Political Purposes in Russia and in the US

Discussant

Leonard Benardo (Soros Foundation, New York, NY)  
<lbenardo@sorosny.org>

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 5.00-7.00)**

**TK4: Greece and Turkey Security Dilemmas**

Chair

George Gavrilis (Olin Institute, Harvard U, US)  
<ggavrilis@wcfia.harvard.edu>

Papers

Glen Camp (Bryant College, US)

<gcamp@bryant.edu>

East Mediterranean Security Problems: The Old Triangle And New Developments

Evangelos Liaras (MIT, US)

<liaras@mit.edu>

The 1963-4 Cyprus Crisis and the Acheson Plan in Historical Perspective

Zeki Kütük (U of Turku, Finland)

<zeki.kutuk@utu.fi>

Earthquake Diplomacy: A Regionalist Approach to Turkish-Greek Relations

Discussant

Robert O Freedman (Baltimore Hebrew U, US)

<freedman@bhu.edu>

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 5.00-7.00)**

**U1: Is Globalization Changing Ukraine's Political Culture?**

Chair

Irene Jarosewych (*Svoboda*, New Jersey, US)

<irenejay@worldnet.att.net>

Papers

Marta Dyczok (U of Western Ontario, Canada)

<mdyczok@uwo.ca>

Does Mass Media Influence Public Opinion

Victor Stepanenko (Kennan Institute, Washington, DC/Institute of Sociology, Kiev, Ukraine)

<vikstepa@yahoo.com>

Who Needs Civil Society?

Olena Prytula (*Ukrains'ka pravda*, Kyiv, Ukraine/Stanford U, US)

<oprytula@stanford.edu>

What Role Does the Internet Play?

Discussant

Mykola Ryabchuk (Mohyla Academy, Kyiv, Ukraine)

<ryabchuk@iatp.kiev.ua>

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 5.00-7.00)**

**N13: Partition and the Management of Ethnic Conflicts (Roundtable)**

Chair

Nikolas K. Gvosdev (*The National Interest*, US)  
<gvosdev@nationalinterest.org>

Participants

Damjan de Krnjevic-Miskovic (*The National Interest*, US)  
<dvkm@nationalinterest.org>

Zeyno Baran (Nixon Center, US)  
<zbaran@nixoncenter.org>

Tim Potier (European Rim Policy and Investment Council)  
<T.Potier@erpic.org>

Obrad Kesic (TSM Global Consultants)  
<okesic@TSMglobe.com>

**Panel (Friday 16 April, 5.00-7.00)**

**V2/CA9: *Dostum: Living with a Warlord in Afghan Turkistan* (Video Presentation). Directed by Brian Williams (2003)**

In the bloody month of August 2003 Brian Glyn Williams made his way through the Hindu Kush Mountains to the Uzbek-dominated steppes of northern Afghanistan in search of a notorious Northern Alliance warlord. Once there, he tracked down General Dostum, the cavalry commander responsible for capturing thousands of Taliban/Al Qaeda fighters and bringing down the Taliban house of cards with his capture of Mazar-i Sharif. While with Dostum, Williams interviewed his Taliban prisoners still being held in the fortress prison complex in Sheberghan. He also toured the Qala i Jengi fortress (site of the failed Taliban uprising that led to the capture of Johnny Walker Lindh). His video also includes combat footage shot by Dostum's riders of their horse-mounted campaign (alongside CIA spotters and B-52s) against the Taliban. For a photo-preview see: [brianglynwilliams.com](http://brianglynwilliams.com)

*Brian Williams (UMass Dartmouth, US, BWilliams@umassd.edu) will lead the discussion following the screening.*

**Session VIII**

**Saturday 17 April, 9.00-11.00**

**Panel (Saturday 17 April, 9.00-11.00)**

**BK3: Hungary, Italy and the Yugoslav Crisis, 1989-2003 (Scholars ' Initiative)**

Chair

Thomas Emmert (G. Adolphus College, US)  
<tomo@gac.edu>

Papers

Matjaz Klemencic (U of Maribor, Slovenia)

<matjaz.klemencic@siol.net>

The Effects of Dissolution of Yugoslavia on Minority Rights of Hungarian and Italian Minorities in Post Yugoslav States

Gorazd Bajc (U of Primorska, Slovenia)

Italian policy towards the Dissolution of the Former Yugoslavia

<Gorazd.Bajc@zrs-kp.si>

Discussant

Jozef Figa (Hamilton College, US)

<DonJose@aol.com>

**Panel (Saturday 17 April, 9.00-11.00)**

**CE7: Hungary and Hungarians: Europe, Region, and Self-Definition**

Chair

James Satterwhite (Bluffton College, US)

<satterwhitej@bluffton.edu>

Papers

Stephen Deets (Miami U of Ohio, US)

<deetssg@muohio.edu>

The Controversy Over Co-Ethnics: European Norms and the Hungarian Status Law

Andrew Ludanyi (Ohio Northern U, US)

<a-ludanyi@onu.edu>

Property-Restitution and Majority-Minority Relations in Romania: A Case Study of the Restitution Struggles of the Reformed High School in Cluj/Kolozsvár

Tunde Puskas (Linköping U, Sweden)

<tunpu@ituf.liu.se>

Mapping Hungarianness

Discussant

Mottie Tamarkin (Tel Aviv U, Israel)

<mottie@post.tau.ac.il>

**Panel (Saturday 17 April, 9.00-11.00)**

**CE10: Germans and their Neighbors: Changing Identities in Motion**

Chair

Roland Spickermann (U of Texas, Permian Basin, US)

<spicker\_r@utpb.edu>

Papers

Jeremy Straughn (Michigan Society of Fellows, US)

<straughn@umich.edu>

Nation-Building as Cleavage Formation: A Reinterpretation of Germany's "Wall in the Mind"

Katharina Stankiewicz (Europa U Viadrina, Germany)

<kstankiewicz@web.de>

Exclusion from Cultural Citizenship: Struggles for a German National Identity and the Case of Polish-oriented Aussiedler in Germany

Minton Goldman (Northeastern U, US)

<mintonf@aol.com>

Small Minorities and Foreign Policy in Central Europe: New Developments in the Case of the German Minorities in Poland and the Czech Republic

Discussant

Anita I. Drever (U of Tennessee, US)

<adrever@utk.edu>

**Panel (Saturday 17 April, 9-11 AM)**

**K2: Security Issues in the South Caucasus**

Chair

Andrew Yurkovsky (World Press Review, New York, US)

<ayurkovsky@hotmail.com>

Papers

Ayla Gol (London School of Economics & Political Science, UK)

<A.Gol@lse.ac.uk>

The Politics of Oil: The Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan Pipeline and Turkish Foreign Policy

Razmik Panossian (Rights and Democracy, Montreal, Canada)

<rpanossian@yahoo.co.uk>

The View From 'Below': The Reaction of the South Caucasus to Regional Powers and Tensions

Elchin Rizayev (U of Kansas, US)

<elchin\_rizayev@yahoo.com>

Azerbaijan and Problems of Regional Security in the South Caucasus

Eric Miller (National Institute for Public Policy, Fairfax, VA, US)

<Eric.Miller@nipp.org>

Eduard Shevarnadze's End and Georgia's Future

Discussant  
Elin Suleymanov (Tufts U, US)  
<elin.suleymanov@tufts.edu>

**Panel (Saturday 17 April, 9.00-11.00)**  
**R3: Citizenship, Community and Identity in Russia**

Chair  
Paul Werth  
<werthp@nevada.edu>

Participants  
Hélène Lévesque (Laval U, Canada)  
<helene.levesque.1@ulaval.ca>  
Writing Identity Between Russia and Kazakhstan : One Woman's Account of  
Stalinist Repression

Peter Waisberg (Carleton U, Canada)  
<pwaisber@ccs.carleton.ca>  
The Duty to Serve and the Right to Choose: The Contested Nature of  
Alternative Civilian Service in the Russian Federation

Robert Saunders (Wagner College, US)  
<robert\_a\_saunders@hotmail.com>  
Reconfiguring National Identity in Cyberspace: The Case of the Cyber-Russians  
in the near Abroad

Discussant  
Elise Giuliano (U of Miami, US)  
<egiulian@miami.edu>

**Panel (Saturday 17 April, 9.00-11.00)**  
**TK1: Religion and Identity in Turkey**

Chair  
Peride Kaleagasi-Blind (Georgetown U, US)  
<peride@yahoo.com>

Papers  
Feryal Tansug (U of Toronto, Canada)  
<feryalt@chass.utoronto.ca>  
Memory and Migration: The Turkish Experience of the Compulsory Population  
Exchange

Istar Gozaydin-Savasir (Istanbul Tech U, Turkey)

<istar@superonline.com>

Constructing a Secular Nation-State: An Administrative Tool of the Republic of Turkey: Directorate of Religious Affairs

Tolga Koker (Hamilton College, US)

<tkoker@hamilton.edu>

Sabbatians in Turkey

Discussant

Hakan Yavuz (U of Utah, US)

<hakan.yavuz@poli-sci.utah.edu>

Panel (Saturday 17 April, 9.00-11.00)

U3: Surviving the Surgun: The Consequences of the Exile and Return of the Crimean Tatars

Chair

Sezai Ozcelik (George Mason U, US)

<sozcelik@gmu.edu>

Papers

J. Otto Pohl (U of London, UK)

<pohlcat@rocketmail.com>

And this Must Be Remembered! Stalin's Ethnic Cleansing of the Crimean Tatars and their Struggle for Rehabilitation, 1944-1987

Idil P. Izmirli (George Mason U, US)

<Misket@aol.com>

Eye of the Storm or Still Life? The Dynamics of the Crimean Tatar Repatriation in Crimea 60 Years after the Deportation.

Mica Hall (Defence Language Institute, Monterey, US)

<mica.hall@lackland.af.mil>

Judging Crimean Tatars by Linguistic Features: How Ethnic Groups in Crimea React to Crimean Tatar-Russian

Discussant

Brian Williams (U of Massachusetts, Dartmouth, US)

<bwilliams@umassd.edu>

Panel (Saturday 17 April, 9.00-11.00)

V1/U13: *Shapes in The Wax: Tradition and Faith among Folk Medicine Practitioners in Rural Ukraine* (Video Presentation). Directed and produced by Sarah D. Phillips and Timothy D. Miller, 2004 (DVD, 60 minutes, Ukrainian with English subtitles).



This ethnographic documentary explores Ukrainian folk healing as practiced today by *babky* (grannies) in villages in Western Ukraine. These are elderly women—usually deeply religious—who perform rituals such as *vylyvaty visk*, or the pouring forth of wax, to treat a variety of afflictions. *Babky* treat maladies that elude the expertise of local doctors, such as fear, curses, and the evil eye. In this video, healers demonstrate their craft and reflect on their lives as elders, healers, and women in Ukraine. Will the *babky*'s traditions of folk healing end after the current generation of healers passes on? This documentary probes this question by including the views of urban youth, and by exploring the *babky*'s strategies for passing on their prayers and rituals.

*Sarah D Phillips and Timothy D. Miller (Indiana U, US, sadphill@indiana.edu, tidmille@indiana.edu) will lead the discussion following the screening.*

## Session IX Saturday 17 April, 11.15 AM-1.15 PM

Panel (Saturday 17 April, 11.15 AM-1.15 PM)  
BK2: Confronting the Yugoslav Controversies: A Scholars' Initiative  
(Roundtable)

Chair  
Charles Ingrao (Purdue U, US)  
<cingrao@purdue.edu>

Participants  
Thomas Emmert (G. Adolphus College, US)  
<tomo@gac.edu>

Julie Mertus (American U, US)  
<suitcase@igc.org>

Matjaz Klemencic (U of Maribor, Slovenia)  
<matjaz.klemencic@siol.net>

Panel (Saturday 17 April, 11.15 AM-1.15 PM)  
BK18: National Identity, Ethnic Conflict and Peace in Bulgaria

Chair  
Maria Todorova (U of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, US)  
<mtodorov@uiuc.edu>

Papers  
Ivaylo Grouev (U of Ottawa, Canada)  
<ivaylogrouev@yahoo.ca>  
Main Factors Constructing Bulgarian Nationalism

Didar Erdinc (Hamilton College, US)

<derdinc@hamilton.edu>

Ethnic Peace in Bulgaria: The Lessons for the European Union During its  
Enlargement Process

Ivanka N. Atanassova (George Mason U, US)

<iatanass@gmu.edu>

Assimilating Muslims in Communist Bulgaria: How and Why Was the Decision  
Made

Discussant

Maria Koinova (Harvard U, US)

<maria\_koinova@harvard.edu>

**Panel (Saturday 17 April, 11.15 AM-1.15 PM)**

**CA3: Regional and National Minorities in Central Asia and the Middle East**

Chair

Elizabeth Valkenier (Columbia U, US)

<ekv1@columbia.edu>

Papers

Gabriele Rasuly-Paleczek (U of Vienna, Austria)

<Gabriele.Rasuly@univie.ac.at>

Alignment Policies and Factionalism among the Uzbeks of North-Eastern  
Afghanistan

Brendon Cannon (U of Utah, US)

<brocannon@yahoo.com>

Factors in the Construction of Turkoman Identity

Alfredo Jimenez and Dino Bozonelos (California State U San Bernardino, US)

<AlfredoSJimenez@aol.com><dbozonelos@csusb.edu>

The Next Politically Violent Islamic Movement: Southern Iraq?

Discussant

George Gavrillis (Olin Institute, Harvard U, US)

<ggavrillis@wcfia.harvard.edu>

**Panel (Saturday 17 April, 11.15 AM-1.15 PM)**

**CE8: Romania: Political Transitions and Questions of Identity**

Chair

Andrew Ludanyi (Ohio Northern U, US)

<a-ludanyi@onu.edu>

Papers

John Gledhill (Georgetown U, US)

<jgg2@georgetown.edu>

States of Contention: Political Violence in Post-Communist Romania

Monica Ciobanu (New School U, US)

<331197@newschool.edu>

Democratic Legitimacy and the Party System in Romania: from Polarized Pluralism to a Catch-All Strategy and Transnational Party Cooperation

Mariana Bara (Hyperion U, Bucharest, Romania)

<mariana\_bara@yahoo.com>

Aromanian Cultural and Ethnic Identity

Discussant

Jon E. Fox (U of California, San Diego, US)

<j3fox@weber.ucsd.edu>

**Panel (Saturday 17 April, 11.15 AM-1.15 PM)**

**G9: Migration in a Globalizing World**

Chair

Bhavna Dave (School of Oriental & African Studies, London, UK)

<bd4@soas.ac.uk>

Papers

Mark McGlynn (U of Essex, UK)

<mark.mcglynn1@btinternet.com>

Rethinking The Public Sphere: Globalization and the Excluded Other

Tunc Aybak (Middlesex U, UK)

<t.aybak@mdx.ac.uk>

The Turkish Construction of 'Natasha' Migration as a Societal Security in the Black Sea Area

Peter Vermeersch (K U Leuven, Belgium)

<Peter.Vermeersch@soc.kuleuven.ac.be>

The Europeanization of Immigration Policy in New EU Member States: Comparing Poland and Slovakia

Christina Johansson (Linköping U, Sweden)

<christina.johansson@ituf.liu.se>

Red Light? Swedish Refugee Policy Discourses of the late 1980s

Discussant

Hélène Pellerin (U of Ottawa, Canada)  
<hpelleri@uottawa.ca>

**Panel (Saturday 17 April, 11.15 AM-1.15 PM)**  
**BK17: Serbia One Year After Djindjic:**  
**Politics, Economics, Media, and International Relations (Roundtable)**

Chair  
Gordon N. Bardos (Harriman Institute, Columbia U, US)  
<gnb12@columbia.edu>

Participants  
Susan Woodward (CUNY Graduate School, US)  
<swoodward@gc.cuny.edu>

Ana Andjelic (New School U, US)  
<andja025@newschool.edu>

Milica Uvalic (U of Perugia, Italy)  
<uvalic@unipg.it>

**Panel (Saturday 17 April, 11.15 AM-1.15 PM)**  
**N3: Constructivist Theories of Ethnic Identity Change**

Chair  
Charles King (Georgetown U, US)  
<kingch@georgetown.edu>

Papers  
Kanchan Chandra and Cilanne Boulet (MIT, US)  
<kchandra@mit.edu>  
A Combinatorial Model of Ethnic Identity Change

David Laitin (Stanford U, US) and Maurits Van der Veen (U of Pennsylvania, US)  
<dlaitin@stanford.edu><Maurits@sas.upenn.edu>  
An Agent Based Model of Change in an Ethnic Demography

Ian Lustick and Dan Miodownik (U of Pennsylvania, US)  
<ilustick@sas.upenn.edu><danm@sas.upenn.edu>  
Now Out of What Exactly? Determinants of and Impediments to Political  
Cascades

Roger Petersen (MIT, US)  
<rpeters@mit.edu>  
Identity, Rationality and Emotion in Processes of State Disintegration and  
Reconstruction

Discussant

David Epstein (Columbia U, US)  
<de11@columbia.edu>

**Panel (Saturday 17 April, 11.15 AM-1.15 PM)**  
**N11: Minority Rights**

Chair/Discussant

Stephen Deets (Miami U of Ohio, US)  
<deetssg@muohio.edu>

Papers

Timothy Waters (Harvard U, US)  
<twwaters@law.harvard.edu>

Reconsidering Dhimmah as a Model for a Modern Minority Rights Regime

Maja Catic (Brandeis U, US)

<mcatic@brandeis.edu>

Multicultural Citizenship in the Image of Dayton: Illustrating the Limits of Kymlicka's Model

Katia Papagianni (Columbia U, US)

<ep236@columbia.edu>

The European Commission, Minority Issues and Enlargement: The Origins of the Commission's Policy

**Panel (Saturday 17 April, 11.15 AM-1.15 PM)**

**R4: Citizenship in Late Imperial Russia, the USSR, and Russia**

Chair

Mark Von Hagen (Columbia U, US)  
<mlv2@columbia.edu>

Papers

Eric Lohr (American U, US)

<elohr@american.edu>

Vladimir Gessen's Theory of Russian Citizenship

Francine Hirsch (U of Wisconsin, Madison, US)

<fhirsch@wisc.edu>

Nationality, Citizenship, and Passportization in the Soviet Union

Serhy Yekelchuk (U Victoria, Canada)

<serhy@uvic.ca>

Stalin's Citizens? Understanding the Rituals of Political Life in Soviet Ukraine  
(1943-53)

Oxana Shevel (Purdue U, US)

<shevel@polsci.purdue.edu>

Russian Citizenship Policy Dilemmas: Some Empirical Evidence and Theoretical Reflections

Discussant

Yanni Kotsonis (NYU, US)

<yanni.kotsonis@nyu.edu>

**Panel (Saturday 17 April, 11.15 AM-1.15 PM)**

**U5: Ethnic Issues, Minority Relations and Politics in Crimea**

Chair

Inci Bowman (Independent Scholar, Washington, DC, US)

<inci@attglobal.net>

Papers

Karyna Korostelina (George Mason U, US/National Taurida U, Simferopol, Crimea, Ukraine)

<carina@bair.crimea.com>

The Impact Of National Identity On Conflict Behavior: Comparative Analysis Of Two Ethnic Minorities In Crimea

Ivan Katchanovski (George Mason U, US)

<vze33gnr@verizon.net>

Small Nations but Great Differences: Political Orientations of Crimean Tatars and the Gagauz

Andreas Stahn (Free U of Berlin, Germany)

<smera@gmx.net>

The Impact of the Political and Socioeconomic Integration of the Crimean Tatars on Conflict Probability in Crimea

Aurélie Campana (Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Strasbourg, U Robert Schuman, France)

<frac@club-internet.fr>

Construction of National Identity and Resentments: A Comparative Study of the Crimean Tatar and Chechen Cases

Discussant

Martin Horwitz (American Jewish World Service, New York, US)

<MHorwitz@compuserve.com>

Panel (Saturday 17 April, 11.15 AM-1.15 PM)  
V4/BK21 *Crucible of War* (Video Presentation). Directed by Leon Gerskovic,  
produced by Erica Ginsberg (US 2003, 45 mins.).

"With war still raging inside of me, will I be able to record the stories of people who are so close to me?" This is the question filmmaker Leon Gerskovic asks himself at the beginning of a journey which will take him back to his homeland in what was once Yugoslavia. As he continues on his journey, he meets people from all walks of life: Men and women. Young and old. Farmers and factory workers. Teachers and students. Warriors and peacemakers. Croats, Serbs, Bosniaks, and people whose national identities defy categories. People who once believed it could never happen to them. People who still live with physical and psychological displacement years after the fighting has ended. People who are trying to define the meaning of a normal life.

*Leon Gerskovic and Erica Ginsberg (crucibleofwar@hotmail.com) will lead the discussion following the screening.*

## Session X Saturday 17 April, 2.45-4.45

Panel (Saturday 17 April, 2.45-4.45)  
BK10: International Intervention in Kosovo and Bosnia-Herzegovina

Chair

Anne Sofie Pedersen (Institute of Anthropology, U of Copenhagen, Denmark)  
<annesofieped@hotmail.com>

Papers

Timothy Donais (York U, Canada)  
<tdonais@yorku.ca>

Policing Human Security: The International Police Task Force and Peacebuilding in Bosnia

Fred Cocozzelli (New School U, US)  
<cocof306@newschool.edu>

Social Policy and Social Solidarity in Post-Conflict Kosovo

Kjell Engelbrekt (National Defense College, Sweden)  
<kjell.engelbrekt@fhs.mil.se>

Back to Basics? International Engagement and Recurring Conflict in Southeastern Europe

Camille Monteux (London School of Economics and Political Science, UK)  
<c.a.monteux@lse.ac.uk>

In Search of Legitimacy: the Obstacle to Conflict Regulation in Kosovo

Discussant

Fotini Christia (Kennedy School, Harvard U, US)

<fchristia@wcfia.harvard.edu>

**Panel (Saturday 17 April, 2.45-4.45)**

**BK20: The Southern Balkans: State-building and the Challenge of Multiethnic Societies**

Chair

Vasiliki Neofotistos (Harriman Institute, Columbia U, US)

<vn2111@columbia.edu>

Papers

Tonin Gjuraj (U of Shkodra, Albania)

<t-gjuraj@unishk.albnet.net>

Political Problems and Social Dilemmas Facing Albanians in the Decade of Transition

Abel Polese (Civic Education Project, Odessa National U, Ukraine)

<abelpolese@yahoo.co.uk>

Serbian Living in Kosovo

Dilaver Arikana Acar (Middle East Tech U, Turkey)

<arikana@metu.edu.tr>

Albania Between EU Integration and Bilateralism

Discussant

Isa Blumi (NYU, US)

<ib206@nyu.edu>

**Panel (Saturday 17 April, 2.45-4.45)**

**CA1: State-Building in Central Asia**

Chair

Steve Sabol (U of North Carolina, Charlotte)

<sosabol@email.uncc.edu>

Papers

Rafis Abazov (Harriman Institute, Columbia U, US)

<polra99@yahoo.com>

The Impact of Political Patronage Networks on Potential Regime Change in Kyrgyzstan

Bhavna Dave (School of Oriental & African Studies, London, UK)

<bd4@soas.ac.uk>



Ambiguities of a Nationalizing State in Kazakhstan

Alisher Khamidov (John Hopkins U, US)

<akhamido@nd.edu>

Cult of Personality and Politics in Turkmenistan

Discussant

Laura Adams (Georgetown U, US)

<lladams2@earthlink.net>

**Panel (Saturday 17 April, 2.45-4.45)**

**CE3: "Solving the German Question": Comparative Approaches to Minority Policy in Central Europe**

Chair

Eagle Glassheim (Princeton U, US)

<eglasshe@princeton.edu>

Papers

Michael Campbell (Washington U, US)

<mwcamp@u.washington.edu>

The Making of the "March Fallen": The Impact of Occupation on Czech/German Relations in 1919

Francis Raska (Charles U, Czech Republic)

<francisraska@hotmail.com>

The Implementation of the Transfer of the Sudeten Germans

John C. Swanson (Utica U, US)

<jswanson@utica.edu>

Defining an Ethnic Minority: Hungary's View of Its Germans

Hanns Haas & Ewald Hiebl (U of Salzburg, Austria)

<hanns.haas@sbg.ac.at><Ewald.Hiebl@sbg.ac.at>

The Destruction of the Village by Nationalism. Nation and Ethnicity in Multiethnic Villages Near the Czech-Austrian Border in the First Half of the 20th Century

Discussant

Chad Bryant (U of North Carolina, US)

<bryantc@email.unc.edu>

**Panel (Saturday 17 April, 2.45-4.45)**

**G5: Ethnicity, Terrorism, and Criminality: Selected Cases in the Former Soviet Union**

Chair

John A. Berta (Methodist College, US)  
<bertaj@soc.mil>

Papers

Anna Balishina (James Madison U, US)  
<balishax@jmu.edu>  
Criminality and the New Russia

Anatoly Iasenko (Appalachian State U, US)  
<isaenkoa@appstate.edu>  
International Islamic Totalitarian Radicals, Organized Criminality and Ethnic  
Conflicts in the Caucasus

Discussant

Richard Giragosian (Abt Associates, Inc, Washington, DC, US)  
<giragosi@msn.com>

**Panel (Saturday 17 April, 2.45-4.45)**  
**G12: Diaspora & Migration**

Chair

Peter Sinnott (Columbia U, US)  
<pjs7@columbia.edu>

Papers

Gabriel Sheffer (Hebrew U of Jerusalem, Israel)  
<msgabi@huji.ac.il>  
Nationalism, Nation-States and the Politics of Ethno-National Diasporas:  
Theoretical Aspects

Myra Waterbury (New School U, US)

<myra@jound.net>  
The Diaspora as Resource: Understanding and Evaluating Policies Towards  
Ethnic Kin Abroad

Alesya Bogaevskaya (Virginia PolyTech, US)

<abogaevs@vt.edu>  
Chinese Migration in the Russian Far East: Perspectives of Border Crossers and  
Conflict

Olga Smirnova (U of North Carolina, Charlotte US)

<ovsmirno@uncc.edu>  
Migration Policy Influence on the Demographics and National Identity: Modeling  
of the Future on the Example of Russian Far East

Discussant

Roberta Fiske-Rusciano (Rider U, US)  
<ruscianor@rider.edu>

Panel (Saturday 17 April, 2.45-4.45)

K1: Roundtable on Valery Tishkov's New Book *Chechnya: Life in a War-Torn Society* (University of California Press, 2004)

Chair

Mia Bloom (Center for Global Security, Rutgers U, US)  
<mbloom@Princeton.EDU>

Participants

Ron Suny (U of Chicago, US)  
<rgsuny@umich.edu>

David Laitin (Stanford U, US)  
<dlaitin@stanford.edu>

Anatol Lieven (Carnegie Endowment, Washington, DC, US)  
<alieven@ceip.org>

Valery Tishkov (Institute of Ethnology & Anthropology, Moscow, Russia)  
<tishkov@orc.ru>

Panel (Saturday 17 April, 2.45-4.45)

N5: Why Do Neighbors Kill Neighbors? Theorizing Local Violence

Chair/Discussant

Damjan de Krnjevic-Miskovic (Editor, *The National Interest*, US)  
<dvkm@nationalinterest.org>

Papers

Dusko Sekulic (Flinders U, Australia)  
& Garth Massey (U of Wyoming, US)  
<Dusko.Sekulic@flinders.edu.au><gmmassey@uwyo.edu>  
War and Intolerance: Did Intolerance Cause the War or Was It Its Consequence?

Josip Dasovic (Brown U, US)  
<Josip\_Dasovic@brown.edu>  
Why Some Neighbors Didn't Kill, Eastern Slavonia

Maria Koinova (Harvard U, US)  
<maria\_koinova@harvard.edu>  
Minority Education and Religion As Sources of Violence: The Cases of Kosovo, Macedonia and Bulgaria in the 1990s

Adam Ziegfeld (MIT, US)  
<ziegfeld@mit.edu>  
Intra-Ethnic Networks of Engagement and the Ethnic Riot

**Panel (Saturday 17 April, 2.45-4.45)**  
**N9: Philosophies of Nationalism**

Chair  
David Meyer (Cedarville U, US)  
<meyerd@cedarville.edu>

Papers  
Anna Procyk (CUNY, US)  
<aprocyk@kbcc.cuny.edu>  
Giuseppe Mazzini and East European Nationalism: A Theoretical Approach  
Without Conflict

Peter Levine (National-Louis U, US)  
<plevine@nl.edu>  
Cultural Freedom, National Identity, and Ethnic Conflict

Robert Barylski (U of South Florida, US)  
<barylski@sar.usf.edu>  
Neo-Marxist Insights into Post-Soviet Ethnic Nationalism, Authoritarianism, and  
Democratic Republics

Michael Mousseau and Demet Yalcin Mousseau (Koc U, Turkey)  
<Mmousseau@ku.edu.tr><dyalcin@ku.edu.tr>  
The Economic Origin of Nationalism and Sectarian Conflict

Discussant  
Alexander J. Motyl (Rutgers U, US)  
<ajmotyl@andromeda.rutgers.edu>

**Panel (Saturday 17 April, 2.45-4.45)**  
**N12: Bringing Society Back In**

Chair  
Nami Ishihara (New School U, US)  
<IshiN910@newschool.edu>

Papers  
Thomas Miley (Yale U, US)  
<thomas.miley@yale.edu>

Multiple, Complementary, and Evolving Identities: The Case of the Catalans in Spain

Eva Green (UCLA, US)

<eva@issr.ucla.edu>

Ethnic and National Identification as Precursors to Nationalism and Patriotism: A Cross-National Comparison of Majorities and Minorities

Aspen Brinton (Georgetown U, US)

<ab245@georgetown.edu>

Constructing Civil Society: Normative Intervention in Post-Communist Europe

Discussant

Shale Horowitz (U of Wisconsin at Milwaukee, US)

<shale@uwm.edu>

**Panel (Saturday 17 April, 2.45-4.45)**

**R6: Identities of Place on the Russian Periphery**

Chair

Olessia Vovina (Montclair State U, US)

<ovovina@attglobal.net>

Papers

John Round (U of Leicester, UK)

<jpr15@le.ac.uk>

The (Re)structuring of Migrant Identities in the Post-Soviet Russian North

Nicole Porschmann (U of Federal Armed Forces Hamburg, Germany)

<nicole.poerschmann@unibw-hamburg.de>

Regional and Russian Identity in the Kaliningrad Region:  
Is Kaliningrad Looking for a New Identity?

Hege Toje (Chr Michelsen Institute, Norway)

<hege.toje@cmi.no>

Cossack Identity in the New Russia: Kuban Cossack Revival and Local Politics

Helge Blakkisrud (NUPI, Norway)

<hb@nupi.no>

Federal Policies Towards the Indigenous Peoples in the Russian Far North

Discussant

Elizabeth Pascal (Connecticut College, US)

<epascal@wesleyan.edu>

**Panel (Saturday 17 April, 2.45-4.45)**

## U2: Regionalism in Ukraine: On Uses and Abuses of a Recurrent Topic

### Chair

Frank Sysyn (U of Alberta, Canada)  
<f.sysyn@utoronto.ca>

### Papers

Yaroslav Hrytsak (National U of Ukraine, L'viv)  
<hrytsak@franko.lviv.ua>

East is West, and West is East, or Do We Need a New Paradigm in Studies of Nationalism in Ukraine?

Jennifer Dickinson (U of Vermont, US)

<jennifer.dickinson@uvm.edu>

Advertising and Identity: National and Regional Perspectives from Central and Western Ukraine

Stephen Shulman (Southern Illinois U, US)

<schulman@siu.edu>

National Identity and Attitudes Toward Democracy and Market in Ukraine

### Discussant

Mykola Ryabchuk (Mohyla Academy, Kyiv, Ukraine)

<ryabchuk@iatp.kiev.ua>

Panel (Saturday 17 April, 2.45-4.45)

V3/TK5 *In Transit* (Video Presentation). Directed by Berke Bas (2003, 40 minutes).

Turkey is one of the main gateways to the West for many migrants and refugees from countries as diverse as Iraq, Moldavia, Nigeria and Sri Lanka who are fleeing from their homes because of poverty, war, political persecution, and ethnic atrocities; for work, for education, for security or for a better life. Turkey's geographical location connecting the East to the West makes the country a transit zone for many people who intend to go to Europe or North America. *In Transit* aims to chronicle a phase in the life of migrants whose movement is usually constrained, suspended or blocked, and whose future is uncertain. The documentary tells the story of this journey by centering on one of the major transit zones in the long migration route: Istanbul. The wait of an Iraqi family of five living in Istanbul who overstayed their visas and tried all possible means to migrate to a Western country forms the main thread intermingled with the stories of a Kurdish family and a Nigerian couple.

*Berke Bas (Istanbul Bilgi U, Turkey) and H el ene Pellerin (U of Ottawa, Canada) will lead the discussion following the screening.*

**Session XI**  
**Saturday 17 April, 5.00-7.00**

**Panel (Saturday 17 April, 5.00-7.00)**

**BK4: Rethinking Transition in Everyday Life: Cases from the Former Yugoslavia**

Chair

Eric Gordy (Clark U, US)  
<egordy@clarku.edu>

Papers

Lisbeth Jensen (U of Copenhagen, Denmark)  
<lisbethsjensen@hotmail.com>

Youth and Reconciliation in Post-war Bosnia

Andrew Graan (U of Chicago, US)  
<apgraan@midway.uchicago.edu>

Not All Roads Lead to Brussels: Political Discourse and Cultural Geographies of "Transition" in the Republic of Macedonia

Discussant

Marko Zivkovic (Reed College, US)  
<Marko.Zivkovic@reed.edu>

**Panel (Saturday 17 April, 5.00-7.00)**

**BK15: Status and State-Building in Contested Societies: Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo**

Chair

Zala Volcic (U of Colorado, US/U of Maribor, Slovenia)  
<zala.volcic@colorado.edu><zala.volcic@uni-mb.si>

Papers

Nicholas Xenos (U of Massachusetts, US) & Mariam Memarsadeghi (Independent Scholar, Washington, DC, US)  
<xenos@polsci.umass.edu><m-memarsadeghi@starpower.net>

Creating Kosovo: Nationalism and International Intervention

Mitchell Young (London School of Economics and Political Science, UK)  
<m.young@lse.ac.uk>

Symbolizing Bosnia and Herzegovina: Interethnic Conflict or Co-operation?

Jim Hicks (Smith College, US)

<jhicks@smith.edu>

So What If Nobody Wins?: Writing a War History for Bosnia-Herzegovina

Discussant

Vasiliki Neofotistos (Harriman Institute, Columbia U, US)

<vn2111@columbia.edu>

**Panel (Saturday 17 April, 5.00-7.00)**

**CA7: Population and Demography in Central Asia**

Chair

Jennifer Barrett (U of Texas, Austin, US)

<jbb@mail.la.utexas.edu>

Papers

Peter Sinnott (Columbia U, US)

<pjs7@columbia.edu>

Migration and Social Change in Central Asia: A Reassessment

Michel Guillot (U of Wisconsin, Madison, US)

<mguillot@ssc.wisc.edu>

The Quality of the Demographic Data in Kyrgyzstan since 1958

Werner Haug (Swiss Federal Statistical Office, Neuchâtel, Switzerland)

<haug.sasiwecla@bluewin.ch>

Ethnic Groups and Demographic Trends in Kyrgyzstan

Discussant

Cynthia Buckley (U Texas, Austin, US)

<cbuckley@mail.la.utexas.edu>

**Panel (Saturday 17 April, 5.00-7.00)**

**CE4: History, Memory, and Identity in East-Central Europe: The Case of Post-1989 Romania**

Chair

Khachig Tololyan (Wesleyan U, US)

<ktololyan@wesleyan.edu>

Papers

Cristina Petrescu (U of Bucharest, Romania)

<hphpet23@phd.ceu.hu>

Anti-Communism and Ethnic Identity: The Legacy of the Romanian Dissidence



Felicia Waldman (U of Bucharest, Romania)

<felice@xnet.ro>

Coming to Terms with the Recent Past: Holocaust Education in Post-Communist Romania

Mihai Chioveanu (U of Bucharest, Romania)

<mihai\_chiov@yahoo.co.uk>

The Authoritarian Temptation: The Post-1989 Cult of Marshal Ion Antonescu

Discussant

Dragos Petrescu (U of Bucharest, Romania)

<hphpet46@phd.ceu.hu>

**Panel (Saturday 17 April, 5.00-7.00)**

**G8: Beyond National Boundaries. Alternative Visions of Europe in the Inter-War Period**

Chair

Marcella DelVecchio (Ial-Cisl Nazionale, Rome, Italy)

<marcella.delvecchio@ialcisl.it>

Papers

David Smith (U of Glasgow, UK)

<d.j.smith@socsci.gla.ac.uk>

Beyond the Nation-State. Debates on Cultural Autonomy in 1920s Estonia

Marko Lehti (U of Turku, Finland)

<malehti@utu.fi>

Envisioning Balkan Unity after the Ottomans. An Alternative Future for the Balkan National Question

John Hiden (U of Glasgow, UK)

<J.Hiden@btinternet.com>

The Nationalities Congress and the Quest for a New Europe

Discussant

Vejas Liulevicius (U of Tennessee, US)

<vliulevi@utk.edu>

**Panel (Saturday 17 April, 5.00-7.00)**

**N1: A Discussion of Roger Petersen's *Resistance and Rebellion* (Cambridge 2001) and *Understanding Ethnic Violence* (Cambridge 2002)**

Chair

Alexander J. Motyl (Rutgers U, US)

<ajmotyl@andromeda.rutgers.edu>

## Participants

Paul Brass (Washington U, US)  
<brass@u.washington.edu>

Stathis Kalyvas (Yale U, US)  
<stathis.kalyvas@yale.edu>

Ashutosh Varshney (U of Michigan, US)  
<varshney@umich.edu>

Roger Petersen (MIT, US)  
<rpeters@mit.edu>

## Panel (Saturday 17 April, 5.00-7.00) N6: Federal Institutions

### Chair

Timothy Waters (Harvard U, US)  
<twwaters@law.harvard.edu>

### Papers

Graham Holliday (European Centre for Minority Issues, Germany)  
<holliday@ecmi.de>  
Exporting the Federalist Model to Moldova

John McGarry (Queens U, Canada)  
<mcgarryj@qsilver.queensu.ca>  
Federation, Power-sharing and the Accommodation of Ethno-National Diversity

David Meyer (Cedarville U, US)  
<meyerd@cedarville.edu>  
A Global Comparison of the Effectiveness of Ethnofederal Arrangements for the Amelioration of Ethnic Conflict: Tentative Conclusions About Non-Post Communist Cases From Around the World

### Discussant

Sherrill Stroschein (Ohio U/Harvard U, US)  
<sstroschein@wcfia.harvard.edu>

## Panel (Saturday 17 April, 5.00-7.00) N10: Nationalist Consciousness

### Chair

Dusko Sekulic (Flinders U, Australia)  
<Dusko.Sekulic@flinders.edu.au>

Papers

Nami Ishihara (New School U, US)

<IshiN910@newschool.edu>

Imaginariness of Nation, Realities of Water

Peter Jordan (Austrian Institute of East and Southeast European Studies,  
Austria)

<peter.jordan@osi.ac.at>

Place Names as a Cultural Heritage - The Symbolic Function of Minority Names  
on Signposts and Official Topographical Maps

J. Michael Allen (Brigham Young U Hawaii, US)

<allenm@byuh.edu>

The "Imagined Community" in a Divided Nation: Politics and Nationalism in the  
2002 World Cup

Discussant

Tarun Chhabra (MIT, US)

<tchhabra@mit.edu>

**Panel (Saturday 17 April, 5.00-7.00)**

**TK2: Minorities in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey**

Chair

David Cuthell (Columbia U, US)

<cathydavid@aol.com>

Papers

Christopher K. Neumann (Bilgi U, Turkey)

<neumann@bilgi.edu.tr>

Our Other: Minorities in Turkish Identity Politics from the Ottoman Empire to  
the Republic

Andrew Blum and Amy Pate (U of Maryland, US)

<ablum@cidcm.umd.edu><apate@gvpt.umd.edu>

Improving Ethnic Conflict Analysis: A Prototype CASES Report on the Kurds in  
Turkey

Rob Dunbar (U of Glasgow, UK)

<R.Dunbar@law.gla.ac.uk>

The Relevance of International Law to the Linguistic Minorities in Turkey

Hakan Yavuz (U of Utah, US)

<hakan.yavuz@poli-sci.utah.edu>

Kurdish Nationalism in Turkey

Discussant

Charles King (Georgetown U, US)  
<kingch@georgetown.edu>

**Panel (Saturday 17 April, 5.00-7.00)**  
**U8: Foreign Policy Making in Ukraine**

Chair

Adrian Karatnycky (Freedom House, NY, US)  
<FHPRES@aol.com>

Papers

Kasia Wolczuk (U of Birmingham, UK)  
<k.wolczuk@bham.ac.uk>

Notions of Europeanness Amongst EU 'Outsiders': The Case of Ukraine

Anna Makhorkina (Old Dominion U, US)  
<annamakh@cox.net>

Polish-Ukrainian Relations in the Enlarging Europe, 1991-2003

Yaroslav Bilinsky (U of Delaware, US)  
<yby@udel.edu>

Death of a Young Political Gadfly--Oleksandr A. Kryvenko in Memoriam (13 May 1963-9 April 2003)

Discussant

Elena Kovaleva (National Institute of Strategic Studies, Kyiv, Ukraine)  
<for\_ek@mail.i.com.ua>

**Panel (Saturday 17 April: 5:00-7:00)**  
**G7: In Search of Supra-Nationalism**

Chair

Tunde Puskas (Linkoping U, Sweden)  
<tunpu@ituf.liu.se>

Papers

Henry Huttenbach (City College, US)  
<huttenbach@aol.com>

When Pan-Nationalism Becomes Meta-Nationalism

Sarah K. Danielsson (CUNY, US)  
<dani0270@umn.edu>

Pan-Germanism Reassessed

Michael Rywkin (City College, US)  
<mrywkin@aol.com>  
Russian Panslavism Reassessed

Discussant  
Valerie Zawilski (Trent U, Canada)  
<val.zawilski@utoronto.ca>

Panel (Saturday 17 April, 5.00-7.00)  
*V7/K9 Terror in Moscow* (UK, 2003, 60 mins.) Directed by Dan Reed.

In October 2002, 41 Chechen terrorists took more than 700 people hostage in a Moscow theater, demanding withdrawal of Russian troops from Chechnya, which had declared its independence in 1991. Having proclaimed that they would make no deals, the Russian military eventually acted, following the killing of a woman who managed to enter the theatre. They released an experimental, yet powerful anesthetic gas into the theatre, rendering everyone inside unconscious. Unfortunately, while they succeeded in executing the terrorists, 129 hostages perished, as there weren't enough medical personnel to deliver the antidote. Using dramatic first-person interviews with survivors, as well as remarkable video footage shot inside the theater by the terrorists, *Terror in Moscow* tells this gripping story from siege to rescue to tragic aftermath.

Followed by *Victims of the Russo-Chechen Conflict* (US, 2003, 40 mins.).  
Directed by Catherine Osgood.

Catherine Osgood, a graduate student at the Harvard Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, conducted research in Russia and the Caucasus in the summer of 2003 on the Chechen conflict. Disguised as a Chechen woman, Catherine traveled to Grozny and filmed the ruins of the war-torn city from a hidden camera. Catherine also interviewed Chechen IDPs in Ingushetia and refugees in the Pankisi Gorge in northern Georgia. The resulting footage, "Victims of the Russo-Chechen Conflict: A Glimpse into the Living Conditions of Civilians in Chechnya and Chechen Refugees in the Pankisi Gorge," was presented before the Helsinki Commission in September 2003. According to Commission Co-Chairman Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell, the footage documents "the physical, psychological, and personal destruction resulting from four years of conflict in this round of the war."

Participant  
Catherine Osgood (Harvard U, US)  
<cosgood@fas.harvard.edu>

