

**ASSOCIATION  
FOR THE STUDY  
OF NATIONALITIES**

**2005 WORLD CONVENTION**

*Final Program*

**COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,  
14-16 APRIL 2005**

**SESSION I**  
**THURSDAY APRIL 14, 1.00-3.00 PM**

**PANEL U 2**  
**IDENTITY IN UKRAINE AND BELARUS**

**Chair**

Zenon Wasyliw (Ithaca College, US)  
wasyliw@ithaca.edu

**Papers**

Germ Janmaat (Institute of Education, London, UK)  
g.janmaat@ioe.ac.uk

*History and National Identity: The Great Famine in Irish and Ukrainian History Textbooks*

Tetyana Koshmanova (Western Michigan U, US)  
tetyana.koshmanova@wmich.edu

*National Identity and Cultural Coherence in Educational Reform*

Tanya Richardson (U of Cambridge, UK)  
pryvit99@yahoo.com

*Uncertain Subjects: Youth, History and Nation-Building in Post-Soviet Odessa*

Anna Zadora (Institut d'Études Politiques de Strasbourg, France)  
anna\_zadora@hotmail.com

*The Role of Historical Education in the Construction of a Belarusian National Identity*

**Discussant**

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

**PANEL CE 12**  
**LAW, JURISDICTION, AND HUNGARIAN MINORITIES**

**Chair**

Andrew Ludanyi (Ohio Northern U, US)  
a-ludanyi@onu.edu

**Papers**

Julie Sunday (McMaster U, Canada)  
julie.sunday@magma.ca

*Expanding Borders: Creating Latitude for Hungarian-Minority Autonomy within Transylvania*

Laszlo J. Kulcsar (Cornell U, US)

lk76@cornell.edu

and Tamas Domokos (Echo Survey Institute, Budapest, Hungary)

tdomokos@echosurvey.hu

*One Generation but Two Places: Tolerance and Nationalist Attitudes among Ethnic Hungarian Students in Hungary and Slovakia*

Ágnes Pál and Istvan Herendi (Juhász Gyula Teachers Training College, Szeged, Hungary)

pala@jgytf.u-szeged.hu, herendi@jgytf.u-szeged.hu

*Ongoing Processes of the Danube-Koros-Mures-Theis Euroregion*

### **Discussant**

Sherrill Stroschein (Harvard Academy, US)

sstroschein@wcfia.harvard.edu

## **PANEL N 8**

### **ETHNIC MOBILIZATION, CONFLICT, AND INSTITUTIONS**

#### **Chair**

Francesco Privitera (U of Bologna, Italy)

priviter@spbo.unibo.it

#### **Papers**

David Epstein (Columbia U, US)

de11@columbia.edu

Bahar Leventoglu (Stonybrook U, US)

bahar.leventoglu@stonybrook.edu

and Sharyn O'Halloran (Columbia U, US)

so33@columbia.edu

*Minorities and Democratization*

Erin Hale DeOrnellas (American U, US)

myitkyina13@msn.com

*Traumatized Communities – Ethnic Conflict and Social Healing*

Erik Friberg (Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Jakarta) Indonesia

erik\_friberg@yahoo.com

*Minority Protection through Genocide Prevention: Can the UN Special Advisor Bridge the UN's Human Rights and Political Institutions?*

### **Discussant**

David J Meyer (Cedarville U, US)

meyerd@cedarville.edu

**PANEL EU 7**  
**THE SOURCES OF POLITICAL (IN)STABILITY IN CENTRAL ASIA**

**Chair**

Steve Sabol (UNC Charlotte, US)  
sosabol@email.uncc.edu

**Papers**

Julian Havers (Carlo Schmid Network for International Cooperation, Germany)  
g4coop@ilo.org

*Clans in Uzbekistan: Political Alliances or Kinship Networks?*

Henry E. Hale (Indiana U, US)  
hhale@indiana.edu

*Cause Without a Rebel: Kazakhstan's Unionist Nationalism and Theories of Secession and Ethnic Conflict*

Akram Mukhamatkulov (Aga Khan Humanities Project, Dushanbe, Tajikistan)  
*Uzbekistan: Can A Looming Popular Unrest Trigger Regime Change?*  
mukhamatkulov@akhp.org

**Discussant**

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

**PANEL R 11**  
**SOVIET NATIONALITIES**

**Chair**

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

**Papers**

George Poteat (Troy U, US)  
GHPoteat@aol.com

*Artificial Nationalities: The Soviet Cultural Project and the Sounds of Conflicted Identity*

Bair Shagdaron (Appalachian State U, US)  
shagdaronbd@appstate.edu  
*Culture As An Expression of National Identity*

Dmitry Shlapentokh (Indiana U, US)  
dshlapen@iusb.edu  
*From National Bolshevism to Westernization: The Road to a Utopian Paradigm*

**Discussant**

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

**PANEL BK 9**  
**BALKAN TRANSNATIONALISMS**

**Chair**

Djordje Stefanovic (U of Toronto, Canada)  
dstefano@chass.utoronto.ca

**Papers**

Erind Pajo (U California Irvine, US)  
epajo@uci.edu

*Portrait of "the Emigrant" as a Teacher in Albania and as a Janitor in Greece: Outline of an Ethnography of International Advancement*

Vojislava Filipcevic (Columbia U, US)  
vf38@columbia.edu

*Remembrance and Reflexivity: Mediated Representations of the Yugoslavian Wars in Film*

Emilio Cocco (U of Bologna and Teramo, Italy)  
e.cocco@fastwebnet.it

*Borderland Mimicry. Imperial Legacies, Nationality Choice and Territorial Identification in Croatian Istria after 1990*

**Discussant**

Ivanka Nedeva Atanasova (George Mason U, US)  
iatanass@gmu.edu

**SESSION II**  
**THURSDAY APRIL 14, 3.15-5.15 PM**

**PANEL U4**

**UKRAINIAN NARRATIVES OF MOVING INTO, OUT OF, AND THROUGH EMPIRES**

**Chair**

Catherine Wanner (Penn State U, US)  
cew10@email.psu.edu

**Papers**

Jennifer Dickinson (U of Vermont, US)  
jennifer.dickinson@uvm.edu

*Joining the Empire: Oral History Narratives of Becoming Soviet in 1940's Zakarpattia*

Natalia Shostak (U of Saskatchewan, Canada)  
natalia.shostak@usask.ca

*Migrating through the EU: Ukrainian Migrant Workers' Narratives in Contemporary Perspective*

Jessica Allina-Pisano (Colgate U, US)  
JAllinaPisano@mail.colgate.edu

*Identity in the Ukraine-Slovakia Borderlands: The Politics of European Union Expansion in a Divided Village*

Tatiana Zhurzhenko (Kazarin Kharkiv National U, Ukraine)  
tzhurzh@postmaster.co.uk

*Identity in the Ukrainain-Russian Borderlands: Local Narratives of Spatial Reorganization and Social Change*

**Discussant**

Paul Robert Magocsi (U of Toronto, Canada)  
ukr.chair@utoronto.ca

**PANEL TH4**

**THE RESHAPING OF THE HOLOCAUST AND WWII MEMORY IN THE POST-SOVIET ERA**

**Chair**

Robin Ostow (Wilfried Laurier U/CREES, U of Toronto, Canada)  
rostow@chass.utoronto.ca

**Papers**

Bella Zisere (Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris, France)  
belle\_rou@yahoo.com

*Holocaust Remembrance in Post-Soviet Latvia*

Lisa Vapne (Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris, France)  
lvapne@yahoo.com

*The Case of Russian-Speaking Jews in Germany*

Sarah Fainberg (Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris, France)  
msf2106@columbia.edu

*A Case Study of Independent Ukraine (1991-2004)*

Timothy Waters (Boston U School of Law, US)  
twwaters@law.harvard.edu

*Remembering Sudetenland: On the Legal Construction of Memory*

### **Discussant**

Lisbeth Tarlow (Davis Center, Harvard U, US)  
tarlow@fas.harvard.edu

## **PANEL N5**

### **THE ROOTS OF ETHNIC VIOLENCE**

#### **Chair**

Neophytos G. Loizides (Harvard/Princeton, US)  
Neophytos\_Loizides@ksg.harvard.edu

#### **Papers**

Cathie Carmichael, University of East Anglia, UK)  
Cathie.Carmichael@uea.ac.uk

*The Power of the Past: Ancient History and Constructions of Ethnic Violence in Europe c.1870-1923*

Chip Gagnon (Ithaca College/Cornell, US)  
vgagnon@ithaca.edu

*The Myth of Ethnic War: Serbia and Croatia in the 1990s*

Dusko Sekulic (Flinders University, Australia)  
Dusko.Sekulic@flinders.edu.au

*Structural Determinants of Nationalism in the Post-Communist Croatia*

#### **Discussants**

Stathis N. Kalyvas (Yale University, US)  
stathis.kalyvas@yale.edu

John Lampe (University of Maryland, US)  
jlampe@Glue.umd.edu

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**ROUNDTABLE EU 3  
AFGHANISTAN****Chair**

Rameen Moshref Javid (Executive Director, *Afghan Communicator*)  
Rameen@afghancommunicator.com

**Participants**

Aman Mojadidi (Program Officer, *Help The Afghan Children*)  
aman@helptheafghanchildren.org

*Humanitarians with Guns: The Militarization of Aid and Development in Afghanistan*

Amin Tarzi (Regional Analyst, RFE/RL, Washington, DC)  
atarzi@yahoo.com

*The Neo-Taliban, Reinvention of a Movement*

Farid Younos (California State U, Hayward, US)  
younos@sbcglobal.net

*Democratization of Afghanistan Islam and Democracy*

**PANEL R 7  
RUSSIA AND THE POLITICS OF ENERGY****Chair**

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

**Papers**

Antonia L. Eliason (U of Michigan Law School)  
aeliason@gmail.com

*Russia and the Near Abroad: The Politics of Energy*

Gulnaz Sharafutdinova (Miami U, Ohio, US)  
gulnaz@gwu.edu

*The Oligarchs are Coming?! Political Implication of Capital Expansion in the Case of Tatarstan*

Robert Barylski (U of South Florida, US)  
barylski@banshee.sar.usf.edu

*Putin's Energy Strategy, the Rentier State Paradigm, and the Rise of Technocratic, Authoritarian Nationalism in the Former Soviet Union*

Anastassia Gnezditskaia (Central European U, Hungary)  
pphgna01@phd.ceu.hu

*Unidentified Shareholders: the Impact of Petroleum Companies on Banking Sector in Russia vis-à-vis other Petrostates*

**Discussant**

Stephen Blank (US Army War College, US)  
Stephen.Blank@us.army.mil

**PANEL BK 15  
WOMEN IN OTTOMAN BOSNIA****Chair**

Ana Androsik (Graduate School for Social Research, Warsaw, Poland)  
aa127\_98@yahoo.com

**Papers**

Amila Buturovic (York U, Canada)  
amilab@yorku.ca

*Love and/or Death?: Conflict Resolution in the Traditional Bosnian Ballad*

Snezana Buzov (U of Pittsburgh, US)  
snb5+@pitt.edu

*Bosnian Muslim Women in Public Space*

Selma Zecevic (York U, Canada)  
selmaz@yorku.ca

*Missing Husbands, Waiting Wives, Bosnian Muftis: Legal Texts,  
Social Context and Gender Construction in 18th Century Ottoman Bosnia*

Mirna Solic (U of Toronto, Canada)  
mir@xurban.net

*The Influence of Sevdah and Folk Elements on the Poetry of the Croatian Poet Luka Botić*

**Discussant**

Nadine Akhund (Columbia U, US)  
edara@aol.com

**PANEL CE2  
ROMANIAN NATIONALISM AND NATIONALISMS IN ROMANIA IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE****Chair**

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

**Papers**

Victor Neumann (U of Timisoara, Romania)  
vneumann@mail.dnttm.ro

*Why Redefine the Concept of Nation in East Central and Southeastern Europe?: Romania  
and Beyond*

Sandra Dungaciu (U of Bucharest and Spiru Haret U, Romania)  
sandradungaciu@fastmail.fm

*Theories of Identity and Political Realities in Eastern Europe: Comparing Romania and Yugoslavia*

Michael Shafir (Babes-Bolyai U, Cluj, Romania)  
shafirm@euro.ubbcluj.ro

*Nationalisms and the 2004 Romanian Elections: Internal Facets, Foreign Impacts*

Borbála Kriza (Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris, France)  
krizab@freemail.hu

*Distant Neighbor: Discourses on Romania in the Hungarian Press*

**Discussant**

Henry F. Carey (Georgia State U, US)  
polhfc@langate.gsu.edu

**SESSION III**  
**THURSDAY APRIL 14, 5.30-7.30 PM**

**SPECIAL ROUNDTABLE EU 4**

**THE KURDS AND THE CONSTITUTIONAL FUTURE OF IRAQ**

(based on the forthcoming book *The Future of Kurdistan in Iraq*,  
U of Pennsylvania Press, May 2005)

**Chair**

Troy McGrath (President, College of the Marshall Islands)  
cmideanaca@ntamar.net

**Participants**

John McGarry (Queen's U, Canada)  
mcgarryj@post.queensu.ca

Brendan O'Leary (U of Pennsylvania, US)  
boleary@sas.upenn.edu

**PANEL CE 5**

**NEGOTIATING JEWISH IDENTITIES IN PRIVATE AND PUBLIC SPACE**

**Chair**

Daniel Unowsky (U of Memphis, US)  
dunowsky@memphis.edu

**Papers**

Zsuzsanna Vidra (EHESS, Paris, France)  
vzsuzsanna@hotmail.com

*The Hidden Jew: Jewish Narratives in Roma Life-Stories*

Robin Ostow (Wilfrid-Laurier U/CREES, U of Toronto, Canada)  
rostow@chass.utoronto.ca

*The Jewish Museum Berlin*

Angela White (Indiana U, US)  
angwhite@indiana.edu

*The Metaphysics of Anti-Semitism: The Polish-Jewish Press Confronts Polish Anti-Semitism*

**Discussant**

Ian Reifowitz (SUNY Empire State College, Old Westbury, NY)  
Ian.Reifowitz@esc.edu

**PANEL CE 3****ETHNICITY AND RELIGION IN VILNIUS, 1812-1939****Chair**

Tomas Venclova (Yale U, US)  
tomas.venclova@yale.edu

**Papers**

Cecile Kuznitz (Bard College, US)  
kuznitz@bard.edu

*The Vilna Jewish Community and the International Yiddish Nation, 1919-1939*

Laimonas Briedis (U of British Columbia, Canada)  
lbriedis@hotmail.com

*Vilnius in Europe: An Alien Home*

Theodore R. Weeks (Southern Illinois U, Carbondale, US)  
tadeusz@siu.edu

*Polish Society in Wilno, 1812-1863*

**Discussant**

Vejas Liulevicius (U. of Tennessee, Knoxville, US)  
vliulevi@utk.edu

**PANEL N 10****SEARCHING FOR IDENTITY IN THE NEW EUROPE****Chair**

Scott D Orr (Ohio State U, US)  
sdorr@ix.netcom.com

**Papers**

Ildiko Rezmues (U of Colorado Boulder, US)  
Ildiko.Rezmues@colorado.edu

*The Construction of a Transnational European Identity*

Agnes Katalin Koos (U of New Orleans, US)  
akoos@uno.edu

*Between Necessity and Constructed-ness: The Chances of Supranational Identities*

Chris Gilligan (U of Ulster, UK)  
C.Gilligan@ulster.ac.uk

*Anti-Political Nationalism? Nationalism and Diminished Agency*

Lorenzo Canas Bottos (U College Dublin, Ireland)  
lorenzo.canas-bottos@ucd.ie

*Reconfiguration of Ethno-National Identities in the Irish Border Area*

**Discussant**

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

**PANEL R 1****ETHNIC FEDERALISM IN THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION****Chair**

Tomila Lankina (Woodrow Wilson International Center, US)  
LankinaTV@wwic.si.edu

**Papers**

Philip Hanson (U of Birmingham/Chatham House, UK)  
HansonPhl@aol.com

*Putin Grabs the Purse Strings: Regional Budgets, Inequality, and Ethnicity in the Russian Federation*

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

*A Comparison of Policy toward Russia's Ethnic Republics under Presidents Yeltsin and Putin*

Elizabeth Teague (Foreign & Commonwealth Office, UK)  
elizabeth.teague@fco.gov.uk

*The Impact on Russia's Ethnic Republics of President Putin's 2004 Restructuring of the Russian Federal System*

Helge Blakkisrud (Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Norway)  
hb@nupi.no

*The Appointed Governor: The End of Russian Federalism?*

**Discussant**

Gulnaz Sharafutdinova (Miami U, Ohio, US)  
Gulnaz@gwu.edu

**PANEL BK 6****NEW APPROACHES IN BALKAN HISTORIOGRAPHY****Chair**

Brigitte Le Normand (UCLA, US)  
blenorm@ucla.edu

**Papers**

Vjekoslav Perica (University of Utah, US)  
vic.perica@utah.edu

*Balkan Imago Mundi: On Some Aspects of Construction and Destruction of Religious Monuments in the South Slav States, 1965-1999*

Edin Hajdarpasic (University of Michigan, US)  
edin@umich.edu

*Political Aspirations of the Bosnian Franciscans during the Tanzimat, 1850-1875*

Emil Kerenji (University of Michigan, US)  
ekerenji@umich.edu

*Zionist Landscapes: Yugoslavism among the Immigrants from Yugoslavia in Israel, 1948-1958*

Francine Friedman (Ball State U, US)  
fsfriedman@hotmail.com

*The Sarajevo Haggadah: State Symbol or National Hot Potato?*

### **Discussant**

Isa Blumi (Trinity College, US)  
ngapeja@rocketmail.com

### **PANEL EU 6**

#### **STATE AND SOCIETY IN CENTRAL ASIA**

#### **Chair**

Raju G. C. Thomas (Marquette U, US)  
gcthomas@ameritech.net

#### **Papers**

Alisher Abidjanov (National U of Uzbekistan, Tashkent, Uzbekistan)  
abidjanov-a@yandex.ru

*A Central Asian Approach to Building Civil Society*

Erica Marat Iskakova (U of Bremen, Germany)  
Erica\_Marat@yahoo.com

*The Impact of Military Sector on Central Asian States' Economic Development*

Alex Lupis (Committee to Protect Journalists, NY, US)  
alupis@cpj.org

*Press Freedom Abuses in Post-Soviet Central Asia: Analyzing Psychological Aspects of Human Rights Activism*

#### **Discussant**

Edward Schatz (Southern Illinois U, US)  
schatz@siu.edu

## SESSION IV

FRIDAY APRIL 15, 9.00-11.00 AM

### PANEL U 5

#### UKRAINE UNDER LEONID KUCHMA, PART I

[Special 2005 Issue of Problems of Post-Communism on “Ten Years of Leonid Kuchma”]

#### Chair

Roman Senkus (CIUS, U of Toronto, Canada)  
r.senkus@utoronto.ca

#### Papers

Sarah Whitmore (Oxford Brookes U, UK)  
swhitmore@brookes.ac.uk

#### *State and Institution Building*

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

#### *Constitutional Politics and Presidential Power*

Alexandra Hrycak (Reed College, US)  
Alexandra.Hrycak@directory.reed.edu

#### *Gender Issues*

#### Discussant

Paul D’Anieri (University of Kansas, US)  
p-danieri@ku.edu

### PANEL CE 9

#### EU’S FIRST YEAR

#### Chair

John Micgiel (Columbia U, US)  
jsm6@columbia.edu

#### Papers

Tsveta Petrova (Cornell U, US)  
tap25@cornell.edu

#### *Democratization and State-Building in Post-Socialist Central and Eastern Europe (Poland and Romania)*

Krzysztof Jasiewicz (Washington and Lee University, US)  
JasiewiczK@wlu.edu

#### *Returning to Europe or Staying in One’s Hamlet? (Poland)*

Yaroslav Bilinsky (U of Delaware, US)

yby@udel.edu

Political and Diplomatic Consequences of Poland's Accession to the EU, the First Year

**Discussant**

Andrew Ludanyi (Ohio Northern U, US)

a-ludanyi@onu.edu

**PANEL N 7**

**DYNAMICS OF MOBILIZATION**

**Chair**

Fotini Christia (Harvard U, US)

christia@fas.harvard.edu

**Papers**

Nikolaos Bizziouras (Kennedy School of Government, Harvard U, US)

Nikolaos\_Bizziouras@ksg.harvard.edu

*Ethnic Political Entrepreneurs, Economic Resources and Mobilizational Dynamics: Combining Large-N Results with Case Study Evidence*

Alan J Kuperman (SAIS, John Hopkins U, US/Bologna Center, Italy)

Akuperman@jhubc.it

*Rx for Bosnia: Power-Sharing or Partition?*

Bradley Tatar (UNC Greensboro, US)

bradleytatar@yahoo.com

*Emergence of Nationalist Identity in Armed Insurrections: A Comparison of Iraq and Nicaragua*

Dina Zisserman-Brodsky, Hebrew U (Israel)

dinabz@netvision.net.il,

*Conceptualizing Ethnonationalism: Inter-Group Comparison in Structuring Perceptions and Interpretations of Relative Deprivation*

**Discussant**

Stuart J Kaufman (U of Delaware, US)

skaufman@udel.edu

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**ROUNDTABLE EU 2**  
**KYRGYZSTAN: A SURPRISE REVOLUTION AND AFTERMATH**

**Chair**

Edward Schatz (Southern Illinois U, US)  
schatz@siu.edu

**Participants**

Pauline Jones Luong (Brown U, US)  
pauline\_luong@brown.edu

Neil Melvin (Uof Leeds, UK)  
Neil.Melvin@hcnm.org

Bhavna Dave (School of Oriental and African Studies, UK)  
bd4@soas.ac.uk

Eric Rudenshoid (International Foundation of Electoral Systems, Washington, DC)  
ERudenshoid@ifes.org

**PANEL R 4**  
**THE POLISH UPRISING OF 1863 AND THE RUSSIAN NATIONALISTIC DISCOURSE:  
REPRESENTATIONS OF THE CONFLICT**

**Chair**

Alexei Miller (Central European U, Hungary / Institute for Scientific Information, Moscow, Russia)  
millera@ceu.hu

**Papers**

Mikhail Dolbilov (Voronezh State U, Russia)  
dolbilov@icmail.ru

*The Russifying Bureaucrats' Vision of Catholicism: The Case of Northwestern krai after 1863*

Nathaniel Knight (Seton Hall U, US)  
knightna@shu.edu

*Imagining the Mind of the Nation: The Polish Uprising of 1863 and the Discourse on the Russian Intelligentsia*

Olga Maiorova (U of Michigan, US)  
maiorova@umich.edu

*Battling with Corpses: the "Vampire Pole" Metaphor in the Russian Nationalistic Discourse*

**Discussant**

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

**PANEL BK 3**  
**MASCULINITIES, STATE AND VIOLENCE IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA**

**Chair**

Gail Kligman (UCLA, US)  
Kligman@soc.ucla.edu

**Papers**

Elissa Helms (Central European U, Hungary)  
Helmse@ceu.hu

*“Tearing Apart a Cat” as Domestic Violence Prevention: The Bosnian Police as a (Gendered) Joke*

Jessica Greenberg (U of Chicago, US)  
jrgreenb@uchicago.edu

*Goodbye Serbia’s Kennedy: Zoran Djindjic and the New Democratic Masculinity*

Aleksandra Sasha Milicevic (Colgate U, US)  
amilicevic@mail.colgate.edu

*Masculinities and War: Volunteers and Draft Dodgers from Serbia*

**Discussant**

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

**PANEL K1**  
**TERRORISM IN CHECHNYA I**

**Chair**

Miriam Lansky (National Endowment for Democracy, Washington, DC, US)  
miriaml@ned.org

**Papers**

Pavel Baev (International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, Norway)  
pavel@prio.no

*Instrumentalizing Counterterrorism for Regime Consolidation in Russia*

Mark Kramer (Harvard U, US)  
mkramer@fas.harvard.edu

*Guerrilla Warfare, Counterinsurgency, and Terrorism in the North Caucasus*

Anatoly Iasenko (US Appalachian State U, US)  
isaenkoa@appstate.edu

*The Tragedy of Beslan in the Context of Ethnocentric Nationalism and Regressive Social Transformation in the North Caucasus*

**Discussant**

Troy McGrath (President, College of the Marshall Islands)  
cmideanaca@ntamar.net

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**PANEL TH 5**  
**CONFLICT RESOLUTION**

**Chair**

Timothy Waters (Boston U School of Law, US)  
twwaters@law.harvard.edu

**Papers**

Camille A. Monteux (London School of Economics, UK)  
C.A.Monteux@lse.ac.uk

*Decentralisation: The New Delusion of Ethnic Conflict Regulation?*  
*[Analysis of Kosovo, Macedonia and Bosnia]*

Natalie Mychajlyszyn (Carleton U/Research Associate, Chair of Ukrainian Studies, U of Ottawa, Canada) nmychajl@hotmail.com

*Trade in Conflict, Conflicting Trade: The Political Economic Dimensions of Conflict Resolution in the Post-Soviet Region*

Vahe Sahakyan (U of Michigan, US/Yerevan State U, Armenia)  
sahakv@umich.edu

*Non Diplomatic Aspects of Nagorno Karabakh Conflict Resolution*

Karyna Korostelina (George Mason U, US)  
ckoroste@gmu.edu

*National Identity Formation and Conflict Intentions of Ethnic Minorities: Early Warning and Identity Management*

**Discussant**

Benjamin Jensen (School of International Service, American U, US)  
benjamin\_jensen@yahoo.com

**SESSION V**  
**FRIDAY APRIL 15, 11.15 AM-1.15 PM**

**PANEL WORKSHOP U 9**

**THE HIDDEN POLITICS OF PERSUASION AND COERCION: NEW APPROACHES TO THE UKRAINIAN STATE**

**Moderator**

Dominique Arel (Chair of Ukrainian Studies, U of Ottawa)  
darel@uottawa.ca

**Presentations**

Andrew Wilson (U College London, UK)  
alwilson@ssees.ac.uk / awilson8795@hotmail.com  
*Virtual Politics: Faking Democracy in Ukraine*

Keith Darden (Yale U, US)  
keith.darden@yale.edu  
*The Politics of the Blackmail State*

Jessica Allina-Pisano (Colgate U, US)  
JAllinaPisano@mail.colgate.edu  
*Informal Institutions, Capillary Power, and State Hegemony*

**PANEL CE 4**

**THE MARGINS OF ETHNIC IDENTITY: LITHUANIAN AND CZECH SOCIAL GROUPS**

**Chair**

Bradley Abrams (Columbia U, US)  
bfa4@columbia.edu

**Papers**

Neringa Klumbyte (U of Pittsburgh, US)  
nekst4@pitt.edu  
*A Communist and a Deportee (Lithuania)*

Diana Mincyte (U of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, US)  
mincyte@uiuc.edu  
*Nationalism in Practice: Lithuanian Farmers under Khrushchev and after*

Iglika Yakova (Institut d'Etudes Politiques, Paris, France)  
iglika.yakova@sciences-po.org  
*Negotiating New Identity: Post-Socialist Farmers in the Czech Republic and the Accession to the EU*

**Discussant**

Violeta Kelertas (U of Illinois at Chicago, US)  
kelertas@uic.edu

**SPECIAL PANEL N 12**

**ALFRED STEPAN, JUAN LINZ AND YOGENDRA YADAV'S FORTHCOMING BOOK, "NATION STATE" OR "STATE NATION": THEORETICAL REFLECTIONS AND DATA FROM SPAIN, BELGIUM, AND INDIA**

**Chair**

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

**Discussants**

John McGarry (Queen's U, Canada)  
mcgarryj@post.queensu.ca

Hudson Meadwell (McGill U, Canada)  
hudson.meadwell@mcgill.ca

**Authors**

Alfred Stepan (Columbia U, US)  
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Juan J. Linz (Yale U, US)  
winifred.travers@yale.edu

Yogendra Yadav (Center for the Study of Developing Societies, Delhi, India)  
lokniti@del3.vsnl.net.in

**PANEL R 10**

**ETHNIC MOBILIZATION AND DEMOBILIZATION ACROSS TIME PERIODS AND CONTEXTS**

**Chair**

Olessia Vovina (Montclair State U, US)  
ovovina@verizon.net

**Papers**

Elise Giuliano (U of Miami, US)  
egiulian@exchange.sba.miami.edu

*The Emergence of Nationhood: A Discourse Analysis of Ethnic Minority Nationalism in Russia, 1990-1993*

Zvi Gitelman (U of Michigan, US)  
zvigitel@umich.edu

*Ethnicity and Terror: Jews as Persecutors and Persecuted in the Great Terror*

Pål Kolstø (U Of Oslo, Norway)  
Pal.Kolsto@east.uio.no

*Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict, And Job Competition: The Russian Evidence*

Aileen A Espiritu (U of Northern British Columbia, Canada)  
espiritu@unbc.ca,  
*Reflections of Power: Negotiating Politics Among the Khanty*

**Discussant**

Yitzhak Brudny (Hebrew U, Israel)  
Ybrudny@aol.com

**PANEL BK 4**

**THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL FOR THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA (ICTY) AND THE FORMER YUGOSLAV STATES: THE POLITICS OF COOPERATION**

**Chair**

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

**Papers**

Rachel Kerr (King's College London, UK)  
rachel.kerr@kcl.ac.uk  
*'The Politics of Cooperation with the ICTY in Bosnia-Herzegovina'*

Ivan Zverzhanovski (King's College, London, UK)  
ivan.zverzhanovski@kcl.ac.uk  
*'Serbia-Montenegro and the ICTY: a Cause of Instability?'*

**Discussant**

James Gow (King's College, UK)  
James.Gow@kcl.ac.uk

**PANEL K 4**

**CHECHEN AND INGUSH SCHOLARS REFLECT ON THE CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FACING THEIR COMMUNITIES**

**Chair**

Almut Rochowanski (Chechnya Advocacy Network, NY, US)  
almut@chechnyaadvocacy.org

**Papers**

Amrina Sugaipova (Portland State U, US)  
amrina@pdx.edu  
*Gender Roles in the Chechen Communities in Exile*

Zalpa Bersanova (Moscow State U, Russia)  
zalpa@list.ru  
*Values Stronger than War: Islam and the Struggle for Meaning in Chechnya Today*

Zeinap Badieva (Rutgers U, US)

zeinapbadieva@yahoo.com

*Access to Secondary and Higher Education and Specific Problems of Students in the Northern Caucasus*

**Discussant**

Michaela Pohl (Vassar College, US)

mipohl@vassar.edu

**PANEL TK 1**

**POLITICS AND THE NATION IN TURKEY**

**Chair**

Spyridon Kotsovilis (McGill U, Canada)

spyridon.kotsovilis@elf.mcgill.ca

**Papers**

David Abesadze (George Washington U, US / Tbilisi State U, Georgia)

abesadze@gwu.edu

*Transformation of Islamic Movement in Turkey*

Sener Akturk (U California Berkeley, US)

sakturk@uclink.berkeley.edu

*Turkey's "Imperial Nationhood", Its Historical Evolution, and the European Union*

Evangelos Liaras (MIT, US)

liaras@mit.edu

*Militarized Politics, Politicized Armies: Civil-Military Relations in Turkey and Greece*

Neophytos Loizides (Harvard U, US)

Neophytos\_Loizides@ksg.harvard.edu

*Framing in the Parliament and Turkey's Foreign Policy Dilemmas*

**Discussant**

Robert O Freedman (Baltimore Hebrew U, US)

rofreedman@comcast.net

**PANEL TH 8****EDUCATION AND IDENTITY: AN ANALYSIS OF THE POST-SOVIET SPACE****Chair**

Elena Selyuk (Institute for the Study of Conflict, Ideology & Policy, Boston U, US)  
eselyuk@bu.edu

**Papers**

Ariela Shapiro (Institute for the Study of Conflict, Ideology & Policy, Boston U, US)  
yah\_israel@hotmail.com

*Education as Catalyst for Conflict: The Georgian Media and Public Information*

Robyn Angley (Institute for the Study of Conflict, Ideology & Policy, Boston U, US)  
hearthhobbit@hotmail.com

*Textbooks, Patriotism and Identity in the Russian Federation*

Rebecca Mulder (Institute for the Study of Conflict, Ideology & Policy, Boston U, US)  
rmulder@bu.edu

*The Russian Teacher and Nationalism: Past and Present*

**Discussant**

Fabian Adami (Boston U, US)  
fabs\_adami@yahoo.com

**SESSION V**  
**FRIDAY APRIL 15, 2.45-4.45 PM**

**PANEL U 10**  
**THE REGIONAL FACTOR IN UKRAINIAN POLITICS**

**Chair**

Martha B. Trofimenko (Barrister and Solicitor, Toronto, Canada)  
trofimenko@mail.dol.net

**Papers**

Lowell Barrington (Marquette U, US)  
lowell.barrington@marquette.edu  
and Stephen Shulman (University of Southern Illinois, US)  
shulman@siu.edu

*Disentangling and Re-entangling Region, Ethnicity, and Language in Ukrainian Mass Attitudes*

Yaroslav Hrytsak (Lviv State U, Ukraine)  
hrytsak@franko.lviv.ua  
and Oksana Malanchuk (U Michigan, US)  
oksana@umich.edu

*A Story of Two Cities, 10 Years After: The Lviv-Donetsk Comparison*

Dominique Arel (Chair of Ukrainian Studies, U of Ottawa)  
darel@uottawa.ca

*Understanding the Regional Factor in Ukrainian Politics: The Evidence from the 1994 and 2004 Presidential Election Surveys*

**Discussant**

Roman Szporluk (Harvard U, US)  
szporluk@fas.harvard.edu

**SPECIAL PANEL CE 15**

**DAVID CROWE'S BOOK *OSKAR SCHINDLER: THE UNTOLD ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE, WARTIME ACTIVITIES, AND THE TRUE STORY BEHIND THE LIST* (Basic Books, 2004)**

**Chair**

Steve Sabol (UNC Charlotte, US)  
sosabol@email.uncc.edu

**Discussants**

Istvan Deak (Columbia U, US)  
id1@columbia.edu

James F. Tent (U of Alabama at Birmingham, US)  
jtent@uab.edu

Doris Bergen (U of Notre Dame, US)  
Doris.L.Bergen.4@nd.edu

**Author**

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

**PANEL TH 2****LANGUAGE POLITICS IN THE POST-COMMUNIST WORLD, PART I****Chair**

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

**Papers**

Dmitry Gorenburg (CNA Corporation, Washington, DC)  
gorenbur@alumni.princeton.edu

*Tatar Language Policies in Comparative Perspective: Why Some Revivals Fail and Some Succeed*

Zsuzsa Csergo (George Washington U, US)  
csergo@gwu.edu

*Contesting Cultural Reproduction: Language and Education in Romania and Slovakia*

Laurence Broers (Conciliation Resources, UK)  
laurence\_broers@totalise.co.uk

*Post-Coloniality and the Politics of Language in Post-Soviet Georgia*

Nadiya Kushko (Chair of Ukrainian Studies, U of Toronto, Canada)  
nadiya.kushko@utoronto.ca

*Literary Standards of the Rusyn Language: The Historical Context and Contemporary Situation*

**Discussant**

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

**PANEL N 11  
THE STATE OF NATIONS****Chair**

Daniel Unowsky (U of Memphis, US)  
dunowsky@memphis.edu

**Papers**

Jean Terrier (Columbia U, US)  
jt2201@columbia.edu

*The Notion of National Character in Late 19th Century France and the Question of the Civic Nation*

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

*Between Nation and State: The Itinerary of Hans Kohn*

Michael Allen (Brigham Young U, Hawaii, US)  
AllenM@byuh.edu

*Nationalism, Anarchism, Social Darwinism: An Asian Case of Mimesis and Modification*

**Discussant**

Harris G. Mylonas (Yale U, US)  
charalampos.mylonas@yale.edu

**PANEL F  
SECURITY AND INSECURITY IN CENTRAL ASIA AND THE CAUCASUS****Chair**

Ahad Hayaud-Din (St. Petersburg College, US)  
Hayaud-Din.Mian@spcollege.edu

**Papers**

Martin C. Spechler and Dina Spechler (Indiana U, US)  
spechler@indiana.edu

*Conflict and Cooperation in Central Asia*

Brendon Cannon (University of Utah, US)  
brocannon@yahoo.com

*The Invasion of Iraq and the Turkoman: Autonomy, Iraqi Unity, or Civil Strife?*

Taleh Ziyadov (Georgetown University, US)

tz9@georgetown.edu

*The Foreign Policy of the South Caucasus States before and after September 11<sup>th</sup>*

**Discussant**

Ariel Cohen (Heritage Foundation, Washington, DC, US)

ariel.cohen@heritage.org

**PANEL BK 14**

**THE SHAPING OF MODERN MONTENEGRO**

**Chair**

Gordon Bardos (Harriman Institute, Columbia U, US)

gnb12@columbia.edu

**Papers**

Srdja Pavlovic (U of Alberta, Canada)

srdjapavlovic@yahoo.com

*Building Civil Society in Montenegro*

Koca Pavlovic (Documentary filmmaker, OBALA, Podgorica, Montenegro)

obalaprodukcija@cg.yu

*Montenegrin Independence: Media Discourse*

Milos Besic (U California Berkeley, US)

beshagenije@yahoo.com

*Nationalism vs Civil Option in Montenegro*

**Discussant**

James Sadkovich (Woodrow Wilson Center for International Studies, US)

jsadkovich@aol.com

**PANEL TH 7**

**THE STATE AND ITS PEOPLE(S): NEGOTIATING CITIZENSHIP AND IDENTITY**

**Chair**

Dominique Colas (Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris)

dcolas@noos.fr

**Papers**

Peter Waisberg (Carleton U, Canada)

pwaisber@ccs.carleton.ca

*Renegotiating Social Citizenship in Russia: The Monetization of Benefits and the Re-engineering of the Welfare State*

Lisa Koriouchkina (Brown U, US)  
Elisaveta\_Koriouchkina@brown.edu  
*Meskhethian Turks and the Regime of Citizenship in Russia*

Angela Demian (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris, France)  
demian7599@yahoo.com  
*The Republic of Moldova: Anthropology of Identity, Citizenship and Nationality*

**Discussant**

Cynthia Buckley (U of Texas at Austin, US)  
cbuckley@mail.la.utexas.edu

**PANEL K 2**  
**TERRORISM IN CHECHNYA II**

**Chair**

Walter Comins-Richmond (Occidental College, US)  
richmond@oxy.edu

**Papers**

Anatol Lieven (Carnegie Corporation, Washington, DC)  
alieven@ceip.org  
*Violence and Terrorism in Chechnya*

Daniel Nerenberg (McGill U, Canada)  
dneren@po-box.mcgill.ca  
*Sufi versus Salafi: Examining The Islamist Elements in Chechnya*

Mia Bloom (U of Cincinnati, US)  
miambloom@yahoo.com  
*Beslan: Analogous or Anomalous of Islamic Terrorism?*

**Discussant**

Paul J Murphy, author of *Wolves of Islam: Russia and the Faces of Chechen Terror*  
(Brassey's, 2004)  
robert7ru@yahoo.com

**ROUNDTABLE R 5****REVISITING THE DILEMMA OF DOMINANCE AFTER THE FALL: THE CASE OF RUSSIAN NATIONALISM****Chair**

Catharine T. Nepomnyashchy (Columbia U, US)  
cn29@columbia.edu

**Participants**

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

Stephen Kotkin (Princeton U, US)  
kotkin@princeton.edu

Mark von Hagen (Columbia U, US)  
mlv2@columbia.edu

Nina Khrushcheva (New School U, US)  
khruschn@newschool.edu

**PANEL TK 2****EMPIRE AND NATIONHOOD FROM OTTOMANS TO TURKS****Chair**

Peride Kalegasi-Blind (Georgetown U, US)  
peride@yahoo.com

**Papers**

Yesim Bayar (McGill U, Canada)  
ybayar@hotmail.com

*Imperial Legacy and The Construction of National Identity: A Case Study of the Early Turkish Republic*

David C. Cuthell, Jr. (Columbia U, US)  
Cathydavid@aol.com

*Ottomans to Turkish Citizens: A Picture is Worth a Thousand Words—the Ottoman Illustrated magazine Resimli Kitab*

Laura Mahalingappa (U of Texas, US)  
ljmaha@mail.utexas.edu

*Identity Construction Following the Turkish Language Reform*

Erol Ulker (Istanbul Bilgi U, Turkey)  
eulker@bilgi.edu.tr

*Contextualizing 'Turkification': Nation-Building In The Late Ottoman Empire, 1908-1918*

**Discussant**

Jared Manasek (Columbia U, US)  
jbm2031@columbia.edu

**SESSION VI**  
**FRIDAY APRIL 15, 5.00-7.00 PM**

**SPECIAL ROUNDTABLE U 13**  
**YUSHCHENKO'S FIRST 100 DAYS**

**Chair**

Marc P. Berenson (Princeton U, US)  
berenson@princeton.edu

**Participants**

Daniel Bilak (Research Fellow, Chair of Ukrainian Studies, U of Ottawa, Canada)  
Daniel.Bilak@gowlings.com

Mychailo Wynnyckyj (U Mohyla Academy, Kyiv, Ukraine)  
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Françoise Ducros (CIDA, Ottawa, Canada) [to be confirmed]  
francoise\_ducros@acdi-cida.gc.ca

Adrian Karatnycky (Freedom House, New York, US)  
fhpres@aol.com

**PANEL CE 11**  
**PEOPLES AND INSTITUTIONS OF THE HAPSBURG EMPIRE AND BEYOND**

**Chair**

Ionas Aurelian Rus (Rutgers U, US)  
ionasrus@eden.rutgers.edu

**Papers**

Jeff Mankoff (Yale U, US)  
jmankoff@yahoo.com

*Nationalism by Proxy: Austro-Russian Relations and the National Minorities*

Hans Haas (U of Salzburg, Austria)  
hanns.haas@sbg.ac.at

*The Disintegration of Central Institutions: the Hapsburg Monarchy, Autumn 1918*

Ewald Hiebl (U of Salzburg, Austria)  
ewald.hiebl@sbg.ac.at

*National Identities and Nation-Building in the Hapsburg Empire, 1848*

**Discussant**

Pieter Judson (Swarthmore College, US)  
PieterJudson@cs.com

**SPECIAL PANEL N 3**

**KANCHAN CHANDRA'S BOOK WHY ETHNIC PARTIES SUCCEED:  
PATRONAGE AND ETHNIC HEAD COUNTS IN INDIA  
(Cambridge U Press, 2004)**

**Chair**

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

**Discussants**

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

John Ishiyama (Truman U, US)  
jishiyam@truman.edu

Narendra Subramanian (McGill U, Canada)  
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**Author**

Kanchan Chandra (MIT, US)  
kchandra@mit.edu

**PANEL BK 2**

**INTERNATIONALIZED STATE-BUILDING AFTER VIOLENT CONFLICT:  
BOSNIA TEN YEARS AFTER DAYTON**

**Chair**

Stefan Wolff (University of Bath, UK)  
S.Wolff@bath.ac.uk

**Papers**

Florian Bieber (ECMI Belgrade, Serbia-Montenegro)  
bieberf@gmx.net

*After Dayton, Dayton? The Evolution of an Unpopular Peace*

James Gow (King's College London, UK)  
James.Gow@kcl.ac.uk

*The ICTY and Dayton: the Strategic Ghost in the Machine*

Monica Blagescu (U of Bath, UK)  
E.M.Blagescu@bath.ac.uk

*Democratic and/or Effective? Security Sector Reform and Reconstruction in Bosnia and Herzegovina*

**Discussant**

Marc Weller (U of Cambridge, UK)  
mw148@cam.ac.uk

**PANEL TH 1**  
**THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN PREVENTING CONFLICT AND DEMOCRATIZATION**

**Chair**

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

**Papers**

Nina Wichmann (Graduate School of Social Sciences, Bremen, Germany)  
Wichmann@gsss.uni-bremen.de

*The EU Democratization Strategies and their Impact on Civil Society in Serbia and Croatia: Help or Hurdle for Going Europe?*

Besnik Pula (U of Michigan, US)  
besnik@alb-net.com

*A Changing Society, a Changing Civil Society: Kosova's NGO Sector after the War*

Dan Dungaciu (University of Bucharest, Romania)  
ddungaciu@fastmail.fm

and Mireille Carmen Radoi (U of Bucharest, Romania)  
rmireille@email.com

*The Role of Civil Society in Conflict Prevention: the Case of the Republic of Moldova*

**Discussant**

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

**PANEL R 6**  
**ISSUES OF SPACE, GEOGRAPHY, AND IDENTITY IN THE RUSSIAN AND SOVIET EMPIRES**

**Chair**

Dmitry Shlapentokh (Indiana U, US)  
dshlapen@iusb.edu

**Papers**

Claudia Weiss (U der Bundeswehr Hamburg, Germany)  
claudia.weiss@unibw-hamburg.de

*In Service of the Empire: The Role of Geography in the Development of Imperial Space*

Adile Istarki (London School of Economics, UK)  
aistarki@hotmail.com

*Constructing a Modern Tatar Identity: Russian and Tatar Pedagogical Reforms in the late Nineteenth Century*

Taras Kurylo (U of Alberta, Canada)

tkurylo@ualberta.ca

*Strength and Weakness of Ukrainian Nationalism in Kyiv during the German Occupation (1941-1943)*

**Discussant**

William Rosenberg (U of Michigan, US)

wgr@umich.edu

**PANEL BK 5**

**ON THE VERSAILLES SHADOWS? THE LEGACIES OF VERSAILLES AND THE YUGOSLAV PEACE TREATIES COMPARED**

**Chair**

Stefano Bianchini (U of Bologna, Italy)

stefano.bianchini@unibo.it

**Papers**

Francesco Caccamo (U of Chieti, Italy)

francesco\_caccamo@yahoo.com

*The Legacies of Versailles in the Balkans*

Dusan Janjic (Institute for Social Sciences, U Belgrade, Serbia) and Ylber Hisa (Forum for Ethnic Relations, Prishtinë, Kosovo, Serbia)

janjicd@eunet.yu, yhysa@hotmail.com

*Kosovo: Five Years of International Administration*

R. Craig Nation (US Army War College, Carlisle, US)

Craig.Nation@us.army.mil

*After Dayton: US and European Geopolitical Ambitions to South Eastern Europe*

Francesco Privitera (U of Bologna, Italy)

priviter@spbo.unibo.it

*National Sovereignty vs. EU Integration: the Challenges for the Balkans*

**Discussant**

Henry Huttenbach (City College of New York, US)

huttenbach@aol.com

**PANEL K 3**  
**NATIONALISM AND THE NATION IN THE CAUCASUS**

**Chair**

Erin Koch (Columbia U, US)  
ek2231@columbia.edu

**Papers**

Payam Foroughi (U of Utah, US)  
PayamForoughi@aol.com

*Transition Scorecards: How are the States of Central Asia and the Caucasus Fairing under Post-Communism*

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

*Examining the Boundaries of Europe: The Impact of European Minority Rights Norms in Central Asia and the Caucasus*

Thornike Gordadze (Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris, France)  
gordadze@club-internet.fr

*Paradoxical Legacies of Ottoman, Russian and Soviet Empires: Georgian Nationalism and South-Western Provinces of Adjara and Meskheta*

Tamara Zurabishvili (New School University, US)  
tamzge@yahoo.com

*The Experience of Georgian Labor Migration*

**Discussant**

Stephen Jones (Mt Holyoke, US)  
sfjones@MtHolyoke.edu

**PANEL TH 3**  
**LANGUAGE POLITICS IN THE POST-COMMUNIST WORLD, PART II**

**Chair**

Alexander Murzaku (College of Saint Elizabeth, Morristown, NJ, US)  
amurzaku@cse.edu

**Papers**

Joan Chevalier (Brandeis U, US)  
chevalie@brandeis.edu

*Legislating Language in Post-Communist Russia: On the Russian Language as the National Language of the Russian Federation*

Sari Pöyhönen (University of Jyväskylä, Finland)  
spoyhone@campus.jyu.fi

*Teaching of Finnish in Russia: Is It More than an Ethnic Duty?*

Maxim Waldstein (University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, US)  
koupovyk@uiuc.edu

*Russifying Estonia? Iurii Lotman and the Politics of Culture*

**Discussant**

Thomas Jeffrey Miley (Yale U, US)  
thomas.miley@yale.edu

**PANEL BK 16**

**BOSNIA THROUGH NOVELS: ORIENT AND OCCIDENT, GENDER AND  
NARRATION IN THE "BOSNIAN" NOVELS OF IVO ANDRIC AND MESA SELIMOVIC**

**Chair**

Radmila Gorup (Columbia U, US)  
rjg26@columbia.edu

**Papers**

Marijeta Bozovic (Columbia U, US)  
mb2108@columbia.edu

*Gender, Genealogy and the Subversive Erotic in Mesa Selimovi's Death and the Dervish and  
The Fortress*

Thomas Kitson (Columbia U, US)  
tjk2001@columbia.edu

*The Quartet of Doctors: Type and Narrative Voice in Ivo Andric's Bosnian Chronicle*

Judith Wermuth-Atkinson (Columbia U, US)  
jmw82@columbia.edu

*Between Orient and Occident: The Damned Yard in the Context of European Aesthetics*

**Discussant**

Valentina Izmirlieva (Columbia U, US)  
vbil@columbia.edu

**SESSION VIII**  
**SATURDAY APRIL 16, 9.00-11.00 AM**

**PANEL U 11**

**2004 UKRAINIAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS II**

**Chair**

Taras Hunczak (Rutgers U, US)  
thunczak@andromeda.rutgers.edu

**Papers**

Ivan Katchanovski (Independent Scholar, Ukraine)  
ikatcha1@gmu.edu

*Regional Political Cleavages and Electoral Behavior in Ukraine in 1991-2004*

Volodymyr Paniotto (Kyiv International Institute of Sociology, Ukraine)  
paniotto@kmis.kiev.ua

*The Impact of the Ukrainian Presidential Election on Ethnic Relations in Ukraine*

Idil P. Izmirlı (Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, George Mason U, US)  
Misket@aol.com

*From Communist Totalitarianism to Corruptocracy: The Impact of the Ukrainian Presidential elections on the Crimean Tatar Question and Regional Security in Central Eurasia*

Yuliya Zhadan (Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris, France)  
yulia\_zhadan@yahoo.com

*Ukrainian Language Issue in the Crimea: An Insight into 2004 Presidential Election Debates*

**Discussant**

Christian W. Haerpfer (Kennan Institute, Wilson Center, Washington, DC)  
HaerpferC@wwic.si.edu

**PANEL CE 8**

**ROMA AS SUBJECTS AND OBJECTS FOR POLICY**

**Chair**

Cas Mudde (U of Antwerp, Belgium)  
cas.mudde@ua.ac.be

**Papers**

Jarmila Lajcakova (U of Toronto, Canada)  
jarmila.lajcakova@utoronto.ca

*Accommodation of the Emerging Romani Identity through Existing Minority Rights Regimes (Slovakia)*

Shannon Woodcock (U of Tirana, Albania)  
shannonwoodcock@yahoo.com

*How Romanian Returns to Europe: The Tsigani Ethnic Other and the Paradox of European Performance*

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

*The Politics of the Census: Of Gypsies, Roms, and Egyptians*

**Discussant**

Jeffrey Stevenson Murer (Swarthmore College, US)  
jmurer1@swarthmore.edu

**PANEL N 9**

**IDENTITY FORMATION AND EVERYDAY LIFE**

**Chair**

Adam Godet (Seton Hall U, US)  
Godetada@shu.edu

**Papers**

Nadezhda Kaneva (U Colorado Boulder, US)  
Nadezhda.Kaneva@colorado.edu

*Re-imagining the Nation: Identity, Commercialism and Globalization*

Isabell Cserno (U of Maryland, US)  
cserno@umd.edu

*Selling the Nation: The Role of Racialized Advertisements in Creating National Identities in the US and Germany, 1893 to 2004*

Alex Law (U of Abertay Dundee, Scotland, UK)  
a.law@abertay.ac.uk

*A Dialogical Approach to National Identity in Everyday Life*

Christian Karner (U of Nottingham, UK)  
Christian.Karner@nottingham.ac.uk

*Us versus Them? Cognitive/Discursive, Sociological, and Historical Criticisms of an Implicit Theoretical Consensus*

**Discussant**

Andreas Pickel (Trent U, Canada)  
apickel@trentu.ca

**PANEL R 9**  
**THE CONCEPTUAL AND THE SYMBOLIC IN RUSSIA**

**Chair**

Olga Maiorova (U of Michigan, US)  
maiorova@umich.edu

**Papers**

Margaret Dikovitskaya (Library of Congress, US)  
md340@hotmail.com

*Russian Imperial Colonial Attitudes: Analysis of Photographs from the Library of Congress Prokudin-Gorskii Collection*

Olga Elizarova (Baltic and East European Graduate School, Sodertorns hogskola/U College, Sweden)  
olga.elizarova@sh.se

*The Use of National Symbols in Russian Election Campaigns*

Andrew M Nedd (Savannah College of Art and Design, US)  
anedd@scad.edu

*Reading Tolstoy: Russian History and Pictorial Narratives of the "Patriotic War," 1812-1912*

**Discussant**

Greta Slobin (Wesleyan U, US)  
gslobin@wesleyan.edu

**PANEL BK 1**  
**NACHISM—THE NEXT GENERATION? ENTANGLEMENT OF NATIONALISM AND GENDER IN COUNTRIES OF THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA**

**Chair**

Indira Kajosevic (Reconciliation and Culture Cooperative Network, New York, US)  
indira@balkansnet.org

**Papers**

Breda Luthar (University Ljubljana, Slovenia)  
Breda.Luthar@fdv.uni-lj.si  
and Oto Luthar (Scientific Research Center, Ljubljana)  
Luthar@zrc-sazu.si

*The "Heroic Male Project" and Politics in Slovenia*

Andreja Feldman (Open Society Institute, Zagreb, Croatia)  
AFeldman@soros.hr

*President or Barbie Doll? Gender Politics in the New Republic*

Tanja Petrovic (University of Belgrade, Serbia)

tanja.petrovic@zrc-sazu.si

and Biljana Zikic (Institutum Studiorum Humanitatis, Ljubljana, Slovenia)

biljana.zikic@guest.arnes.si

*Re-Patriarchalization of Public Discourse in Post-Communist Serbia: Social (Political) Facts, Media Images and Popular Narratives*

#### **Discussants**

Elissa Helms (Central European University, Hungary)

Helmse@ceu.hu

Cynthia Simmons (Boston College, US)

simmons@bc.edu

#### **PANEL BK 13**

#### **CONCEPTS OF IDENTITY: ISTRIA IN EMPIRE, MULTINATIONAL STATES AND NATION-STATES**

#### **Chair**

Vjeran Pavlakovic (U of Washington, Seattle, US)

vpav@u.washington.edu

#### **Papers**

Vanni D'Alessio (U of Naples "Federico II", Italy)

gidaless@unina.it

*From Empire to Nation-state: Ethnic Relations in Istria from Franz Josef to Mussolini*

John Peter Kraljic (Croatian Academy of America, Flushing, NY, US)

JKraljic@gwtlaw.com

*Ethnic Relations and Sovereignty in Istria, 1941-1947*

John Ashbrook (Idaho State U, US)

ashbjohn@isu.edu

*Regional Perceptions of the Nation and "Empire": Istria from Tito's Yugoslavia to Croatia*

#### **Discussants**

Pamela Ballinger (Bowdoin College, US)

pballing@bowdoin.edu

Emilio Cocco (U of Teramo and Bologna, Italy)

e.cocco@fastwebnet.it

**PANEL TH 6**  
**INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, NORMS, AND NATIONALISM**

**Chair**

Agron Alibali (Bryant U, US)  
aalibali@yahoo.com

**Papers**

Roberto Belloni (Queen's U, Belfast, UK)  
robertobelloni@hotmail.com  
and Shelley Deane (Bowdoin College, US)  
sdeane@bowdoin.edu

*From Belfast to Bosnia: Piecemeal Peacemaking and the Role of Institutional Learning*

Philip Spencer (Kingston U, UK)  
p.spencer@kingston.ac.uk  
and Howard Wollman (Napier U, Edinburgh, UK)  
h.wollman@napier.ac.uk

*Whose Sovereignty? Whose Identity? Whose Rights? Nationalism and the Problem of Humanitarian Intervention*

Tina Kempin (U of Zurich, Switzerland)  
tinak@swissonline.ch

*An International Law Approach to Ethnic Conflict and Nationalism*

**Discussant**

Maria Koinova (Davis Center, Harvard U, US)  
Maria\_Koinova@ksg.harvard.edu

**PANEL TK 3**  
**IDENTITY IN A GREEK-TURKISH ENVIRONMENT**

**Chair**

Omer Gokcekus (Seton Hall U, US)  
gokcekom@shu.edu

**Papers**

Miranda Christou (U of Cyprus)  
Miranda.Christou@ucy.ac.cy

*Rehearsing Citizenship on the Edge: Greek Cypriot Youth, European Identity and Conflict*

Lisa Modenos (UMass, Amherst, US)  
modenos@anthro.umass.edu

*"Congratulations, you're European!": Borders, Frontiers, the EU and Cyprus*

---

Erkan Saka (Istanbul Bilgi U, Turkey/Rice U, US)  
erkan@rice.edu

*Rhodian Turks: Discursive Formations of a Community*

**Discussant**

Stefano Bianchini (U of Bologna, Italy)  
stefano.bianchini@unibo.it

**ROUNDTABLE U 7**

**A FEMININE PERCEPTION OF UKRAINE IN GEOPOLITICS AND LITERATURE**

[sponsored by the Shevchenko Scientific Society]

**Chair**

Myroslava Znayenko (Rutgers U, US)  
Znayenko@andromeda.Rutgers.edu

**Presentations**

Serhii Bilenkyi (Harvard U, US)  
serh.bilenky@utoronto.ca

Michael Naydan (Pennsylvania State U, US)  
mmn3@psu.edu

Larissa Onyshkevych (Shevchenko Scientific Society, NY, US)  
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Anna Chumachenko (Kherson U, Ukraine)  
jlassowsky@clarion.edu

**SESSION IX**  
**SATURDAY APRIL 16, 11.15 AM-1.15 PM**

**PANEL U 6**

**UKRAINE UNDER LEONID KUCHMA, PART II**

[Special 2005 Issue of Problems of Post-Communism on “Ten Years of Leonid Kuchma”]

**Chair**

Alexandra Hrycak (Reed College, US)  
Alexandra.Hrycak@directory.reed.edu

**Papers**

Hans van Zon (U of Sunderland, UK)  
hans.van-zon@sunderland.ac.uk

*Political Culture and Democratisation*

Stephen Shulman (U of Southern Illinois, US)  
shulman@siu.edu

*Inter-Ethnic Relations, National Identity and Integration*

Taras Kuzio (George Washington U, US)  
tkuzio@gwu.edu

*Ukrainian Foreign and Security Policy*

**Discussant**

John Payne (MIT, US)  
JPayne1138@aol.com

**PANEL CE 1**

**MILITARY OCCUPATIONS AND NATIONALISM IN CENTRAL EUROPE**

**Chair**

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

**Papers**

David Furber (State U of New York College at Cortland, US)  
dfurber@twcny.rr.com

*Colonialism in a Borderland: German Nationalism and the Nazi Occupation of Poland in the Second World War*

Ralph W. Brown III (U of Louisiana-Monroe, US)  
rbrown@ulm.edu

*From ‘Our Ally—The U.S.S.R.’ to the ‘Communist Enemy is a Voracious Beast’: The U.S. Army’s Changing Image of the Soviet Soldier in Austria, 1945-1950*

Jared Poley (Georgia State U, US)

hisjxp@langate.gsu.edu

*The Colonization of the Rhineland by France': Imperial Anxieties and Nationalist Responses during the Early Weimar Republic*

**Discussant**

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

spickermann@earthlink.net

**SPECIAL PANEL N 1**

**ANATOL LIEVEN'S NEW BOOK, *AMERICA RIGHT OR WRONG: AN ANATOMY OF AMERICAN NATIONALISM***

**(Oxford University Press, 2004)**

**Chair**

Michael Mann (UCLA, US)

mmann@soc.ucla.edu

**Discussants**

John Hall (McGill U, Canada)

john.a.hall@mcgill.ca

Jack Snyder (Columbia U, US)

jls6@columbia.edu

Peter Rutland (Wesleyan U, US)

prutland@wesleyan.edu

**Author**

Anatol Lieven (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, DC)

alieven@ceip.org

**PANEL EU 5**

**GENDER IN EURASIA AND SOUTH ASIA**

**Chair**

Laura Adams (Princeton U, US)

lladams2@earthlink.net

**Papers**

Adrienne Edgar (UC Santa Barbara, US)

edgar@history.ucsb.edu

*Colonialism, Nationalism, and Patriarchy: The Soviet "Emancipation" of Muslim Women in Comparative Perspective*

Irina Liczek, (New School U, US)  
irina\_liczek@yahoo.com

*Gender Policy-Making in Contemporary Central Asia at Crossroads: Integrating International Obligations with Domestic Islamic Reorientations*

Ramazan Aras (Bogaziçi U, Turkey)  
raras@boun.edu.tr

*Forced Displacement, Memory and Kurdishness- Narratives of Kurdish Migrant Women*

Narendra Subramanian (McGill U, Canada)  
narendra.subramanian@mcgill.ca

*Legal Change and Gender Inequality: Changes in Muslim Law in India*

### **Discussant**

Bhavna Dave (School of Oriental and African Studies, UK)  
bd4@soas.ac.uk

## **PANEL BK 7**

### **HISTORICAL DIMENSIONS OF NATION-BUILDING IN THE BALKANS**

#### **Chair**

Nadine Akhund (Columbia U, US)  
edara@aol.com

#### **Papers**

Anna Mirkova (U of Michigan, US)  
mirkovaa@umich.edu

*The Politics of Land Ownership in Eastern Rumelia (1878-1885)*

Brigitte Le Normand (UCLA, US)  
blenorm@ucla.edu

*"Peasants into Yugoslavs?" Exploring Urbanization and National Integration in Belgrade, 1945-1968*

Dejan Djokic (U of Nottingham, UK)  
Dejan.Djokic@nottingham.ac.uk

*Rethinking the Nation in the 1930s: the Yugoslav Case*

Djordje Stefanovic (U of Toronto, Canada)  
dstefano@chass.utoronto.ca

*Seeing the Albanians through Serbian Eyes: The Inventors of the Tradition of Intolerance and Their Critics, 1804-1939*

### **Discussant**

Florian Bieber (ECMI Belgrade, Serbia-Montenegro)  
bieberf@gmx.net

**PANEL BK 12**  
**AUTHORITARIANISM AND NATIONALISM IN SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE**

**Chair**

Joseph Benatov (U of Pennsylvania, US)  
benatov@sas.upenn.edu

**Papers**

Dragana Marjanovic (European U Institute, Italy)  
Dragana.Marjanovic@iue.it

*Political Context and Changes in the National Identification in Serbia: Could Authoritarianism paradoxically be the Underlying Factor for Decreases of Nationalism?*

Svetlana Stamenova (U of Warwick, UK)  
S.D.Stamenova@warwick.ac.uk

*Peculiarities of Balkan Political Culture and Interethnic Understanding: The cases of Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro, and Bulgaria)*

Maria Koinova (Davis Center, Harvard U, US)  
Maria\_Koinova@ksg.harvard.edu

*Kin-States and Ethno-National Violence in Host-States: A Comparison of Cases in the Balkans in a Comparative Perspective*

Bernd Rechel (U of Birmingham, UK)  
BerndRechel@web.de

and Nedžad Ibrahimovic (U of Tuzla, Bosnia)  
ibrahimn@bih.net.ba

*Is there a Southeast European Variant of Nationalism?*

**Discussant**

Ivaylo Grouev (U of Ottawa, Canada)  
ivaylogrouev@yahoo.ca

**PANEL CE 7**  
**IDENTITY IN AN INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT**

**Chair**

Zsuzsa Csergo (George Washington U, US)  
csergo@gwu.edu

**Papers**

Hillary Appel (Claremont McKenna College, US)  
happel@claremontmckenna.edu

*Has the EU Ameliorated Minority Policy in Eastern Europe?*

Jana Grittersova (Cornell U, US)

jg288@cornell.edu

*Carrots, Sticks and Nationalism: International Factors and Ethnic Politics*

Lynn Tesser (American U, US)

lmtesser@alumni.uchicago.edu

*The Implications of Exporting EU Liberalism to Central Europe*

Andreea Raluca Torre (U College London, UK)

andreea\_raluca@hotmail.com

*Negotiating Ethnic Identity in Post-Communist Romania: The Case of the Italians*

### **Discussant**

Katia Papagianni (Columbia U, US)

ep236@columbia.edu

## **PANEL U 12**

### **UKRAINIAN MIGRANTS IN THEIR ENCOUNTER WITH THE EUROPEAN UNION**

#### **Chair**

Vitaly Chernetsky (Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, Cambridge, US)

vchernet@fas.harvard.edu

#### **Papers**

Kerstin Zimmer (Phillips U, Germany)

Kerstin.Zimmer@web.de

*Going West: Ukrainian Migrants Facing Shifting EU Migration Systems*

Natalia Patsiurko (McGill U, Canada)

nataliya.patsiurko@mcgill.ca

*Multiple Responses to Economic Uncertainty: Migration and Entrepreneurship as Substitutes for the State Employment in Ukraine*

Adrian Ivakhiv (U of Vermont, US)

ivakhiv@verizon.net

*Identity and Nomadic Space in the Borderlands of East Central Europe*

#### **Discussant**

Oxana Shevel (Purdue U, US)

shevel@polsci.purdue.edu

**PANEL TK 4****WHITHER NATIONHOOD? EUROPEAN, TURKISH, CYPRIOT?****Chair**

Omer Gokcekus (Seton Hall U, US)  
gokcekom@shu.edu

**Papers**

Umut Koldas (Middle East Technical U, Turkey)  
ukoldas@metu.edu.tr

*On a Bumpy Road to the European Union: Change and Continuity in the Minority Policies of the Turkish Republic in the New Century*

Ioannis N. Grigoriadis (U of London, UK)  
ing7@columbia.edu

*Redefining the Turkish National Self and Other in View of EU Membership*

Ulas Mangitli (U of Virginia, US)  
um2x@cms.mail.virginia.edu

*Cultural Borders in Eurasia: Turkish and Russian National Identities and Mutual Perceptions*

**Discussant**

Peride Kalegasi-Blind (Georgetown U, US)  
peride@yahoo.com

**SPECIAL ROUNDTABLE R 2**

**DMITRY GORENBURG'S BOOK, *MINORITY ETHNIC MOBILIZATION IN THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION* (Cambridge University Press, 2004)**

**Chair**

Cynthia Buckley (U of Texas at Austin, US)  
cbuckley@mail.la.utexas.edu

**Discussants**

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

Al Stepan (Columbia U, US)  
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Elise Giuliano (U of Miami, US)  
egiulian@exchange.sba.miami.edu

**Author**

Dmitry Gorenburg (CNA Corporation, Washington, DC)  
gorenbur@alumni.princeton.edu

**LUNCHTIME**  
**SATURDAY APRIL 16, 1.15-2.45 PM**

**ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UKRAINIAN STUDIES (AAUS)**

**SESSION X**  
**SATURDAY APRIL 16, 2.45.-4.45 PM**

**SPECIAL PANEL U8**  
**IS UKRAINE IN EUROPE OR EURASIA?**  
[sponsored by the Shevchenko Scientific Society]

**Organizer**

Larissa Onyshkevych (Shevchenko Scientific Society, NY, US)  
larissa@onyshkevych.com

**Chair**

Mark von Hagen (Columbia U, US)  
mlv2@columbia.edu

**Papers**

George G. Grabowicz (Harvard U, US)  
grabowic@fas.harvard.edu

Paul D'Anieri (U of Kansas, US)  
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Alexander J. Motyl (Rutgers U, US)  
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**Respondents**

(former) Ambassador Yuriy Shcherbak (Ukraine)  
uscherbak@rada.gov.ua

(former) Ambassador Derek Fraser (U of Victoria, Canada)  
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Nadia Diuk (Director, Europe & Eurasia, National Endowment for Democracy)  
nadia@ned.org

Gene Fishel (Department of State, Washington, DC, US)  
ACefishe@us-state.osis.gov

**SPECIAL PANEL N 2**

**MICHAEL MANN'S BOOK *THE DARK SIDE OF DEMOCRACY: EXPLAINING ETHNIC CLEANSING*  
(Cambridge U Press, 2004)**

**Chair**

John Hall (McGill U, Canada)  
john.a.hall@mcgill.ca

**Discussants**

Helen Fein (Executive Director, Institute for the Study for Genocide, New York, US)  
helenfein@comcast.net

Robert Hayden (U of Pittsburgh, US)  
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Jacques Sémelin (CERI/CNRS, Paris, France)  
jsemelin@magic.fr

**Author**

Michael Mann (UCLA, US)  
mmann@soc.ucla.edu

**PANEL EU 9**

**TRANSNATIONALISM AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY**

**Chair**

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

**Papers**

Eva-Marie Dubuisson (U of Michigan, US)  
edubuis@umich.edu

*Kazakhstan's Aitus Goes to Moscow: The Politics of Culture in the Former Capital*

Kilic Bugra Kanat (Syracuse U, US)  
kbkanat@maxwell.syr.edu

*The Virtual Homeland: The Influence of the Internet Usage on the Uyghur Diaspora*

Ravinatha Aryasinha (American U, US)  
ravinatha@yahoo.com

*The Illusion of Exile: Diaspora Nationalism and its Consequences on Conflict in Home States*

Lisa Keary (Independent Scholar, NY, US)  
lskeary@mindspring.com

*The Tibetan Nation and Its Struggle for Legitimacy*

**Discussant**

Laura Adams (Princeton U, US)  
lladams2@earthlink.net

**PANEL BK 8****DISCURSIVE AND COMMUNICATIVE ASPECTS OF NATIONALISM IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA****Chair**

Jessica Greenberg (U of Chicago, US)  
jrgreenb@uchicago.edu

**Papers**

Radina Vucetic (Institute for Recent History of Serbia, Belgrade)  
kokrad@eunet.yu

*Hate Speech and the Misuse of the Media in Serbia: The Column "Echoes and Reactions" in "Politika" (1988-1991)*

Marusa Pusnik (U of Ljubljana, Slovenia)  
marusa.pusnik@guest.arnes.si

*Nationalism as Communication Process: Textualization of Slovenian-Austrian National Border*

Jelena Obradovic (U of Birmingham, UK)  
jelena\_obradovic@hotmail.com

*Islam in Bosnia: Cultural Identity or Revival of Colonial Discourse?*

Rada Drezgic (U of Belgrade, Serbia)  
drezgic@imap.pitt.edu

*Gender and Nation in Demographic Discourses in Serbia in the 1990s*

**Discussant**

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

**PANEL BK 10****THINKING PAST THE NATION****Chair**

Earle Scarlett (Foreign Affairs Fellow, Emory U, US)  
escarle@emory.edu

**Papers**

Nina Caspersen (LSE, UK)  
n.f.caspersen@lse.ac.uk

*Transition, Ethnification and the Radicalisation of Politics: The Emergence of Serb Parties in Pre-War Croatia and Bosnia and its Effect on Political Competition*

Fotini Christia (Harvard U, US)  
christia@fas.harvard.edu

*Grievance versus Greed in the Balkans: The Intra-Muslim War in Bihac and Cazniska Krajina*

Gregor Starc (U of Ljubljana, Slovenia)  
gregor.starc@guest.arnes.si

*With Nation on Their Side: The Role of Sport in Slovenian Nation-Building Process*

**Discussant**

Chip Gagnon (Ithaca College/Cornell, US)  
vgagnon@ithaca.edu

**PANEL CE 6**

**XENOPHOBIA AND PARTY POLITICS**

**Chair**

Annemarie Sammartino (Oberlin College, US)  
Annemarie.Sammartino@oberlin.edu

**Papers**

Cas Mudde (U of Antwerp, Belgium)  
cas.mudde@ua.ac.be

*Who is Afraid of\*?*

Jeffrey Stevenson Murer (Swarthmore College, US)  
jmur1@swarthmore.edu

*Against the Radical Center: Reevaluating Left-Right Political Cleavages*

Monica Ciobanu (New School, US)  
331197@newschool.edu

*The November 2004 Elections in Romania: a Test for Democratic Consolidation?*

**Discussant**

James Satterwhite (Bluffton College, US)  
satterwhitej@bluffton.edu

**PANEL N 4**

**RECEPTION AND STRATEGY IN EVERYDAY UNDERSTANDINGS OF NATIONAL AND ETHNIC IDENTITY**

**Chair**

Dusko Sekulic (Flinders University, Australia)  
Dusko.Sekulic@flinders.edu.au

**Papers**

Jon E. Fox (U of Bristol, UK)

Jon.Fox@bristol.ac.uk

*Ethnic Options and School Choice: Constructing Essentialism*

Virág Molnár (Princeton U, US/U of Reading, UK)

vmolnar@princeton.edu

*Cultural Politics and Modernist Architecture: The Tulip Debate in Post-War Hungary*

Nick Gozik (NYU, US)

njg205@nyu.edu

*Martinique and Guadeloupe: The Role of History Teachers in Constructing Identity*

Rozita Dimova (Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Halle, Germany)

dimova@eth.mpg.de

*Consuming Nationalism: Transformations of Class, Ethnicity and Space in Contemporary Macedonia*

**Discussant**

Cynthia Miller-Idriss (NYU, US)

cynthia.miller.idriss@nyu.edu

**PANEL K 5****IDEAS, IDEOLOGY, AND CONFLICT IN CHECHNYA****Chair**

David J Meyer (Cedarville U, US)

meyerd@cedarville.edu

**Papers**

Aurélie Campana (IEP Strasbourg, France)

Aurelie.Campana@urs.u-strasbg.fr

*Collective Imaginaire and Violence: The Use of Myths in the Russo-Chechen Wars*

Michael P. Dennis (U of Texas, US)

mdennis@gov.utexas.edu

*From the Sickle to the Crescent: The Construction of Radical Political Islam in Chechnya*

Ekaterina Sokirianskaia (Chechen State U, Russia)

sokirianskaia@hotmail.com

*Ideology and Conflict: Chechen Nationalism After Ten Years of War*

**Discussant**

Miriam Lansky (National Endowment for Democracy, Washington, DC, US)

miriaml@ned.org

**PANEL CE 10 – CONSTRUCTIONS OF ETHNICITY IN THE BALTICS****Chair**

Daina S Eglitis (George Washington U, US)  
dainas@gwu.edu

**Papers**

Mark Teel (George Washington U, US)  
teelm@gwu.edu

*National Identity and Democratization in the Baltic States*

Robert A Saunders (Rutgers U, US)  
robert\_a\_saunders@hotmail.com

*The New New Russians in Latvia (since EU)*

Raivo Vetik (Institute of International and Social Studies, Tallinn, Estonia)  
vetik@iiss.ee

*National Integration Policies in the Context of EU Membership: the Case of Estonia*

Yves Plasseraud (Groupement pour les droits des minorités, Paris, France)  
yplasseraud@wanadoo.fr

*Latvia: Integration and School Reform*

**Discussant**

Ginta T. Palubinskas (George Mason U, US)  
gpalubin@gmu.edu

**PANEL R 3 – ORTHODOXY AND IDENTITY: RELIGION AND NATIONALISM IN POST-SOVIET RUSSIA****Chair**

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

**Papers**

Beth Admiraal (King's College, Pennsylvania, US)  
bethadmiraal@kings.edu

*National Identity and Strategic Behavior in the Russian Orthodox Church*

Vyacheslav Karpov (Western Michigan University, US)  
v.karpov@wmich.edu

*Orthodoxy, Religious Ethnocentrism and Intolerance in Russia*

Zoe Knox (Rice University, US)  
zknox@rice.edu

*Russian Orthodoxy and Nationalism: Conflict In and Beyond the Orthodox Church*

**Discussant**

Carol Skalnik Leff (University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, US)  
c-leff@uiuc.edu

**SESSION XI**  
**SATURDAY APRIL 16, 5.00-7.00 PM**

**PANEL U 1**  
**2004 UKRAINIAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS I**

**Chair**

Olga Bogatyrenko (UC Davis, US)  
obogatyrenko@ucdavis.edu

**Papers**

Yann Breault (U of Québec in Montreal, Canada)  
ybreault@mail.com

*Ukraine's Endangered European Identity: Did the 2004 Presidential Election Results Change Anything?*

Oksana V. Jensen (American U, US)  
okaluh@irex.org

*2004 Presidential Election in Ukraine: an Indication of Democracy or a Testament of Political Corruption?*

Ilya Khineyko (U of Alberta in Edmonton, Canada)  
khineiko@ualberta.ca

*View from Russia: Russian Media Coverage of the 2004 Presidential Elections in Ukraine*

Olga Filippova (Fulbright Scholar, Indiana U, US)  
ofilippo@indiana.edu

*Tracking Ukraine's "Orange Revolution" through Cyber-Ethnography: A View from Kharkiv*

**Discussant**

Olga Andriewsky (Trent U, Canada)  
oandriewsky@trentu.ca

**SPECIAL ROUNDTABLE CE 14**  
**ROMA RIGHTS AND WRONGS: ONE SUBJECT, THREE PERSPECTIVES**

**Chair**

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

**Participants**

Dezideriu Gergely (Columbia U School of Law, US)  
Dgerge@law.columbia.edu

Jud Nirenberg (European Roma and Travelers Forum, France)  
jnirenberg@hotmail.com

Gonca Sonmez-Poole (Mediation Way, Inc., Acton, MA, US)  
gonca@mediationway.org

### **PANEL EU 1**

#### **ARE THE STATES OF CENTRAL ASIA 'NATIONALISING STATES'?**

##### **Chair**

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

##### **Papers**

Neil Melvin (U of Leeds, US)  
Neil.Melvin@hcnm.org

*Dimensions of Nationalising States in Central Asia: Education, Language and Diaspora*

Michele Commercio (Georgetown U, US)  
commerci@sas.upenn.edu

*Will the Russians Rebel? The Absence of Russian-Initiated Conflict in Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan*

Natsuko Oka (Institute of Developing Economies, Japan)  
oka@ide.go.jp

*The "Triadic Nexus" in Kazakhstan: A Comparative Study of Russians, Uighurs, and Koreans*

##### **Discussant**

Sally Cummings (Uof St. Andrews, UK)  
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### **PANEL EU 10**

#### **ISLAM AND NATIONALISM: COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES**

##### **Chair**

Adrienne Edgar (UC Santa Barbara, US)  
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##### **Papers**

Alima Bissenova (American U in Cairo, Egypt)  
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*Central Asian Encounters of the Middle East: Islam, Nationalism, and Post-Coloniality in Al-Azhar*

Yaqoob Khan Bangash (U of Notre Dame, US)

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*The Jammāt e Islami and the Pakistan Movement*

Walter Comins-Richmond (Occidental College, US)

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*The Nurcu Islamic Movement in the Former Soviet Union*

**Discussant**

Berna Turam (Hampshire College, US)

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**SPECIAL ROUNDTABLE R 12**

**\*\*HOMAGE TO DAVID JOHNSON (JOHNSON'S RUSSIA LIST—JRL)\*\***

**WESTERN COVERAGE IN RUSSIA: HOW WELL ARE WE DOING?**

**Organizer**

Peter Rutland (Wesleyan U, US)

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**Participants**

Donald Jensen (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Washington, DC, US)

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David Johnson (Center for Defense Information, Washington, DC, US)

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**PANEL BK 11**

**POST-CONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION AND INTERNATIONAL STATE-BUILDING**

**Chair**

Molly Inman (American Bar Association, Central European and Eurasian Law Initiative, Washington, DC, US)

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**Papers**

Spyridon Kotsovilis (McGill U, Canada)

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*Problems of Multiethnic State-Building in the Post-Conflict Balkans: Western Hopes on Paper, Balkan(ized) Realities on the Ground*

Spyros A. Sofos (Kingston U, UK)

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*Dealing with Conflict in Ethnically Divided Societies: Assessing the Experience of BosniaHerzegovina and Kosovo*

Sven Gunnar Simonsen, (International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, Norway)

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*Limits to Post-Conflict Nationbuilding: Inclusive Policies in Kosovo, Afghanistan and East Timor*

**Discussant**

Mottie Tamarkin (Tel Aviv U, Israel)

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**PANEL R 8****RUSSIAN IDENTITY AND THE FOREIGN POLICY SPHERE****Chair**

Pål Kolstø (U Of Oslo, Norway)

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**Papers**

Tomila Lankina (Woodrow Wilson International Center, US)

LankinaTV@wwic.si.edu

*Western Influences on Russia's Northwestern Regions*

Tor Bukkvoll (Norwegian Defence Research Establishment, Norway)

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*Russian Military Corruption: Prevalence, Causes and Countermeasures*

Ira Straus (Committee on Eastern Europe and Russia in NATO, Washington, DC, US)

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*Complementarity and Conflict in Russia's Supranational Identity-Layers: Orthodox/Slavic, Eurasian, Euro/Atlantic*

Jeffrey Surovell (Vaughn College of Aeronautics and Technology, US)

surovell@yahoo.com

*Russia and NATO Expansion: A Convergence of Interests*

**Discussant**

Arman Grigorian (Wesleyan U, US)

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**PANEL CE 13**  
**NEGOTIATING NATIONALITY IN MOLDOVA**

**Chair**

Dan Dungaciu (U of Bucharest, Romania)  
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**Papers**

Stefan Ihrig (Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, Braunschweig, Germany)  
ihrigstef@yahoo.de

*Romanianism vs. Moldovanism: National Identity negotiated in History Teaching in Moldova*

Jared Beitman (Independent Researcher, Pennsylvania, US)  
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*A Comparative Approach to the Dilemma Facing the Republic of Moldova and Transdnistria*

Luke March (U of Edinburgh, UK)  
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*The Nationality Policy of the Contemporary Moldovan Communists*

John Webster (U of Oxford, UK)  
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*Model for Europe? An Evaluation of Moldova's Autonomy for the Gagauz*

**Discussant**

Thomas J Hegarty (U of Tampa, US)  
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**PANEL U 3**  
**CIVIC AND CULTURAL CHANGE IN UKRAINE: TAKING STOCK OF THE LITERATURE**

**Chair**

Jaroslav Martyniuk (Intermedia, Washington, DC, US)  
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**Papers**

Catherine Wanner (Penn State U, US)  
cew10@email.psu.edu

*Anthropological Approaches to Cultural Politics in Ukraine*

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

*Civil Society in Ukraine: Toward a Systematic Sociological Research Agenda*

Oxana Shevel (Purdue U, US)  
shevel@polsci.purdue.edu  
*Citizenship and Nation-Building in Ukraine*

**Discussant**

Ilya Prizel (U of Pittsburgh, US)  
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**PANEL N 6**  
**DEFINING POLITICAL COMMUNITIES**

**Chair**

Stefan Wolff (U of Bath, UK)  
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**Papers**

Elke Winter (York U, Canada)  
WinterE@yorku.ca  
*Multicultural Nation-Building*

Bijita Majumdar (Rutgers U, US)  
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*Race and the Colonial State: Citizenship and Subjecthood Dilemmas of the Indian Community in South Africa*

Sherrill Stroschein (Harvard Academy, US)  
sstroschein@wcfia.harvard.edu  
*How Far Should We Devolve the State? Autonomy, Decentralization, and the Tradeoff between Representation and Efficiency*

Ahmed S. Mahmud (Cornell University, US)  
asm34@cornell.edu  
*Politics of Geography: The Story of Destruction and Creation of Multi-Ethnic Nations*

**Discussant**

Jon E. Fox (University of Bristol, UK)  
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