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Centre News is published  
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## From the Director

As many of you know, big and exciting changes are coming soon to our Centre. If all goes according to plan, before the start of the next academic year we will have expanded our domain. CREES is set to merge operations with the European Studies Programs of the Faculty of Arts and Science (also based in the North wing of the Munk Centre), and the result will be a new Centre for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies (CERES). A joint ad hoc committee of CREES and European Studies has worked out the modalities of the new Centre (set down in the "Agreement on the Design of CERES"), and the proposal for its creation is in the final stages of approval within the university.

Through the enlarged Centre we hope to break down the scholarly walls between the study of Eastern and Western Europe and respond to the new geopolitical realities. In CERES, Russia, other countries of the former Soviet Union, and Central and Eastern Europe (including their histories, literatures, and cultures) will remain front and centre, while we bring into the fold countries like Germany and France and international organizations like the European Union, which many countries in our region have already joined. At the same time, the new Centre should facilitate study of the "wider Europe" and the place of the former East within it, regardless of its particular configuration.

Other benefits of merger include the inclusion in CERES of the fast growing undergraduate program in European Studies, which has already expanded to include countries of Central and Eastern Europe and most recently Russia and Ukraine, and the possibility of remaking the REES MA program along the lines of the new centre itself.

The establishment of CERES will coincide with the end of my five-year term as Director of CREES, and CERES will have a new Director. The next issue of *Centre News* will introduce this person to our enlarged community.

Taking stock, I am proud to recognize that during the past five years CREES has added to its already rich array of programs and activities a series of applied research projects in Russia, joint activities with Canadian business and government, more events on culture and the arts (which our new Culture Fund should help perpetuate), regular graduate student conferences, and special programs relating to Ukraine and to Bulgaria (made possible by generous donations from the Petro Jacyk Educational Foundation, the Wolodymyr George Danyliw Foundation, Veneta Elieff, and Daniel and Elizabeth Damov). Moreover, the MA program, with its distinctive internship and exchange opportunities, attracts a larger, smarter, and more diverse group of students, many of whom have roots in the region we study. Above all, CREES continues to be a vibrant place, where students, faculty, and friends in the larger community come to share ideas and enjoy each other's company.

The success of our CREES is due, above all, to the extraordinary commitment, imagination, and efforts of our team—Jana Oldfield, Janet Hyer, Robert Austin, Larysa Iarovenko, for a time Edith Klein, and three graduate coordinators (Donald Schwartz, Wayne Dowler, Joseph Schallert); and to the readiness of CREES students, faculty, fellows, and friends to participate in the many facets of its activities. At CREES we have a "civic culture," in which people not only respond to opportunities but also take initiatives and create opportunities for others. These are legacies that I trust will continue in CERES and help its Director meet the challenges that lie ahead.

*Peter H. Solomon, Jr.*

## News from the Centre

### ■ YPI RECEIVES AWARD

At the National Coordinator's Conference for the Young Professionals International Program (funded by Foreign Affairs Canada and International Trade Canada), CREES received an award for its "dedication and contribution to fostering and developing internationally focused, skilled and experienced Canadians." **Robert Austin** was in Ottawa to receive the award on behalf of CREES. Since 1997, with funds provided by the Government of Canada through the Youth Employment Strategy, CREES has sent more than 160 young Canadians to work with businesses and organizations in East Central and South-eastern Europe.

Dr. Austin is delighted to report that CREES will, for the ninth year in a row, implement a YPI program, with ten positions. For further information, please visit <http://www.utoronto.ca/crees/yiip.htm>.

### ■ UNDERGRADUATE PRESENCE

CREES is known mainly for its graduate students, but we have been fortunate to attract a number of high-powered undergraduates over the years. Among these have been a number of Robert H. Catherwood Scholarship recipients. The Catherwood is awarded to students who are interested in international affairs, in particular G8 summitry. **Nick Roudev**, who worked on *Centre News* and produced top-notch summary analyses of events held at CREES, is now at Stanford doing a PhD in international relations and comparative politics. **Maria Banda** participated in CREES's 2001 Research Opportunity Project, a study of minorities in south east Europe; Ms. Banda is an Ontario Rhodes Scholar and is currently at Oxford studying international relations. **Oana Dolea** also participated in the CREES's Research Opportunity Projects, traveling to Kosovo in May 2002 to conduct research on women in politics. She has just completed year one of a joint common law and civil law degree at McGill Law School. **Kartick Kumar** is the founder and director of the Cambodian Genocide Group, a not-for-profit international student organization dedicated to the study of the Cambodian Genocide; a regular fixture at CREES, Mr. Kumar has assisted Dr. Austin with the annual CREES business conference for the last four years. In August, he is off to Kenya to work with the African Youth Parliament (AYP) under the auspices of the Coady International Institute. The AYP is a network of young African peace builders, activists, and leaders and Mr. Kumar will help them formulate ideas and collective action strategies to address the challenges of HIV/AIDS, the cycle of poverty, conflict, democracy and governance, and sustained economic development.

### ■ SUMMER VISITORS

**Chris Waters**, whose book on law in Georgia, *Counsel in the Caucasus: Law and Professionalization in Georgia* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 2004), recently won the 2005 Hart/Socio-Legal Studies Association Book Prize for Early Career Academics, will be joining us during the late summer. Dr. Waters is currently working on legal education in the Balkans, and specifically Bosnia and Kosovo. His project seeks to gauge the extent to which legal education in those two territories, which has been supported by significant international aid, promotes post-war reconstruction and reconciliation.

**Lily Yumagulova** is a PhD student at the State University-Higher School of Economics, Moscow in the Department of World Policy. Her specialization is the "Political Problems of International Relationships and Global Development," with particular emphasis on international relations and policies and how they affect Emergency Response and the coordination between nations of these response efforts. In addition to conducting research at UofT, Ms. Yumagulova will be attending the 15th World Conference on Disaster Management, which is taking place in Toronto in mid-July.

For current information on events on the region, please visit the website of the Centre for Russian and East European Studies at [www.utoronto.ca/crees/events.htm](http://www.utoronto.ca/crees/events.htm).

If you wish to receive the weekly digest of events by email, please contact Janet Hyer at [janet.hyer@utoronto.ca](mailto:janet.hyer@utoronto.ca).

## Young Professionals International

### ■ FROM BUDAPEST TO BEIJING

In 2004 I completed my undergraduate studies at the University of Toronto. With an honours degree in three disciplines—Political Science, European Studies, and Portuguese Language—the million dollar question “What now?” was daunting. With my shoulders heavy I felt the pressure to have a “plan,” so I set out to find the answer to what had become a constant shadow. My academic background provided me with an interest in working abroad and my work experience in business had opened up the door to the professional focus I decided to pursue, marketing. The problem I faced was how to effectively combine my theory and my practice into a complementary balanced entity, slightly problematic as my academic background and work experience are distinctly opposite. I applied to a number of international internships, as this type of work seemed to me to be the best way to obtain the experience I was looking for. After a detailed application process I was accepted into the Government of Canada’s Young Professionals International Program.

With a little bit of apprehension about relocating to a country where I did not speak the language, was not familiar with the culture, and did not know a single person, I set off for Budapest, Hungary, for six months with AES Cargo. Known throughout Europe as the Paris of Eastern Europe, Budapest welcomed me with all of her old world charm. My cold feet quickly warmed and I soon realized the YPI internship would see personal growth as well as professional development. Though the Hungarian language is difficult, the Hungarian culture is very hospitable and I was welcomed with open arms to the AES family.

I can confidently say my YPI internship with AES Cargo was a success. My objective to combine theory and practice was achieved. From creative design to business development, AES Cargo provided me with an internship that encompassed all areas of the marketing industry, effectively allowing me not only to develop industry specific skills but also to determine exactly what aspect of marketing and public relations I plan on pursuing. More specifically, the wide-ranging exposure of the internship assisted in my decision to pursue B2B (business to business) marketing in conjunction with corporate communications. Both foci will be combined into a Corporate Communications Specialist position tailored to assist multinational and international businesses with relationship management.

Taking the knowledge and experience I gained through my YPI internship in Hungary, I have decided to expand upon my international experience. Napoleon once famously remarked “China is a sleeping giant.” With the rapid growth of China’s economy and the unprecedented pace of social change, it appears the giant has finally awakened and the rest of the world is taking notice—and so have I. In September 2005, I will be relocating to Beijing, where I will work with a PR firm specializing in corporate communications and helping to bridge the gap between East and West.

*Marisa Mancebo*

### ■ GLOBAL REUNION

On March 2, CREES hosted a reunion for Canadian university graduates who had previously held internships through Foreign Affairs Canada’s Young Professionals International Program. The event was a resounding success, attracting more than 180 graduates from universities across Canada who now reside in the Toronto area and representatives of Foreign Affairs Canada and other implementing organizations to the Vivian and David Campbell Conference Facility to meet, exchange stories of their adventures abroad, and discuss career opportunities. Although their stories varied greatly, everyone at the gathering agreed that their international internships had been the experience of a lifetime, with most hoping to work internationally again in the future. Talking to just a small sampling of those in attendance revealed a staggering variety of cultural and work-related experiences.

Many worked in journalism. For example, Martin worked as a journalist in the Czech Republic and even had the opportunity to interview the Czech President. During his internship, Martin was able to travel to other parts of Europe and has continued working as a freelance journalist upon his return to Canada.

Other graduates interned in business-oriented positions, such as Derek, who worked as a market analyst in Warsaw Poland on an internship jointly organized by Export Development Canada and Foreign Affairs Canada. During his time in Poland, he conducted research on export opportunities for the Canadian automobile sector. Since returning to Canada, Derek has been working for General Motors but would go back to Poland if the right opportunity presented itself. Neil traveled to Vietnam, where he worked for the chamber of commerce in Ho Chi Minh City. Although he attended Ryerson, Neil’s internship was a joint project of the University of British Columbia and Foreign Affairs Canada. He is already planning to a return trip to look for work.



Neil (Vietnam) and Brandon (Czech Republic)

Many of those in attendance interned in United Nations programs. Nicole worked in Mexico with the UN Environment Programme. While in Mexico, she worked on a youth capacity-building project and was responsible for the design of an environment-related workbook. While hoping to eventually find permanent employment in the UN system, Nicole is currently working for the Ontario Ministry of the Environment. Nathalie also worked on a UN-related project in Lithuania, a UNESCO project that facilitated the exchange of educational and professional credentials between Lithuania and other countries. She worked primarily on public relations projects and would go back. Since returning to Canada, Nathalie has found work with the CBC.

Scientific and engineering positions were also available. Katherine worked in a lab in Estonia on a crop harvesting and soy extract project, and Kathryn worked in the Czech Re-



Patrick (Rwanda)



Katherine (Estonia) and Kathryn (Czech Republic)

public for a firm called Hydrolica, where she was involved in recreating blueprints and some engineering design work. However, Kathryn's internship was probably most notable for the fact that she actually lived in the factory complex where she was working, something she says definitely improved her knowledge of Czech.

Many interns spent their time in the developing countries. Patrick worked on an HIV/AIDS project called Xtending Hope in Rwanda. He was involved in fundraising and grant writing and is currently looking for an opportunity to go back. He noted that since the genocide, AIDS has been spreading rapidly throughout the country with a large percentage of the country's soldiers infected. Jordan, a first-year MA student at the University of Toronto, also interned in a developing country when he traveled to the Indian state of Gujarat to work with the Self-Employed Women's Association. From February to August 2004, he worked on livelihood development projects in rural areas and helped to organize a World Bank Conference. Jordan will be returning to Gujarat at the conclusion of the current school year to spend the summer working for the same organization.

Some of the internships, while international in nature were actually held in Canada. For example, Thayibba worked in Canada for Human Rights Internet and was responsible for maintaining a database of human rights research, contributing articles to a publication called Human Rights Tribune and assisting partner organizations in the Third World with web development.

In the end, this first reunion of former international interns was a complete success, demonstrating not only the outstanding abilities of Canadian university students but also the commitment of the Canadian government and other organizations to furthering student dreams of international job experiences and careers.

*Dave Morgan, CREES*

**Eligible?**

- Participants must be:
  - Citizens or permanent residents of Canada, up to and including 30 years of age.
  - Youth who have completed a postsecondary degree or diploma.
  - Youth who are unemployed or under-employed.
  - Youth who are out-of-school, i.e. not enrolled in an educational program.
  - Youth with a genuine interest in permanently entering the work force and launching an international career.
  - Youth who would be participating for the first time in a placement of the Career Focus Program of the Youth Employment Strategy (YES).
  - Youth for whom this would be the first paid career-related international work experience.

**Interested?**

• Visit the YPI website at [www.international.gc.ca/youth/ypi-jpi/](http://www.international.gc.ca/youth/ypi-jpi/).

## Member News

Congratulations to **Dr. Alexei Trochev** (Political Science), who defended his dissertation this April on "The Zigzags of Judicial Power: The Constitutional Court in Russian Politics, 1990-2003."

Congratulations to PhD candidates **Karlo Basta** (Political Science) and **Agnieszka Polakowska** (Slavic Languages and Literatures), recipients of the prestigious Social Science and Humanities Research Council's Canada Graduate Scholarships.

CREES alumnus **Kevin Bray** has joined Carswell, which specializes in legal and business publications, as a content editor.

CREES Lecturer and Project Coordinator **Robert Austin** gave several invited lectures in March. On March 4, at the invitation of U of T Alumni John Young and Gary Wilson, he spoke on Yugoslavia's disintegration and the question of Kosovo for faculty and students at the University of Northern British Columbia in Prince George, B.C. On March 18, on the invitation of the Department of History at the University of Sofia "St. Kliment Ohridski," he gave a talk entitled "What's All This about a Greater Albania?" On March 22, Professor Austin spoke to Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty in Prague on the role of international broadcasting in Albania, Kosovo, and Macedonia.

Congratulations to **Professor Leonid Livak** (Slavic Languages and Literatures), who is a recipient of one of this year's Faculty of Arts and Science Outstanding Teaching and Staff Awards.

In October, **Dr. Anna Makolkin** (Resident Fellow) was invited to present a paper on "Cultural Universals and Contemporary Cultural Conflicts: A Semiotic Analysis" for the 4th Interdisciplinary Conference "The Evolution of the World Order," organized by Ryerson Polytechnic University. The following month, the Frank Iacobucci Centre for Italian Canadian Studies at UofT invited Dr. Makolkin to give a lecture on "Transporting Italianness abroad from the Roman Times to

the Eighteenth Century." In March, the St. Jerome's University in Waterloo, Ontario, invited Dr. Makolkin to give a lecture on "The Indebtedness of the Slavs to the Italian Civilization and the Italian Migrations to Russia" to an audience of 130 second-year students, who enjoyed the material and delivery. Also in March, Dr. Makolkin was invited by the Department of Classics, Italian Studies, and the Department of Germanic and Slavic Languages and Literatures at the University of Waterloo to lecture on "The Pre-Slavic Odessa: The Legacy of the Graeco-Roman Empire" to faculty, staff, and students.

On April 29, Regis College at UofT, along with the Faculty of Music and CREES, organized a book launch for *A History of Odessa: The Last Italian Colony*, the fifth monograph authored by Dr. Makolkin and published by the Edwin Mellen Press in October 2004.

CREES bids a fond farewell to **Dr. Olga Velikanova** (Resident Fellow), who will be leaving soon to teach summer school at Dalhousie University, and then remain at Dal as an Assistant Professor in the Department of Russian Studies. Dr. Velikanova held an SSHRC grant on the study of "Popular Mythology in Soviet Russia in the 1920s and 1930s" and made the most of opportunities to present her research publicly. Most recently, on February 15, she gave a lecture on "Popular Perceptions of Socialism in Soviet Russia" at the Harvard Project on Cold War Studies (Davis Centre for Russian Studies). This paper is a product of her ongoing research into how Soviet people perceived themselves, their society and the world, and how they internalized reality during the 1920s and 30s.

In July, she spoke on "Representations of the future in Russian communism. Narratives of collective representations in the 1920s and 1930s" at the Second International Conference on the New Directions in the Humanities, Monash University in Prato, Italy. This paper studied the parameters of the Communist concept of the bright future in opposition to the liberal ideologies, collective (rather than individual) salvation, the narrative of sacrifices, and short-term orientation.

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## Announcement

Russian speaking health care professionals and health care professionals formerly employed in the Russian Federation/Soviet Union are required to deliver comprehensive talks (*besedi*) to a mainly female, senior, Russian-speaking population.

The subjects of such sessions must be based on illnesses and symptoms frequently seen in senior populations and must include coping/preventative strategies, such as diet, physical fitness, etc. Knowledge of specific medications is not required as the emphasis is on increasing awareness and to create an opportunity for the seniors to discuss concerns with peers, as well as professionals. The group is aware that this is not a forum for medical advice.

If you were a doctor, nurse, feldsher, etc. in Russia but are not employed in your chosen field in Canada, we will provide you with a modest honorarium. Talks must be forty minutes to one hour in length including a brief question and answer period.

All talks take place in North York, between Lawrence Avenue and Steeles Avenue on Bathurst Street.

If interested, please contact:

Toni Prins, Program Director (CREES Alumna)  
Elder Women's Health and Wellness Initiative and Outreach  
(647) 833-6536  
Niprins@aol.com

## Publications

The Project on Civic Education and Democratization of Russia, funded by the University of Calgary/Gorbachev Foundation (see CREES News online [www.utoronto.ca/crees/news/nov03/nov03.pdf](http://www.utoronto.ca/crees/news/nov03/nov03.pdf) [p. 3] and [www.utoronto.ca/crees/news/sep04/sep04.pdf](http://www.utoronto.ca/crees/news/sep04/sep04.pdf) [p. 4]) has published a volume of conference proceedings entitled *Grazhdanskoe vospitanie i demokratizatsiia Rossii* (Moscow 2004). The papers are from an international conference held in Tula, Russia, on May 17-18, 2004.

**Tomas Balkelis** (History), "The Lithuanian National Intelligentsia and the Women's Issue, 1883-1914," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* vol. 46, nos. 3-4 (Sept.-Dec. 2004): 267-87.

**Wilson Bell** (History), "One Day in the Life of Educator Khrushchev: Labour and Kul'turnost' in the Gulag Newspapers," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* vol. 46, nos. 3-4 (Sept.-Dec. 2004): 289-313.

**Irene Butenko** (Associate), "Foreigners' and Newcomers' Rights During Hard Times," *Sotsiologicheskie issledovania* (Sociological Studies) (Moscow) 2004, no. 9.

**Matthew Crosston** (Junior Fellow, 2003; now Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Clemson University), *Shadow Separatism: Implications for Democratic Consolidation* (Ashgate, 2004)

Examining autonomy in the Russian Federation, Matthew Crosston ascertains how the regional use of bilateral autonomy treaties has influenced the long-term stability, legitimacy and efficacy of the state. The study challenges some long-accepted conclusions about democratization and the devolution of power, advancing into new international arenas Riker and Dahl's relatively-ignored theoretical concerns that decentralized federations are ineffective and disintegrative while centralized federations are consolidating. Scholars of Russian politics, democratization, ethnic conflict, comparative intergovernmental relations and development will find this book particularly stimulating. (Publisher's note)

**Marta Dyczok** (Fellow), "The Politics of Media in Ukraine: Election 2002," *Ukraine at a Crossroads*, ed. Nicolas Hayoz and Andrej N. Lushnycky, Peter Lang, 2005.

As the "Orange Revolution" has shown, modern-day Ukraine has undeniably come a long way since the dissolution of the Soviet Union. This volume contains papers delivered at conferences about Ukraine held at the University of Fribourg (Switzerland) in 2001 and 2002. Supplementary articles have been solicited from recognized experts in the field to provide a comprehensive picture of a country in transition and to explain some of the challenges of Ukraine's "New Deal." (Publisher's note)

**Michal Kasprzak** (History), "Radio Free Europe and the Catholic Church in Poland During the 1950s and 1960s," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* vol. 46, nos. 3-4 (Sept.-Dec. 2004): 315-41.

**Liubov Poustilnik** (Member), "I predict to you a big, big future" (For the 100th anniversary of A.P. Chekhov), *Forum* September 2004, pp. 34-45.

\_\_\_\_\_, "How Antosha Chekhonte became Anton Chekhov," *Nezavisimaia Gazeta* (Moscow), March 2005.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Creative union of the poetess Sofia Pregel and the German writer Heinrich Mann," *Novoe Russkoe Slovo* (New York), January 2004.

\_\_\_\_\_, "To find out the name of the writer Sholom Aleichem," *Gazeta INFO* (Toronto), May 20, 2004.

**Simona Poustilnik** (Member), "Why there are two of us (new in genetics)," *Nezavisimaia Gazeta* (Moscow), February 2004.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Hamlet from Red Star (unknown about Lenin's antipode—A. Bogdanov)," *Nezavisimaia Gazeta*, November 2004.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Iroquois in Canada (research and article on traditions and habits of Iroquois living near Montreal)," *Nezavisimaia Gazeta*, March 2005.

\_\_\_\_\_, "New about the great scientist N.I. Vavilov," *Nezavisimaia Gazeta*, January 2005.

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## Library News

*Far from Moscow: An English-Language Radio Show Dedicated to New Music from Russia*  
Weekly webcast from UCLA, Mondays 10:00-12:00 Pacific Time (18:00-20:00 London / 21:00-23:00 Moscow)  
Shows will be archived at [www.uclaradio.com](http://www.uclaradio.com).

For further information, contact David MacFadyen  
[dmacfady@humnet.ucla.edu](mailto:dmacfady@humnet.ucla.edu)

*The Bibliography of the Exhibition: Contemporary Novels and Short Stories from Eastern Europe* at Petro Jacyk Resource Centre, U of Toronto Library is now on line at:

<http://www.pjrc.library.utoronto.ca/publications/eebooks2005.pdf>

It is also available in paper copy. Contact the PJRC at 416-978-0588.

## Events Past

On February 24, **Grigory Pasko**, Editor-in-Chief of *Environmental and Human Right Journal* and Galina Starovoitova Fellow in Human Rights and Conflict Resolution at the Kennan Institute in Washington, DC, spoke on “Recent Implementation of Laws on Government Secrets in Russia and the United States.” The talk was sponsored by CREES and was part of Mr. Pasko’s trip to Toronto, which was organized by CREES Alumna Mary Korica.

Mr. Pasko began his discussion by noting that in the past 25 years, 25 people have been convicted of espionage in the United States, while in Russia 14 people have been convicted in the past year alone, with an additional 12 currently on trial. These convictions have occurred in regions throughout Russia, with a particularly high number in Vladivostok.

Mr. Pasko first became interested in judicial implementation while in jail on charges of treason after blowing the whistle on number of grave environmental violations by the Russian navy (e.g., dumping nuclear waste in the Sea of Japan). After leaving jail he began trying to formulate the problems of state secrets, an issue he had previously attempted to address while working as a journalist. However, he could not find anyone who could adequately explain the essence of “crimes against the state” and reached the conclusion that in judicial terms they do not exist in Russia. As a result, he considers the trials of those accused of crimes against the state an absurdity and products of ideology rather than fact.

According to Mr. Pasko, in Russia there is no overall conception of state secrets, only secrets as defined by various ministries, who classify secrets according to their own interests, which can and do conflict with those of other ministries. Article 15 of the Russian Constitution states that people cannot be tried if law does not exist to support the charges against them. Mr. Pasko stated that although he was tried twice, he never received a formal accusation. He even asked his accusers to show him a methodology for the accusations levied against him, something which they were unable or unwilling to produce.

He believes that international agreements are necessary to eliminate trials stemming from these kinds of baseless accusations. Russia would be well advised to work with the United States rather than constantly worrying about U.S. interference in its domestic affairs. He noted, as reasoning for this, that in the United States it is difficult to accuse an innocent person because of its independent judiciary, whereas in Russia it is relatively easy to do so because if the judicial system is not independent, cases can be manipulated. He believes that independent courts are a very difficult concept for Russian rulers to understand, and that Federal Security Service officers are becoming more and more like judges—a worrying development considering their generally low level of education.

Mr. Pasko noted that it is important for journalists to look people being tried in different countries in cases regarding state secrets to decide if the cases are justified. It is neces-

sary for at least one of these cases to be tried at the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg, something that was promised to Mr. Pasko but which never occurred.

*Yana Avdeeva and Dave Morgan, CREES*

For more coverage of Grigory Pasko, please visit the International Freedom of Expression eXchange at <http://www.ifex.org/en/content/view/full/64974/>

On February 24, **Victor Gomez** (a PhD candidate in Political Science at the University of Toronto) presented his research proposal on political party development in East Central Europe after 1989 (“The Road from Opposition to Governance: The Development of the Right in Post-Communist East-Central Europe”). The talk was sponsored by the Joint Initiative in German and European Studies.

The talk was a little different from the usual events held at the Munk Centre for International Studies—it was an opportunity for a young scholar to present his research ideas and to receive feedback from faculty and peers. Mr. Gomez’s presentation dealt with two main questions: what happened with the “revolutionaries/dissidents” after the transitional period of 1989-1990 and how many of the opposition parties from the period survived and in what context. He analyzed three countries in the region: Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary. His reason for choosing these particular countries was based on the fact that all had similarly and successfully undergone the post-communist transition but had experienced quite different results in party politics. The dissident opposition parties survived the transitional phase in all three countries but underwent very different levels of fragmentation after 1989. In Poland, Solidarity splintered very quickly after the fall of communism and the highly fragmented membership went on to form the many parties that constitute the right in Polish politics until today. In the Czech Republic, Civic Forum also disintegrated, albeit on a much smaller scale. In Hungary, which did not have one major opposition party, most of the dissident groups went on to coalesce around one main party, thus forming a right-leaning coalition.

According to Mr. Gomez’s hypothesis, the more robust the opposition group and the more antagonistic the regime, the less cohesive the parties that emerged after 1989. His research will focus on individual actors in the parties as well as the detailed structures of the parties under examination. He also plans to focus on the degree of antagonism each party experienced under the country-specific communist regimes. His main concentration will be in the areas of political, economic, and cultural transition in the three countries.

This upcoming fall, Mr. Gomez will have his chance to do research in the region, which will undoubtedly enable him to answer his questions in greater detail. The discussion that fol-

lowed the presentation turned out to be very useful, noting the importance of such factors as dissimilar electoral procedures and different historical experiences. As well, the importance of definitions was raised, with the observation that a right-wing party in Eastern Europe is much different from what is considered right-wing in West European politics.

*Pawel Osiej, CREES*

On February 25, **Professor Mark Beissinger** (University of Wisconsin-Madison) delivered a lecture entitled "Rethinking Empire in a World of States: Soviet and Russian Experiences in Comparative Perspective" (co-sponsored by the Department of Political Science and CREES). Professor Beissinger began his lecture by noting that the collapse of the Soviet Union has led to a rethinking of what empires have become. With the Soviet collapse there has been an explosion of scholarly work on the meaning of empire. He noted that just because the Soviet Union did not call itself an empire does not mean that it was not. If it was, however, it was an empire in a world of nation states as opposed to self-avowed empires.

Professor Beissinger believes that if the Soviet Union is to be taken seriously as an empire then the functions of empires have changed. He listed several reasons for this: to begin, if the Soviet Union was an empire, the boundaries between multinational nation states and empires are fluid. An empire, after all, has traditionally been viewed as a large, compound state based on central control. However, this size, complexity, and power also describes many nation states. Further to this, many modern nation states were formed on the basis of colonization and many groups in the world today see themselves as subjects of empires in a world of nation states. Basically, empire is embedded in the history of the nation state.

A second reason Professor Beissinger used to describe why it is necessary to rethink the concept of empire in order to classify the Soviet Union as such has to do with the control exercised by empires. Specifically, in the modern day, empire denotes not just a form of control but of illegitimate control. The term has become a pejorative for any imperial control that should be transcended. To call the USSR an empire means that it stood outside international norms and that it rightly collapsed.

Other reasons that the USSR could be viewed as an empire included anti-imperial resistance on the part of many of the non-Russian nationalities. Professor Beissinger specifically noted the Kazakhs, who wanted to free themselves from what they perceived to be their shameful status as a colony. The Soviets also did not post troops to their republic of origin and drew native groups into the hierarchy of control and power. If the USSR was the last empire, then there in fact is no last empire. Rather the Soviet Union needs to be viewed as the first in a new form of empire utilizing the international system as a means of structuring control of the population. According to Professor Beissinger, such means of control is still in use by such states as Russia, despite its repeated denials. To wit President Putin states that Russia is not an empire but a

self-confident power with a great future. Professor Beissinger noted that Russian actions such as forcing Tatarstan to use the Cyrillic rather than Latin script for Tatar certainly raises the question of Russia's imperial tendencies in regards to its non-Russian regions.

Professor Beissinger concluded his lecture by noting other states such as Ethiopia, China, and the United States could be viewed as using means of control similar to those employed by Russia.

*Dave Morgan, CREES*

On March 11, the Centre for Russian and East European Studies held a workshop on the Russian health care system ("Managing Health Care in Russia: Crises in the Making?"). The workshop focused on two major issues currently affecting the health care system in Russia, law reform and privatization. **Alexei Trochev** (Political Science, UofT) talked about law reform and the doctor/patient relationship: "Patients vs. Doctors: Russian Health Care in the Courtrooms." **Professor Matthew Crosston** (Political Science, Clemson University) dealt with privatization and corruption: "Blood from a Stone: Problems of Privatization in Russian Provincial Health Care." **Professor Joseph Wong** (Political Science, UofT) was the discussant.

The reform of Russia's medical system has not solved the problems of accessibility and poor quality. Basic health insurance is mandatory and free, but the system is plagued by rising costs and underfunding. Patients are increasingly having to foot out-of-pocket expenses, and non-state clinics have become a regular feature on the health care landscape.

The changes in the system have had a great effect on the doctor/patient relationship. In his presentation, Mr. Trochev discussed the consequences of these reforms and how they have resulted in the increased involvement of the judicial system in resolving patient/doctor disputes. According to Mr. Trochev, the fear is mutual on both sides: doctors fear patient-racketeers in the search of a quick buck, while patients are wary of corrupt doctors. The number of lawsuits against doctors and hospitals has increased in recent years, especially in large urban centres like Moscow. The awarded monetary settlements themselves are not the major problem since most are small, but rather it is the logjams in the judicial system and the negative public image of the already strained health care system. The public feels alienated since the constitution is usually on the side of the health officials. In the medical world, these lawsuits stifle innovation and medical advancement because doctors and hospitals are reluctant to perform cutting-edge procedures. Furthermore, the judicial system is having trouble defining medical error and calculating moral harm, resulting in apathy and frequent non-implementation of courtroom decisions.

In the second part of the workshop, Professor Crosston dealt more with actual corruption within the medical system as a result of Putin's privatization drive. The limited government funding has created a situation in which proper health care is available only to a privileged few. Rural areas feel the

brunt of the impact, with severe staff shortages and inadequate medical facilities. Changes to insurance payments and regulations have resulted in the opening of many more privately owned hospitals and fund co-operatives that collect the insurance premiums. More often than not, the same fund co-operative is providing the private health care within a given region. Conflict of interest seems to mean very little in Putin's Russian health care system. Doctors and hospitals in the public sphere have developed methods to stay afloat. The most extreme method that Professor Crosston has documented is the medically unnecessary use of surgery (the so-called "phantom surgeries") in order to receive more government funding, i.e., the operation consists only of opening and then stitching up a patient, but the hospital bills the government for a bogus procedure; the relatives of the patient are none the wiser. Such methods further tarnish the image of the health care system. What is more important, the already prevalent image of western capitalism as harsh, cruel, and individualistic is reinforced—certainly not something Russia needs as it moves towards further democratization.

Pawel Osiej, *CREES*

On March 16, **Mikhail Gurevich**, a Chicago-based Russian film critic and scholar who worked for a number of Soviet-era journals as well as the only national journal dedicated to puppet theatre, gave the first in a series of lectures at UofT, this one on "Animating Pushkin: Mythology of the Poet and His Manuscripts." The series was sponsored by the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures in conjunction with the Centre for Comparative Literature.

Even in the age of mass consumption, which has become the reality of Russian life in the post-Soviet era, Pushkin's role in shaping Russian identity has remained important. But although his genius has been increasingly praised and his portrait became a symbol of Russian greatness, the (post) modern age has witnessed a diminishing of the quality of the representation of Pushkin. With his portrait appearing on most Russian products from pop bottles to stamps, his true value as a writer and poet of genius has been undermined.

Mr. Gurevich, by way of contrast to the contemporary misuse of Pushkin's image, showed an animated film about the author that was produced in the Soviet Union in the 1970s but only publicly shown after the country's collapse and is considered a finely wrought representation of his life and genius. This film's greatest achievement was not only using Pushkin's writing to convey meaning but also to convey the writer's personality.

Passionate, cynical, and self-deprecating, Pushkin must have been quite a character. His poems in particular gave a vivid portrait of a young man struggling with the big questions in life. The beauty of this film was the use of Pushkin's manuscripts, which were filled with side drawings that often served as supplements to his written thought. Numerous auto-portraits, images of birds and nature were all part of the text that conveyed deeper meaning about the author himself as well as

his perceptions of life. The animated film not only used the text but also formed characters around these drawings in order to give an evocative illustration of Pushkin's life and role in Russian society.

Mr. Gurevich's presentation was valuable not only because it served as a wonderful reminder of the greatness of one of Russia's most influential writers but also showed how the life and influence of such genius can be successfully preserved through animation. In addition, this talk also pointed out the lack of this effect in a society where mass production tends to cheapen the images of important historical figures by often taking away their profoundness through exploitation.



The following day, Mr. Gurevich spoke on "Frame-by-Frame Reading: Literary Masterpieces in Russian Animated Film."

Before delving into specific works, he noted that animated film and particularly critical evaluation of literary adaptations to it is not a widely known field of study. However, these "screenizations" of famous works can be considered serious attempts to enter into a kind of dialogue with literature. It must also be understood that animation is distinct from cartoons, with highbrow animation, of the type being addressed by Mr. Gurevich, using unconventional techniques and technologies usually with a unique technological style for each piece.

The first film analyzed was a fragment from *Little Organ*, a 1933 film by Nikolai Khodataev. According to Mr. Gurevich, the film is a satire on the spirit of Russian statehood. Although in the realm of cartoons, the graphic style is more defined. At approximately 25 minutes, the film is lengthy for an animated work, and is one of the earliest examples of literary animation.

The second film, *Mail*, a 1929 film by Mikhail Tsekhanovsky, was described by Mr. Gurevich as an early example of the Russian montage school. A silent film that follows a letter in search of its addressee around the globe, it is sharply constructivist with even the textual subtitles appearing in a distinctly rhythmic pattern.

Mr. Gurevich also analyzed several more recent works, including Yuri Norstein's *Overcoat*, an as yet unfinished work begun in 1980 and still under construction by its creator today. The available fragment, like other animated works, follows the motif of writing and begins with an emblematic crowd on a cold, snowy St. Petersburg street. The hero, who looks like Pushkin, can be seen pushing his way through the crowd and appears to almost be acting, a distinguishing element of animation strongly emphasized by Mr. Gurevich.

The works of Dostoyevsky have also been addressed by animation filmmakers, with a notable project being undertaken by Polish filmmaker Piotr Dumala called *Gentle Creature*, which used Dostoyevsky's *Crime and Punishment* as its backdrop. This film, like other pieces using the thematic canvass of Dostoyevsky's works, such as A. Petrov's *Dream of a Ridiculous Man*, incorporates both the ideas of Dostoyevsky and the

imagination of the filmmaker to create truly unique pieces of artistic expression. These included well-known motifs from *Crime and Punishment*, among other works, presented through painted rather than drawn images, giving the film a very unique appearance.

Mr. Gurevich concluded his discussion by emphasizing that animated film has acquired its elevated status through its adaptations of famous literary works.

*Anna Djuricic and Dave Morgan, CREES*

On March 24, **Edin Hajderpasic** (University of Michigan) presented his ideas on the emergence of a new multicultural discourse in post-war Sarajevo in a talk entitled "Museums, Multiculturalism and the Re-Making of Post-War Sarajevo." Mr. Hajderpasic analyzed the lack of real multicultural spirit in Sarajevo and argued that what passes for multiculturalism today is predominantly shaped by multi-confessionalism in the current public discourse. In fact, the lack of genuine cultural proliferation that might be achieved through the reconstruction of museums and art exhibits is obvious throughout the city. Instead, in post-war Sarajevo a number of religious monuments have been erected, such as churches, mosques, and synagogues, replacing other "non-confessional" cultural institutions and clearly marking the various religious groups as representatives of multiculturalism. This points to the current tendencies in the region to clearly define the existence of ethno-religious groups rather than encourage a true multicultural dynamic.

The first part of the presentation focused on the symbolism of the Sarajevo Haggadah. This holy book had been part of Sarajevo for many centuries and represented the city's genuinely multicultural spirit because the Jews were accepted into the city in the fifteenth century, a time when most Europeans had abandoned them. The importance of the Haggadah to the other ethnic groups was confirmed by the current dispute over where this holy book would be displayed. Nevertheless, its current "imprisonment" in the National Museum, where it is guarded and under constant surveillance, is symbolic of the lack of multicultural dynamism that the city enjoyed prior to the war.

Furthermore, the lack of interest by the international community to fund the opening of museums or art exhibits as opposed to religious monuments, which have been the main examples of "success" in the contemporary international discourse, only reaffirms the unhealthy link between multiculturalism and multi-confessionalism. For example, the fact that the National Museum remains closed to the public due to lack of electricity and heating is very symbolic of the lack of interest in this part of exploring the multicultural history of Bosnia.

Mr. Hajderpasic also pointed to the lack of general public support for the opening of the Ars Aevi Museum of Contemporary Art. Created during the war, Ars Aevi exhibits have been in refuge throughout Western Europe and have stood

for the superiority of art and spirit over war. Ironically, these exhibits cannot find a home in the very place from which they originated.

Mr. Hajderpasic raised some interesting points that critique the current discourse of multiculturalism by the local political as well as international actors in post-war Sarajevo. His presentation was an excellent analysis of the dangers that arise from ethno-confessional propagation of culture.

*Anna Djuricic, CREES*

On March 29, **Professor Ivan Ilchev**, Dean of the Department of History at University of Sofia "St. Kliment Ohridski," Bulgaria, delivered a lecture entitled "The Uses and Misuses of History in Bulgarian Political Life, 1878-2005." This installment in the Distinguished Leaders in Bulgaria Lecture Series was sponsored by Elizabeth and Daniel Damov, The Veneta and James Elieff Fund for Bulgarian Studies, and the Consulate General of the Republic of Bulgaria.

Professor Ilchev began his lecture by noting that history and politics in Bulgaria have been closely associated since the Middle Ages and that deliberate attempts have been made to use history, or made-up history, as a political weapon.

The modern Bulgarian state came into being at the 1878 Conference of Berlin and was faced with two tasks: modernizing the poor backward country and building towards the future. In the following decades no efforts were spared to mould the population into what Professor Ilchev termed a monolith. Bulgarians, however, were wary of being formed into a society, as they had previously existed as tight-knit small groups. According to Professor Ilchev, the main pillars of this societal formation were education, the army, religion, and the economy, with history being an important aspect of all four. For example, textbooks became an obviously important example of how Bulgarian history was addressed. Bulgarian history became a history of glory. Tragedies were not omitted, but emphasis was placed on the bravery of the Bulgarians. According to the textbooks, the archenemies of the Bulgarians were the Turks, Muslims in general (including Bulgarian-speaking ones), and Greeks. Bulgarian historians wrote many pieces to prepare the population for the conflicts of the early twentieth century.

Political parties eventually began propagating their own versions of history and historical objectivity fell victim to political considerations. The Communist Party, for example, created a false history by portraying Bulgarians as historically close to Russians. Once the communists had come to power, this was re-emphasized with the publication of the first "true" history of Bulgaria. In this history, Syvatoslav, a tenth-century leader of the Rus' who nearly destroyed the Bulgarians, was portrayed as being the liberator of Bulgarians from the oppression of their kings.

The driving force of the new history became class struggle, with the national liberation fight with the Turks being the most prominent example. This history had little to do with

objectivity but was politically correct. Further distortion included portrayal of the communists as the only ones who had fought against the Nazis and enthusiastic acceptance by peasants of changes implemented in agricultural policy. Further emphasizing the complete dominance of the Communist Party in all aspects of Bulgarian life was the fact that till the end of the 1960s, 80 percent of all PhD dissertations were devoted to the history of the Party.

By the mid-1960s things began to change somewhat. A new generation of historians emerged; those already steeped in communist history began to question it. Some results of this period included recognition of the role of the bourgeoisie during the national liberation against the Turks and that other groups apart from the communists had also opposed the Nazis. This was not a revolution, but it did contribute to a change in the general historical and political climate in the country. However, in the 1980s some historians did take a willing role in the renaming of Bulgarian Turks, showing that some historians still remained firmly under communist control.

Unfortunately, even 1989 did not bring about a substantial reorientation for historians and the tendency to follow the political line of the day continued. For example, many who had been experts in the history of the Communist Party now renamed themselves cultural historians because it became politically expedient to do so. New textbooks began to be commissioned but were still inadequate—although research in previously unexplored fields began to be conducted, it would be years before the results would begin to be reflected in these texts.

In the end, although history is still being used for political means, the school textbooks, an important aspect in societal strengthening, are now relatively free of politics.

*Dave Morgan, CREES*

On March 29, **Volodymyr Kulyk** (Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine and Fulbright Visiting Scholar at Stanford University) spoke in what had developed during the winter term into a series of lectures dedicated to Ukraine's Orange Revolution. He presented on "Ukrainian Media after the Orange Revolution: Change and Continuity in Performance and Ideology" (co-sponsored by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, Toronto Office, and the Petro Jacyk Program for the Study of Ukraine).

According to Dr. Kulyk, his own disappointment with the media's performance in post-Orange Revolution Ukraine came to be a major motivation for this presentation. He argued that, once freed from "themnyky" (lists distributed by the Presidential Administration during 2002-2004 of important political and social events with instructions on how, if at all, to cover them on the TV news), journalists working for Ukrainian media revealed their inability to work in a censor-free environment, where the response to audience expectations is more important than the response to political requirements.



Volodymyr Kulyk with CREES Fellow Marta Dyczok

Dr. Kulyk noted that primarily Russian productions continue to dominate Ukrainian television. This undermines society's changed expectations inspired by recent events in Ukraine. The experience of an entirely different type of broadcasting during the revolution meant that the continuity of such colonial practices on this independent country's television were painfully felt.

But there are the positive changes, among them in particular a significant increase in the overall presence of political news on national TV. Earlier, according to Dr. Kulyk, the preference for non-political news was one of the regime's techniques of manipulation, intended both to make it easier to silence specific events the authorities did not want the people to know of and to discourage their interest in politics.

Dr. Kulyk based his arguments on the analysis of TV reports from the first couple of weeks after the Orange Revolution. He acknowledged that in the interim Ukrainian TV could have improved significantly. However, he believes, it is important to keep journalists on their toes in order for them not to undermine the standards of objective journalism, which are of crucial significance. One of these standards has been ignored for several years in Ukraine—the responsibility to prioritize all socially important events and present true and objective views regarding them.

Dr. Kulyk also stressed the importance of creating a television network in Ukraine that would be adequate to meet societal demands and instrumental in building or sustaining democracy. This, according to the scholar, is a task not only for journalists but also for civil society, which, as the Orange Revolution has demonstrated, already exists in Ukraine.

In conclusion, Dr. Kulyk emphasized that his arguments on the current problems in the Ukrainian media are not "specifically Ukrainian ones" and that overcoming these problems is a "matter of a unidirectional movement from post-totalitarianism or neo-authoritarianism to democracy," which has been happening in most post-communist countries.

*Oksana Polyuga, CREES*

On April 5, **Alexander Duleba**, Director of the Research Centre of the Slovak Foreign Policy Association, visited CREES. He met with students to discuss the issue of Ukraine-Europe relations and Ukraine's integration into the European Union (EU). Mr. Duleba stressed the economic, political and security advantages of European integration based on Slovakian experience. He believes that Slovakia has much to share with Ukraine in terms of institutional, economic, political, and even emotional preparation for the EU integration.

Later the same day, in the Wolodymyr George Danyliw lecture series, Mr. Duleba presented in front of larger audience of academics, students, and the general public. He discussed the strategic importance of Ukraine for Europe, the nature of recent political changes in Ukraine (implementation of amendments to the constitution that move Ukraine's political system from semi-presidential to parliamentary republic), and the prospects of EU membership for Ukraine.

Mr. Duleba elaborated on the primary political challenge facing Ukraine in the near future—the necessity to create a strong party of power. According to Mr. Duleba, the govern-

ment of current Prime Minister Iuliia Tymoshenko has a fragile majority within the Ukrainian parliament. Therefore, once Ukraine's political system functions as a parliamentary republic,

the Tymoshenko government might face problems creating a coalition government. Mr. Duleba believes that the recent decision to change the logic and dynamic of EU enlargement policy is good news for Ukraine. According to this decision, which was reached during a recent EU summit (December 2004), a country that becomes an EU applicant is not bound by time restrictions and can enter the European community once certain economic, political, and human rights criteria are met. In general, Mr. Duleba expressed a realistic view on Ukraine's integration into the EU, stating

that this country still has lots to do before European dreams become a reality.

Mr. Duleba also elaborated on Slovakia's interest in Ukraine's integration into the EU. This interest is, according to him, primarily based on the fact that Ukraine is not just Slovakia's neighbour but is also its biggest trade partner. Therefore, Ukraine's entrance into the EU will automatically reduce the burden of border tariffs for Slovakia.

*Oksana Polyuga, CREES*



Alexander Duleba

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- **NATALIA LAZAR (CHERNIVTSI NATIONAL UNIVERSITY, UKRAINE), A PETRO JACYK VISITING FELLOW, SHARES HER RESEARCH ON UKRAINE'S NATIONALITY POLICY SINCE 1989.**
- **JAMES SHERR, A FELLOW OF THE CONFLICT STUDIES RESEARCH CENTRE AT THE DEFENCE ACADEMY OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, WAS THE SECOND WOLODYMYR GEORGE DANYLIW SPEAKER THIS YEAR (IN ADDITION TO ALEXANDER DULEBA) AND DEALT WITH THE CURRENT STATE OF UKRAINIAN-RUSSIAN RELATIONS.**
- **JOHN BROADBENT (CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES AT THE CANADIAN EMBASSY IN BRATISLAVA, SLOVAKIA) SPOKE ON SLOVAKIA'S TRANSITION IN THE 1990S.**
- **THE HUNGARIAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE'S LECTURE SERIES THIS TERM FEATURED AGNES HUSZAR VARDY (COMPARATIVE LITERATURE, DUQUESNE UNIVERSITY), WHO SPOKE ON "WOMEN IN THE GULAG: INTERVIEWS WITH SURVIVORS," AND HER HUSBAND, STEVEN B. VARDY (HISTORY, DUQUESNE UNIVERSITY), WHO PRESENTED ON "ETHNIC CLEANSING IN HISTORY AND ITS IMPACT ON THE HUNGARIANS."**