Letter from the Director

A belated welcome to our oldtimers, new faculty and students, visitors, and friends!

The new academic year has re-assembled the widely scattered troops: faculty and students alike went to Russia or Eastern Europe—or other exotic locales—in unprecedented numbers. Small wonder, since the opportunities to learn—are it "just" language study or archival research, or participation in student debating teams, or public opinion research, or organizing seminars on local government—had never been better. (We are reporting elsewhere in this newsletter on the exciting new opportunities provided by our Enterprise Fellowships.) Indeed, I believe we have never had as high a percentage of our graduate student body with first-hand experience: this is bound to make for greater sophistication in their understanding of the area of their studies.

The collapse and disintegration of the Soviet Union have impacted our work in a variety of ways. This historic event dramatically brought home one failure of all Soviet area programs in this country—the inadequate attention paid to the "national question," and the histories, cultures, languages, and societies of the non-Russian peoples of the former USSR. No single campus can expect to cover them all with any competence or thoroughness. But we propose to do our part. A first step this year will be the course on the history of the Ukraine, to be taught by Visiting Professor Frank Sysyn, of the University of Alberta, Canada, a recognized authority in this field. Several students are also studying the Turkish language as a gateway to the languages and cultures of the Central Asian republics. We hope to do more in the whole field of ethnicity (including its role in international tension and conflict) in the years ahead.

Perhaps the most obvious change in our local constituency is the growing size of the master's program in Russian and East European Studies, discussed elsewhere in this issue.

The content of several courses given in the fall reflects the events of recent months and years. Dr. John Dunlop is again offering a graduate seminar on the politics of the Gorbachev and Yeltsin years. Professor David Holloway is teaching a new graduate seminar on the causes and consequences of the collapse of the Soviet Union. And a number of us are compelled and delighted to revise our courses to incorporate both the facts and the implications of the collapse into our offerings. Some of the projects and activities undertaken by the Stanford Center for International Security and Arms Control, the Hoover Institution, and the Berkeley-Stanford Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies likewise reflect the new interests and new opportunities. The tragic events in the Balkans have further increased student interest in the

continued on page two
Stanford's New Moscow Campus

Stanford's newest overseas campus in Moscow is expected to open its doors in the fall quarter of 1993. Stanford Overseas Studies and a committee of Stanford faculty members headed by David Holloway are currently choosing among three local organizations that will be responsible for selecting instructors and location within Moscow, administering the program budget, and arranging homestays for students.

In its first year, the Moscow campus will function only during the fall quarter, offering approximately 5 or 6 courses to 25 students. According to Corbin Smith, Deputy Director of Overseas Studies, tentative course topics include Russian language, contemporary politics, the history of Moscow, the nationalities question, socialist economies in transition, Russian/Soviet foreign policy, and culture. All non-language courses will be conducted in English. Beginning in the Moscow program's second year, the fall quarter will be followed by a winter research seminar intended for a smaller group of students. If the undergraduate campus is successfully established, a graduate seminar/research program may be created for Stanford graduate students.

course on Yugoslavia offered by Wayne Vucinich.

Another way in which Stanford is moving to take advantage of new, fascinating opportunities is the Overseas Studies Program plan of a modest Moscow campus for upperclassmen and women comparable to the various overseas locales Stanford now operates. We look forward to this particularly challenging operation.

Fortunately, we have not been caught in the sort of predicament in which a number of other "sovietologists" found themselves. Some, on the eve of the Gorbachev reforms, chose to proclaim in print that Russia would never change from the dictatorial model inherited from many centuries of Muscovite "political culture." Others, in the middle of the collapse of the system in the fall of 1991, reaffirmed their conviction that Mikhail Gorbachev was in full control of the situation. The Stanford contingent had made no pronouncements that required it to eat its words.

This year we continue our commitment to bring visiting speakers to the campus and to make them available to both our campus and off-campus audiences.

Alexander Dallin

Teaching English in Eastern Europe with SEED

Over fifty Stanford students spent July and August of this past summer teaching English in Prague, Bratislava, and Bucharest through a program funded by Stanford Students for East European Democracy (SEED). The students paid their own airfare, and SEED covered their food and housing, with help from other organizations such as Charter 77, the Student Information Agency in Prague, the Slovak Student Union in Bratislava, and the University of Bucharest. The students also received a stipend.

According to Victor Velculescu of SEED, the group is particularly proud that they were able to expand the teaching program to Romania last summer, as in past years the program was centered in Prague with a smaller group teaching in Bratislava.

Stanford students selected to participate were not required to have prior knowledge of the language of the country in which they would be teaching. As preparation for their teaching experience, some of them took a course last spring on English as a foreign language.

The Czechs, Slovaks, and Romanians studying English had already achieved varying levels of proficiency and ranged in age from college students to professors and university staff members. The Prague and Bratislava programs required the English students either to pay a fee for the classes or to house an American student-teacher as part of their payment, while in Romania students paid a nominal fee. Velculescu emphasized that SEED is a non-profit organization and sets its course fees to cover the cost of the program as closely as possible.

Stanford students designed their courses to include not only English grammar but American culture, emphasizing topics such as American business practices and music according to their own interests. Some teachers invented games to help the students learn English. According to Julie Osenga, one of last summer's SEED teachers, the students were enormously interested in and excited about American culture. She was astonished by the amount of knowledge they already had.

Until this past summer, the East European host cities did not offer a reciprocal language program for the Stanford student-teachers. This year the University of Bucharest offered an informal, voluntary language program. Probably even more valuable to the student-teachers, though, was the time they spent seeing the cities with their students, practicing their new languages and forming lasting friendships.
CREES ENTERPRISE FELLOWS

The Center for Russian and East European Studies at Stanford is participating in a unique program to aid in the current transitional period in the CIS countries. The program is made possible by generous gifts from Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Sege, Mr. Walter Loewenstein, Mr. and Mrs. J. Tracy O’Rouke, and Chips and Technology.

The Fellowships allow recent Stanford graduates to play roles of genuine consequence by participating in the shaping of a new socio-economic structure in business, government, and humanitarian organizations.

Daniel Trubow (M.S. Electrical Engineering ’91, M.S. Engineering Management, ’92), Robin Carpenter (B.A. Psychology ’92), Edward Stevens (B.A. Slavic Languages and Literatures ’92), Kathy Vitz (M.A. Russian and East European Studies ’91), and Jonathan Nighswander (M.A. Russian and East European Studies ’92) are the first five recipients of the Enterprise Fellowships.

Elsewhere in this Newsletter is a report from Dan Trubow on his experiences in Minsk earlier this year. Dan had to interrupt his Fellowship, but is continuing, this time in Ekaterinburg, as a special assistant to Professor Sergei Borisov, Vice-president for International Affairs at Ural State University in Russia. Dan is scheduled to leave in mid-January.

Robin Carpenter is helping to set up an English language program for elementary through high school in St. Petersburg. Her contact and mentor at Stanford is Jane Boston, director of the SPICE program of IIS. Recently Robin sent us the following e-mail message:

"I am interested in writing a teachers’ manual for the Russian teachers of English. I have not come across any good books yet and I want to leave something here after I leave. My idea is to write a short book about (1) new American ideas on teaching English as a second language (2) guidelines on organizing lesson topics and (3) suggestions and ideas for activities which do not require many materials, as materials here are scarce." Robin works with the kindergarten children two days a week, high school students two days a week, and also meets with the Russian teachers for discussions in English.

Jonathan Nighswander is in Moscow. "I am working for Commer- sant [Russian business newspaper] in the political section as a reporter, and for the English language weekly as an editor. The operation is extremely well funded..." Jonathan’s mentor is Elie Abel (Professor Emeritus, Communications).

Kathy Vitz has just left for St. Petersburg to work for one of the new enterprises—an employment firm for Russian workers for foreign companies. She will bring with her a wealth of materials on Western employment practices and personnel management given to her by her mentor, Loren Letendre of Consulting Psychologist Press.

Since September, Ed Stevens has been with Parometer, a scientific instrument company, in St. Petersburg. He is helping them develop and market products for the West. He will continue to work with them till the summer.

Five other applicants are eagerly anticipating their formal invitations to organizations in Moscow, Omsk, Kiev, and other cities.

The Fellowship provides round-trip transportation and a small monthly stipend. The host organization arranges for (and in some cases provides) living accommodations and a ruble salary.

CREES arranges for a mentor—a contact in the United States—to advise, counsel, and provide professional support directly to the Fellow.

For more information on the Fellowship or the mentor program, please contact CREES at (415) 725-6852. Gifts to the Fellowship are tax deductible.

AAASS Announces Vucinich Prize Winner for 1991

The American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies has awarded the Vucinich Prize for the best work published in 1991 to John P. LeDonne for his book Absolutism and Ruling Class: The Formation of the Russian Political Order, 1700-1825.

Professor LeDonne received a plaque commemorating the award at the General Membership Meeting at the AAASS Convention in Phoenix on November 20. The cash award was provided by the Center for Russian and East European Studies.

Foreign Language and Area Studies Awards:

Five Stanford students have been awarded fellowships to study Russian under Title VI, U.S. Department of Education this academic year. They are:

Caroline Frazier, co-term A.B. student in American Studies and A.M. student in Russian and East European Studies

Nishima Garg, A.M. student in Russian and East European Studies

Susan Gates, Ph.D. student in the Graduate School of Business and A.M. in Russian and East European Studies

Elena Norman, J.D. student, School of Law

Nameeta Tolla, A.M. student in Russian and East European Studies

Additional fellowships are available for intensive language study during the summer. For more information and applications, please come to the CREES office.
Impressions of Minsk

by Dan Trubow

On this continent - and not only on this one - we had since time immemorial been rivals with the Americans. We are now attempting, and not unsuccessfully, to interact.

-Eduard Shevardnadze, 1990

First Impression

I arrived in Minsk in August and was greeted by wonderfully warm days and cool nights, very similar to a Stanford-type September. The uncrowded buses, the clean, fast, and oh-so-cheap subway, and most of all the markets and bazaars fully stocked with fruits and vegetables galore left me relaxed and well fed. I spent several days leisurely strolling around this modern and European-like haven of placidity wondering why people complained about living here.

After asking several locals and travelers about their impressions of Minsk, I was consistently given the same answers: “It is one of the loveliest cities outside of the Baltic Republics” and “It’s very pleasant for me to live here.” However, they also told me August is different because many of the local people take their otпуск (vacation) during this month. In this, these new acquaintances did not exaggerate.

Lasting Impression

Most of the vacationers returned to Minsk during the last week of August. I noticed this right away when trying to board a bus I had taken each day previously, always having been able to sit comfortably for the short ride to the metro station. On this day, when the doors of the bus opened, people who had been squeezed in, spilled out onto the street in a disorderly fashion, then immediately tried to reboard the bus. I was unable to board the bus for several days until I learned a few tricks, like taking the return bus the other way, away from the metro, then switching to the bus going in the right direction at a point when it was still possible to board.

Another day, I was in a hurry and decided to board the correct bus right away, no messing around. When the doors opened and the people spilled out, I rushed to join the crowd reboarding the bus. Just when I realized my efforts were in vain I saw a large hand reach across my shoulder from behind me and firmly grab a bar in the bus. I quickly glanced back and saw the face of a babushka (grandmother) with a look of determination and utter assuredness such as I’ve never seen. As her other hand reached around my other side I suddenly realized that I probably would be riding this bus after all. We were trying to board at the very front of the bus, but even the people in the back of the bus were forced to exhale when this babushka boarded both of us onto the bus. This was good lesson for me: always step in front of the little old grandmother if you want to board the bus, but first take a deep breath.

The markets also filled with people and suddenly it was very hard to even buy an apple. At kiosks where I was able to walk up and buy an ice cream cone (for less than 5 cents) only one day before, there were now 50 or more people waiting in line. The restaurants (only 28 or so in Minsk, a city of 2 million) in which I could simply walk in and sit down previously, now wouldn’t let me in unless I had a reservation. All of the stores, which only yesterday had had well-stocked shelves and many gifts, were now nearly barren. Overnight, Minsk turned from the lovely placid city of my dreams into a throbbing mass of people in search of produkty. Still, travelers and locals remained true to their statements, that Minsk is one of the best cities to live in. It really shook me up to think about life in the other cities if this was as good as it got. However, after a week or so I again began to discover little tricks to make life easier—like going shopping when the soap opera Santa Barbara played on television, and once again the buses and markets would be nearly empty.

The People

The feeling of curious eyes constantly probing my person never left me, and justifiably so. Generally, the locals weren’t shy about staring, or else their curiosity won out. They were always quite eager to talk with me, which usually led to my learning some interesting tidbit of local culture. For instance, in the Minsk region, the average time from when a couple first meets to when they marry is about three months. The people struck me as being very pleasant and physically beautiful. The women were nearly always fair-haired, either naturally or with dye. They dressed very well, and I could tell they were quite aware of men’s glances, and out to get them (the glances that is). The men often fell into the typical macho image such as a John Wayne in an old western; they constantly smoked cigarettes and spit a lot too.

I made many acquaintances in the restaurants because of a local tradition of seating customers with other people. The restaurant might have fifty empty tables and one table with two people, and more often than not the waiter will sit you at the table with the two people already there. At first, I was a little uncomfortable with this custom, but it soon became one of the highlights of my day.

One night I sat at a table with two locals who were running their own import/export company, which is about the most interesting topic for me. We drank a couple bottles of vodka (actually, I had two shots and they had a bottle apiece) and they suddenly wanted to dance. As every restaurant has a loud rock and roll band and a dance floor, this in itself was not unusual. However, my new found friend was unable to find a
single lady to dance with so he came back and asked me (which is very common). When I refused he simply picked me up and carried me to the floor--I danced. The most striking thing to me was that no one else in the restaurant seemed to think this was out of line, a man carrying another man with arms and legs uselessly flailing, to the dance floor.

The Food
Having come to Belarus' prepared to endure consistent hardship in obtaining food, I was quite surprised at the easy availability, even after September set in with the return of the masses. I found that you can have an enormously large meal; however, it was necessary to plan ahead. In the U.S.A., when one gets hungry, it's quite easy to go get something to eat in the next ten minutes. In Minsk it's necessary to spend about two hours or more. First you must find an open restaurant with an open table, then you must order (a major event), then you must receive each course one at a time (again each course is a major event in terms of waiting, getting the waiter's attention, making sure you get what you've ordered, reordering when your selection isn't available, etc.), finally you must pay. Elapsed time: up to four hours.

The food itself has very high fat content. A typical meal consisted of fresh tomatoes with sour cream, cutlets of meat and fish, beef-based soup, main dish of buttered potatoes and filet of meat (it looked like beef, tasted like chicken, but I don't know what it was), a dessert of ice cream, and of course black bread.

A friend, who is vegetarian, came to visit for a couple weeks, and had eaten tomatoes and potatoes and apples for about five days straight when we found a small cafe that served a rice pilaf. My friend was elated until we were served the rice and she saw small chunks of meat in it. The waiter informed us that they could serve pilaf without meat and brought another plate. I didn't have the heart to tell my friend that the waiter had simply picked out the chunks of meat, but maybe she knew anyway. Hunger has a way of converting vegetarians.

The Business Environment
I worked at an American-Belarussian joint-venture company which assembles and sells IBM-compatible computers. Through my work I discovered much about the culture and work ethic. There are two proverbs that I repeatedly heard when I was seen working long hours without taking a break. 1. The slower you go the farther you will get, and 2. Work is not a wolf, it won't run into the woods. Both of these Russian proverbs reflect the work ethic, which basically is to not work very hard because the work won't disappear; it will always be there. During my visit I was able to meet with some parliament members and some directors of the large industries in Minsk. The older ones nearly always showed signs of not wanting to change things from the way they are, but merely wanted to find ways to extract any money they could from me. The younger ones nearly always showed great interest in finding out about American techniques for manufacturing and efficiency. I was left with the impression that the greatest asset of all right now in Russia or Belarusia isn't money or experience or connections but simply youth and the willingness to explore new techniques. This is because the young managers haven't been firmly convinced that there is only one way to run a business.

Leaders of the Belarus' government, accused by many to be the most conservative and most hard-line of all the republics, appear to be moving slowly, but always moving in the right direction. They simply sit back and wait for the other republics to make changes and see the results, then choose from among the winning techniques to apply to their own republic. Examples of this are their introduction of local currency, facilitation of joint ventures, and their privatization laws.

Last Impression
One of the first utterances many a visitor will say, and I myself also said is, "The people here are just like Americans, they want the same things, they have the same goals, they dream the same dreams." After a while you notice subtle differences; they really have little concept of privacy, nor do they even have a word for it with any sort of meaning similar to our own. They also have a terribly long history of conforming, of not being stand-out performers, of obeying, and having the government make all the decisions. These characteristics, once realized, helped explain many everyday events which so puzzled me, such as why the waiter would not suggest what to order in a restaurant.

What I do realize and feel is that the Russians and Belarusians I met have many good and many bad characteristics, but none matters significantly, because they are a people I have grown to love. I feel very close to them, respect their strong sense of community and am impressed by their exceedingly important family-based value system.

On my last day the people in the company where I had been working gave me my going away presents. These gifts were of the highest quality and obviously expensive for them to purchase. One present was two small boxes made of wood and leather with hand-carved designs, again of the very highest quality. Included in the design was an inscription which is too personal to include here but will endear me to these people forever. This was just one of the many ways the people touched my heart.

About a week before returning to Palo Alto I was speaking on the phone to a friend in Santa Clara who asked me if I missed California. I replied, "Yeah, but I'm sure as soon as I get back it will be Minsk and these people that I miss." It's true.
Long, Hot Summer in Hungary
by Richard S. Ebenshade

I spent the summer (early July to mid-September) in Budapest, furthering my Hungarian language studies, visiting family (my wife is Hungarian) and friends, and scoping out the situation at this stage of transition. Here follows some fairly unsystematic reflections on the state of Hungarian society as viewed through my very subjective eyes.

The physical landscape of Budapest was reassuringly familiar. I had half expected a western German-style department store, fast food, and pedestrian zone consumer paradise to have completely replaced the crumbling, soty, and faded old facades I had come to love. The German department stores, American fast food chains (Burger King and Pizza Hut), and one of the many new McDonald’s situated in the historic Western Station) and pedestrian zones are there, of course, but their conquest of the city’s territory seemed to have slowed. A few blocks off of the main downtown shopping zone are the familiar—and seemingly forgotten—old apartment houses, still pockmarked with bullet holes from 1956 and even 1945. Plaques have been affixed here and there commemorating the victims of communism in one guise or another; for example, at 45 Andrássy Avenue (formerly People’s Republic Avenue), the headquarters of the communists’ security services from 1945-56, where the ideologically suspect had been interrogated and tortured in the basement (just as under the building’s former occupants, the wartime fascist Arrow Cross movement).

Apropos historical memory (and physical landscape), one issue that flared over the summer concerns the fate of the hundreds of statues and monuments put up by the communists over the last 45 years. The more obvious and outrageous ones have already been taken down and, under pressure from the militant and well-organized Association of ’56ers, the city agreed to move all the rest to a special park by the end of the year. But the deconstruction and transport, or even disposal, of so many thousands of tons of concrete has turned out to be prohibitively expensive, and many of the common folk (like my in-laws) seemed to think that, with unemployment increasing, better use could be found for the millions of forints required for the job—let the statues stay where they are.

Before the eye can reach statues or facades however, or even the sign to the nearest Golden Arches, it’s usually caught up by the flashy displays of the nearest street vendors: watches, shoes, linens, western perfumes and toiletries, T-shirts and the latest fashions, discount books, medals and other communist memorabilia, and practically anything else depending on the day and corner. Obviously unauthorized T-shirts with American sports team logos, usually with the slogan or colors wrong, sometimes with the city or sport altogether misidentified, are especially popular; the Chicago Bulls seemed to have taken the city by storm this summer, at least as a fashion statement (logic would rather point towards Cleveland, supposedly the second-largest Hungarian city after Budapest, but one can’t argue with success). People complain that their city, streets clogged with kiosks, stands, tables, and individual sellers with a couple of brassieres or bags of peppers, is turning into an "Istanbul"; Mayor Gábor Demszky, former dissident and samizdat publisher, had proclaimed some restrictions and ordered sweeps that had lessened the presence, but at this point the police seemed to be restricting themselves to taking down names and taking in "permit fees" on a daily basis. Such petty mercantile activity is obviously irremovable: Hungarians, like many East Europeans, seem to have particularly latched onto the ‘free market’ aspect of capitalism—acquire goods freely, and bring them to market—while ignoring other requisites such as investment and production. And with regular salaries still very low, especially for non-commercial work (schoolteachers, for example, can earn as little as 11,000 forints, about $150, a month, with most prices approaching or exceeding those here), the pull of quick income possibilities from street "entrepreneurship" is understandable.

My ever-open eye for signs of grassroots political activity or expression was mostly frustrated; stencils on the sidewalk and leaflets in the subway point to the newest private language teaching "studio," and the bearded hippie wandering the downtown pedestrian zone with signboards turned out to be advertising the new gourmet vegetarian restaurant. The most forthright 'political' graffiti I saw were several scrawls of (in English) "Milosevic is a pig—beat him!" Aided by prevailing international headlines, the local media does its best to steer any remaining political passion in this direction. The main television news program, generally nationalist and pro-government in contrast to its late evening liberal counterpart, was in early July giving daily counts of new Bosnian refugees crossing the border into Hungary—Hungary has taken in over 60,000 refugees from the former Yugoslavia, far more per capita than any other country except for Croatia and Slovenia. This same news program then organized a day-long public donation campaign for the refugees, and reported on it for a solid ten minutes as the day’s top story. The clear message was that it is every Hungarian’s patriotic duty to contribute to this campaign. This (a nationalistic campaign to support foreign refugees) may seem contradictory, but one must bear in mind the background factors—a half million ethnic Hungarians living in northern Serbia (Vojvodina), who most Hungarians fear will be victims of coming “ethnic cleansing” campaigns by the same Serb fanatics victimizing the Bosnians; nationalist/populist politicians’ exploitation of this fear (to distract from continuing hardship at home, many would say); and Hungary’s historical ties to Croatia. 
and antagonism with Serbia.

The Bosnian situation receded from view somewhat, or became routinized, as the summer wore on, but it was replaced by escalating concerns about Slovakia and its Hungarian minority (600,000), and the simmering tension in Romania (two million-plus Hungarians). The Hungarians fear that the Czech-Slovak split will give a dangerous Slovak nationalism free hand to stamp out the rights of the Hungarian minority. This may not be an unreasonable fear, given continuing reports of violations of Hungarians' rights in the past, historical antagonism (Hungarians ruled Slovakia over the last 50 years of the Habsburg empire, and tended to be the landlords to Slovak serfs for centuries before), and clearly disturbing signs coming out of the Slovak Parliament and the Bratislava government; but again, manipulation of the issue for domestic political purposes was all too obvious.

Another point of contention is the massive Danube dam project, originally a joint Austrian-Hungarian-Czechoslovak venture that the Hungarians pulled out of after widespread protests of its environmental impact (flooding, pollution of the water table, destruction of wetlands, redirecting the river itself into a concrete channel for a long stretch)—protests which were significant in helping to bring down the old system in Hungary. The Slovaks decided to carry on with the project, and the first hydroelectric power tests took place in early September. An appeal printed in Hungarian newspapers shortly thereafter was signed not only by well-known environmentalists, but by leading populists, and painted the issue in terms of an 'attack on the nation'—changing the course of the border-defining river is an attack on Hungarian sovereignty, the forced relocation of largely-Hungarian villages in the Slovak floodplain an attack on Hun-
garian culture, etc. Slovak leader Mečiar had already been accusing Hungary of carrying out provocative military maneuvers near the Slovak border, and after an incident just before my departure, in which black-hooded Slovak riot police beat up seemingly innocent Hungarian soccer fans in Bratislava during a match between a Budapest and a Slovak club, the smell of battle was in the air. (Anybody remember the 1970 Honduras-El Salvador "soccer war"?) A well-con-
nected friend told us of plans for a special mobilization of draftees being drawn up in the Hungarian foreign minister's office, and I heard predictions of war with increasing frequency and grim conviction as the summer wore on. These referred not only to Slovakia but to Romania as well, where more extreme nationalist movements more pointedly attack, both rhetorically and, at times, physically, a much larger ethnic Hungarian population; and of course to the former Yugoslavia too, and the possibility of the Serbs dragging Budapest into a regionalized conflict.

Richard Esbenshade is a student in the Master's Program. He was a recipient of a CREES travel grant to study Hungarian last summer. This is the first of a two-part report.

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  _ Other

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CREES WELCOMES THE NEW STUDENTS IN RUSSIAN AND EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES!


The Annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference will be held in Berkeley on Friday, March 12, 1993. The topic will be "The Disintegration of Multinational States: The Communist Experience"

The Center for Russian and East European Studies gratefully acknowledges the support of the:

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