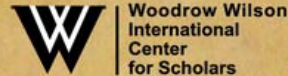


# CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS, TITLES, ABSTRACTS, AND BIOGRAPHIES



**NOVEMBER 11-12, 2010**

## **REMEMBRANCE, HISTORY, AND JUSTICE**

# **Coming to Terms with Traumatic Pasts in Democratic Societies**



**CONVENERS:**  
**PROF. VLADIMIR TISMANEANU**  
**MR. H.-R. PATAPIEVICI**  
**DR. CHRISTIAN OSTERMANN**

**NOVEMBER 11, 2010** - 9 am-5 pm, Embassy of Romania  
[1607 23rd Street, NW, Washington D.C., 20008]

**NOVEMBER 12, 2010** - 9 am-5 pm, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars - Auditorium  
[Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center One Woodrow Wilson  
Plaza, 1300 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Washington D.C., 20004 - 3027]

**ORGANIZING INSTITUTIONS:**

Romanian Cultural Institute, Center for the Study of Post-Communist Societies (University of Maryland – College Park), Comparative Politics and Political Theory Fields (Department of Government and Politics U-MD), Cold War International History Project (Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars), Center for Eurasian, Russian and East European Studies - Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service (Georgetown University), Embassy of Romania to the United States of America

**DANIEL CHIROT  
(KEYNOTE SPEAKER)**

**• The Great Betrayal: Romanian Intellectuals and the Lasting Legacy of the Blind Decades of the Twentieth Century**

**Abstract:**

Romania's immediate pre-communist past was as sinister as its communist period. The ascendancy of the far right in the late 1930s, and the period of Iron Guard rule followed by Antonescu was bloody and led Romania into a moral dead end. We need to understand why so many intellectuals in the 1930s were so seduced by xenophobia and anti-Semitism. Without this prelude, the Antonescu regime would not have been possible. Of course, Romania was not alone, but it was certainly an important case. How could intelligent, even brilliant individuals like Eliade believe in such pernicious nonsense? The fact that this then led to Romania's alliance with Hitler, and the disastrous war against the USSR prepared the way for communism. By 1945, the disgrace of fascism and the disarray of Romanian intellectual life left the way open for communism. The Red Army imposed it, but it is important to understand

that there was little to hold up against communist influence, and for those on the left, communism did offer a way out. Condemning all those who then became communist misses the point that for a while it seemed to offer some hope for a better world than Hitler's or Antonescu's. But as communism turned into a sinister and bloody regime itself, the prior disgrace of the right meant that there was not much intellectual basis for resistance. By the late 1960s, Gheorghiu-Dej's and Ceausescu's increasing nationalism once again seduced intellectuals into legitimizing a brutal and damaging regime. By the late 1980s, despite the abject failure of communism, in Romania there was little opposition, and no intellectual basis for dissent. This meant that after 1989 there existed a vacuum that allowed members of the old elite to take power. Iliescu was no longer a communist, and he helped guide Romania into the European Union and toward democracy, but building a strong intellectual base to support liberal democracy has been a slow and difficult task. There is little danger that Romania will now veer either toward the far right or the far left because it is within Europe, but it remains unclear how it might build a strong liberal intellectual tradition capable of resisting cynical corruption and of reconciling nationalism with tolerant democracy.

**Biography:**

Daniel Chirot is Professor of International Studies at Henry M. Jackson School University of Washington. Among his publications are: *Social Change in the Twentieth Century* (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977); *Modern Tyrants: The Power and Prevalence of Evil in Our Age* (Free Press, 1994). Paperback edition (Princeton U.P. 1996); with Clark McCauley, *Why Not Kill Them All? The Logic and Prevention of Mass Political Murder* (Princeton U. P., 2006). Editor or co-editor for the following volumes *The Origins of Backwardness in Eastern Europe* (University of California Press, 1989). Paperback edition, 1991. Romanian translation (2004); *The Crisis of Leninism and the Decline of the Left* (University of Washington Press, 1991); with Anthony Reid *Essential Outsiders: Chinese and Jews in the Modern Transformation of Southeast Asia and Central Europe* (University of Washington Press, 1997); editor with Martin Seligman, *Ethnopolitical Warfare: Causes, Consequences, and Possible Solutions* (American Psychological Association Press, 2001).

**VLADIMIR TISMANEANU  
(KEYNOTE SPEAKER)**

**● Democracy, Memory, and Moral Justice**

**Abstract:**

The keynote lecture will discuss, from a comparative standpoint, the significance of Romania's attempts at moral justice and its condemnation of the communist regime as illegitimate and criminal. Why did it happen and with what consequences? My analysis will bring into the discussion countries such as Romania, Germany and other cases in the former Soviet Bloc. I argue that, in these societies, we still experience a mnemonic interregnum, what Tony Judt defined as "a moment between myths". The Romanian exercise of confronting the past was an endeavor to clarify the role of memory in contemporary societal life. Generally speaking, de-communization is, in its essence, a moral, political, and intellectual effort. Moreover, it can be argued that the un-mastered past of the twentieth century's atrocities prevents the countries faced with it from institutionalizing the connection between democracy, memory, and civic awareness. The new identity of a post-authoritarian community can be based upon negative contrasts. A new pluralist community would be based upon the ethical framework circumscribed by both the knowledge of the truth and the official acknowledgement of its history. This would set ground for a re-institutionalization freed from the burden of the traumatic and guilty continuities and open the possibility for a genuine legitimacy rooted in truth and responsibility.

**Biography:**

Vladimir Tismaneanu is professor of politics and Director of the Center for the Study of Post-Communist Societies at University of Maryland (College Park). Chairman of the Presidential Commission for the Analysis of the Communist Dictatorship in Romania (April 2006 – April 2007). Since April 2007, Tismaneanu is chairman of the Presidential Advisory for the Analysis of the Communist Dictatorship in Romania. In 2003, he received University of Maryland Distinguished Scholar-Teacher Award. In 2007, the university granted him the Distinguished International Service Award. Prof. Tismaneanu received from the American Association for Political Science a certificate of exceptional achievement for his teaching career. In 2004, his book, *Stalinism for All Seasons* was granted the "Barbara Jelavich Award" by the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS). He was Editor (1998-2004) and chair (2004-2008) of the Editorial Committee of East European Politics and Societies. Professor Tismaneanu is Doctor Honoris Causa of Universitatea de Vest in Timisoara (2002) and of the National School of Political Studies and Public Administration in Bucharest (2003). Among his publications in English are: *The Crisis of Marxist Ideology in Eastern Europe: the Poverty of Utopia* (Routledge, 1988); *Reinventing Politics: Eastern Europe from Stalin to Havel* (Free Press, 1992, paperback with a new epilogue, 1993); *Fantasies of Salvation: Nationalism, Democracy, and Myth in Post-Communist Europe* (Princeton UP, 1998; paperback 2009); *Stalinism for All Seasons: a Political History of Romanian Communism* (University of California Press, 2003). He edited *Stalinism Revisited: The Establishment of Communist Regimes in Eastern Europe* (CEU Press, 2009). His edited volume, *Promises of 1968: Crisis, Illusion, and Utopia* (CEU Press) will come out in November 2010. For the 2008/09 academic year, he was a Fellow with the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington D.C., where he worked on a book on democracy, memory, and moral justice. The title of this ongoing project is *Democracy, Memory, and Moral Justice: Romania Confronts Its Communist Past*. He recently finalized the manuscript for a forthcoming book titled *The Devil in History. Lessons of the 20th Century*.

**TIMOTHY SNYDER  
(KEYNOTE SPEAKER)**

● **European Mass Killing and European Commemorations**

**Abstract:**

Three generations after the end of Europe's age of mass killing, memory cultures are thriving and mature. But can one follow the thread of public or political memory back to the events themselves? Recent research permits a fuller picture of the policies of mass murder of Hitler and Stalin, a history more complex and perhaps more terrible than any memory culture can absorb.

**Biography:**

Timothy Snyder received his doctorate from the University of Oxford in 1997, where he was a British Marshall Scholar. He has held fellowships in Paris and Vienna, and an Academy Scholarship at Harvard. He is the author of *Nationalism, Marxism, and Modern Central Europe: A Biography of Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz* (Harvard University Press, 1998, Halecki Prize); *The Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569-1999* (Yale University Press, 2003, awards from American Historical Association, American Association for Ukrainian Studies, Przegląd Wschodni, and Marie Curie-Sklodowska University); *Sketches from a Secret War: A Polish Artist's Mission to Liberate Soviet Ukraine* (Yale University Press, 2005, Pro Historia Polonorum award); *The Red Prince: The Secret Lives of A Habsburg Archduke* (Basic Books, 2008), and *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin* (Basic Books, 2010). He is also the co-editor of *Wall around the West: State Power and Immigration Controls in Europe and North America* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2001). He is currently at work on a family history of nationalism and a history of Eastern Europe. He teaches undergraduate and graduate courses in modern East European political history.

**ANNETTE WIEVIORKA**

● **Remembering the Holocaust and Constructing Democratic Consensus**

**Abstract:**

The presentation will focus on the period of time between 1987, the year of Klaus Barbie's trial, and 2000, the end of the so-call Mission d'étude sur la spoliation des biens des Juifs de France. During these years, almost a decade and a half, France experience what is commonly called the process of dealing with the past. The context and the evolution of the trials of Kaus Barbie, Paul Touvier (1994), and Maurice Papon (1998), Jacques Chirac's state apology (1995), and the implementation of state reparations for the victims of the Holocaust significantly impacted on French society. My talk will focus on the multiple and complex aspects of these landmark event and it will analyze their results and consequences.

**Biography:**

Annette Wieviorka is directrice de recherche in the CNRS (Paris1 Panthéon-Sorbonne). She wrote numerous books about the memory of the Holocaust, among them *Deportation et genocide entre la mémoire et l'oubli* (Plon,1992, réédition Hachette-Pluriel, 1995, 2002) ; *Le Procès Eichmann*, (Editions Complexe, 1989); *L'Ere du témoin* (Plon, 1999, réédition Hachette-Pluriel 2001. She recently completed the biography of Maurice and Jeannette Thorez, the ruling couple of the French communist party: *Maurice et Jeannette. Biographie du couple Thorez* (2010).

## **CHARLES VILLA – VICENCIO**

### **● Political Transition and Its Aftermath in South Africa**

#### **Abstract:**

The South African transition from apartheid to the country's first democratically elected government in 1994 is commonly regarded in international circles as an example of a successful transition that avoided the predicted blood-bath and political chaos. Some among the oppressed people of the country had quite unrealistic expectations of what the new age could usher in, which has contributed to the current wave of disillusionment and resentment in South Africa. This has again raised questions about the nature of the soft South African transition and broader questions about political transitions generally, from dictatorship and authoritarian rule to the beginning of liberal democracy – that has rightly or wrongly come to be regarded as the international 'gold standard' of good governance and the rule of law.

Given the world propensity to exploitation, oppression, violence and war, a pertinent question is how nations, populated by what Sir Isaiah Berlin so aptly define as a "crooked humanity", can go about making lasting peace? Bernard Williams suggests it has as much to do with "moral luck" as anything else. Since the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the wave of democratisation that has swept the globe, it has become clear that the ruling elite in many so-called "post-conflict" and "transformed" countries carry within them an inclination, if not insatiable hunger, for unchallenged power and control.

Consideration is given in this paper to the South African breakthrough in negotiations that led to this country's democratic elections as well as the fruits of this transition, sixteen years later. It was relatively easy in struggle against apartheid to distinguish between good and evil government and practice. Today it is more difficult. We are discovering that many political leaders are, indeed were, neither wholly satanic nor wholly angelic. This means they have a propensity and capacity to respond, whether out of self-interest or empathy with others, to both the carrots and sticks of history. It is this that makes peace-building a trade off that reaches deep into the psyche and identity of the adversaries and political opponents, as well as into the fabric of the political process that shapes the fortunes of a nation.

Consideration is given in what follows to:

- The context of the South African political settlement, culminating in the 1994 elections.
- The nature of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission.
- The reality of the continuing quest for political and economic inclusivity in a still deeply divided country.

Having considered these models, I offer a closing comment on the current state of the global transitional justice debate.

#### **Biography:**

Charles Villa-Vicencio is a Visiting Professor in the Conflict Resolution Program at Georgetown University, a Senior Research Fellow at the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (in South Africa) and an Emeritus Professor of the University of Cape Town. Prior to that he served as the National Research Director in the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Villa-Vicencio works largely in the area of transitional justice and social transformation in South Africa and elsewhere on the African continent. He has worked on transitional mechanisms and peace building initiatives in Rwanda, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Sudan, Mauritius, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, as well as being a consultant in other conflict situations.

**JEFFREY HERF**

● ***Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys - Revisited in Germany and the Middle East***

**Abstract:**

In 1997, I published *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys*. In this presentation I want to recall some of the arguments of that work, assess scholarship on these issues that has appeared since then and compare and contrast the process of remembering and writing the history of the second German dictatorship, the German Democratic Republic with that of the memory and history of the Nazi dictatorship and the Holocaust. While the memory of the Holocaust retains a central role in German political culture, the examination of the connections between East German anti-fascism and that regime's hostility to Israel remains under examined. By contrasting the postwar political careers of Georg Kiesinger, the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany from 1966 to 1969, with that of Haj Amin al-Husseini, who collaborated with the Nazis and then became the leading figure of Palestinian nationalism in the postwar decade, I want to draw attention to those who managed to regain public respectability and even political power despite their involvement with the Nazi regime. In so doing, I will examine the differing terms of reintegration and return to public life in West Germany, East Germany and in the Arab politics in the Middle East.

**Biography:**

Jeffrey Herf teaches Modern European and German political and intellectual history at the University of Maryland in College Park. His most recent book, *Nazi Propaganda for the Arab World* (Yale University Press, 2009), has been awarded the 2010 Bronze Prize by the Washington Institute for Near East Policy for Nonfiction Books on the Middle East. His previous books include: *Reactionary Modernism: Technology, Culture and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich* (Cambridge UP, 1984); *War by Other Means: Soviet Power, West German Resistance and the Battle of the Euromissiles* (The Free Press, 1991); *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys* (Harvard UP, 1997), winner of the American Historical Association's George Lewis Beer Prize in 1998; and, *The Jewish Enemy: Nazi Propaganda During World War II and the Holocaust* (Harvard UP, 2006), which won the National Jewish Book Award in the category of work on the Holocaust for 2006.



## **ALEXANDRU GUSSI**

### **● Telling the Truth and Political Responsibility in Post-Communist Eastern Europe**

#### **Abstract:**

During the past twenty years, the debate about the communist past was transformed almost completely in a debate about the debate itself. In fact, immediately after 1989, the primary concern was not of the nature of the ancient regime, but of the concrete elements to condemn it in the need to construct a democratic state. From the beginning, there was confusion between the social necessity of memory, but also of forgetting, and the political use of this sentiment to conquer and preserve the power over resources. Therefore the question of the past became an essential code to understand political cultures in post communism, because it was a debate that produced the new identities of political parties, civil society groups, intellectuals and event states. In perspective this phenomenon was in itself a positive step towards pluralism, but it made almost impossible to de-politicize the question of totalitarian past. An interested politics of forgetting and an interested politics of memory are, in different ways, contributing to the collective frustration, of the society and of individuals, from victims to collaborators, in their need to understand what they lived.

#### **Biography:**

Alexandru Gussi is Associate Professor, Department of Political Sciences, University of Bucharest, PhD and MA in Political Sciences of IEP Paris, PhD with a thesis on political usage of the communist past (2007). Currently adviser at the Romanian Presidency, he authored several studies on political memory and democratization, the political parties in post-communist Romania, and on the University Square Movement.

## EUSEBIO MUJAL-LEON & ERIC LANGENBACHER

### ● Post-Authoritarian Memory in Latin America

#### Abstract:

This paper begins with a theoretical overview of the literature on collective memory, transitional justice and democratization. We focus on the interdependencies among the concepts, the importance of voice, security and agency, the impact of prior regime type and authoritarian projects on the transition, the type of transition, timing and stages (first and second transitions). We also speculate on the impact of the level of development and nature/extent of previous repression. Next we delve into a series of scenarios/Case studies: Germany, Argentina, Chile, and Spain. This is followed by some thoughts on the current environment including the state of the democratic Zeitgeist, the rise and fall of hegemonic projects, dissipation of democratic triumphalism and idealism, return to realism, the continued vulnerability of representative democracy and a renewed malaise. Looking forward, we briefly address the Cuban case, identifying salient variables, actors and factors, as well as most likely scenarios as illuminated by previous cases.

#### Biographies:

**Eusebio Mujal-León** is a professor and former Chair of the Department of Government at Georgetown University. Professor Mujal-León received his B.A. in History (1971) and his J.D. in Law (1974) from the Catholic University of America and his Ph.D. in Political Science (1980) from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He is co-Director of the M.A. in Development Management that Georgetown University jointly conducts with the Universidad Nacional de San Martín (Argentina) and is co-Director of the M.A. in Democracy and Governance in the Department. A specialist in European and Latin American politics, he has written numerous articles and is the author and editor of several books, including *Communism and Political Change in Spain* (1983), *Spain at the Polls -- The General Elections of 1997, 1979, and 1982* (1985), *European Socialism and the Conflict in Central America* (1989), *The USSR and Latin America* (1989), *The Cuban University under the Revolution* (1989) and *Die Sozialistische Internationale in den 80er Jahren* (1995). Most recently, he has written on Cuban politics, including an article entitled "Charismatic Post-Totalitarianism -- The Castro Regime in Comparative Perspective" (published in *Problems of Post-Communism*) and another work entitled "Is Castroism a Political Religion? He is currently at work on two projects, the first about the prospects for regime change in Cuba, the other on the domestic and external determinants of Spanish foreign policy. Professor Mujal-León was awarded the title of Caballero in the Order of Isabel la Católica in 1990. He has also been a Visiting Fellow at the Center of International Studies of Princeton University (1984-86) and a Fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars of the Smithsonian Institution (1989-90). Professor Mujal-León has held a Fulbright Fellowship at the University of Madrid (1994), and he has lectured and taught courses on democratization, US foreign policy process, globalization and its political implications for US-Latin American relations at numerous universities in Latin America and Europe.

**Eric Langenbacher** is a Visiting Assistant Professor and Director of Honors and Special Programs in the Department of Government, Georgetown University where he also received his PhD in 2002. He teaches a variety of courses on comparative and American politics. He was awarded a Fulbright grant in 1999-2000 and held the Ernst Reuter Fellowship at the Free University of Berlin in 1999-2000, and was voted faculty member of the year by the graduating seniors of Georgetown's School of Foreign Service in 2009. Books include *Launching the Grand Coalition: The 2005 Bundestag Election and the Future of German Politics* (Berghahn Books, 2006), *Power and the Past: Collective Memory and International Relations* (Georgetown University Press, 2010), *Between Left and Right: The 2009 Bundestag Election and the Transformation of the German Party System* (Berghahn Books, 2010) and *From the Bonn to the Berlin Republic: Germany at the Twentieth Anniversary of Unification* (Berghahn Books, 2010) and *The Mastered Past? Memory Regimes in Contemporary Germany* (under review). He has planned and run dozens of short programs for groups from abroad on a variety of topics pertaining to American and European politics, culture and public policy. He is also Managing Editor of *German Politics and Society*, which is housed in Georgetown's BMW Center for German and European Studies.



**NIKOLAI VUKOV**

**●Past Intransient / Transiting Past: Public Commemorations and the Representation of Communist Past in Bulgaria**

**Abstract:**

As in most East European countries, commemorative attention to victims of totalitarian rule held a central place in the public discourses after 1989 in Bulgaria. At the place of the grand narrative of antifascism, which was sustained during the communist period, the first years after 1989 witnessed to the emergence of long suppressed testimonies about the crimes of the regime and of evidence, whose disclosure called for ethical and historical justice. The forceful establishing of the communist power, the brutal treatment of the democratic opposition, the limited freedoms and the persecutions and camps, etc. stepped out of silence and, together with voicing a plethora of individual fates, triggered public demands for an adequate historical evaluation. Accompanied by rigorous debates, commemorative acts to the victims of the communist regime sought to respond to the newly emerging memories and to narrate about communist times in ways that were unthinkable before, i.e. through the discourse of terror and repression, through examples of violent death and crushed fates. With them, the Bulgarian society in the first years after 1989 witnessed an increased ambiguity of mourning, an emergence of mutually opposing memories, and an encounter between contested notions of commemorative legitimacy.

This memory resource was to get exhausted in the course of the two post-communist decades, leading to its gradual relativization, overshadowing by other issue of political and social pertinence, and substitution by other realms of commemorative attention. The hardships of the socio-economic transition, the whirlpools of political developments in the course of two decades, the interplay between nostalgia and allergy about the recent past, not only led to the gradual sidestepping of references to communist crimes in public ceremonies, but also posed the very issue of coming to terms with the communist past on problematic grounds. The goal of the current paper is to shed light on the factors of time and temporal distance in maintaining an ethical distance to the burdensome past. Focusing on examples about public commemorations of communist victims in Bulgaria after 1989 (as expressed in monuments, museum representations, public rituals, legislation, political meetings, etc.), the paper will discuss the issues of relativism in the course of time's passing and the ethics of remembrance beyond the framework of political appropriations. Among the main questions to be addressed in the paper are: how public commemorations reflected the penetration of politics into the sphere of collective memory and what changes they underwent in the course of two decades; how was this memory resource changed over time and what has been its interplay with attempts for moral judgment and historical assessment; how did they contribute to elaborating notions of the communist past, and what was their role in coupling these notions with routinized, relativist, or revisionist readings. Drawing a parallel between commemorations in the first years after 1989 and the celebrations of the twentieth anniversary after the political changes, the paper will outline the new emphases that occurred in the representation of the communist period and the intransient nature of trauma beyond the vicissitudes of the post-communist transition.

**Biography:**

Nikolai Vukov (b. 1971) has Ph.D. in anthropology (2002, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences) and Ph.D. in history (2005, Central European University). He is a Research Associate at the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Studies, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, and Assistant Professor at the Department of Anthropology, New Bulgarian University. Nikolai Vukov has held visiting and research fellowships at the Maison des sciences de l'homme, Paris (Mellon Foundation Fellow, 2007), the Center for Advanced Studies in Sofia (2005; 2009); Wissenschaftskolleg, Berlin (2003); New Europe College, Bucharest (2001); and the Department for Southeast European History, Graz (2000). He has been a participant and guest lecturer at the Summer Institute "(Un)limited Identities" (Belgrade, 2008), the Summer School on Cultural Heritage (Weimar, 2006), and the Getty Institute "Reconstructing the Past in the Middle East" (Istanbul, 2006). The areas of his research include: monuments and museum representations in Eastern Europe after 1945; death and commemorations; communist rule and post-communist transition.

## CRISTIAN VASILE

### ●The Presidential Commission for the Analysis of the Communist Dictatorship in Romania (PCACDR): Scholarship and Public Memory

#### Abstract:

The Presidential Commission for the Analysis of the Communist Dictatorship in Romania (PCACDR), known as the Tismaneanu Commission, was founded in April 2006 by President Traian Băsescu to draw up a report on the crimes of the 1945-1989 period that would allow the official condemnation of the Romanian communist system. The report had to investigate the institutions and methods that made the crimes and abuses of the totalitarian regime possible, and to document the role of communist officials in supporting and perpetuating the system. Even after 1989, many communist crimes were concealed and denied and important communist archives, including the Communist Party archives, remained inaccessible to researchers. Historians were hindered in their efforts to study the recent past, while the victims of the communist regime could prove neither the political nature of their convictions nor the unjust manner of the confiscation of their property. My paper will examine both the cooperation within PCACDR between historians and other social scientist, on the one hand, and former political prisoners, dissidents, members of the Romanian Diaspora, on the other hand, and the debate involving PCACDR members and other societal groups using history for their ends in the public sphere (politicians, university professors which organized a conferences harshly criticizing the report on communist system, and nostalgics for Ceausescu's dictatorship).

#### Biography:

Cristian Vasile is Research Fellow at the "Nicolae Iorga" History Institute (Romanian Academy, Bucharest). Dr. Vasile was Coordinator of the Advisory Presidential Commission for the Analysis of the Communist Dictatorship in Romania (April 2007-December 2009) and former Scientific Secretary of the Presidential Commission for the Study of the Communist Dictatorship in Romania (April 2006-April 2007). He has written numerous articles on church and politics in twentieth-century Romania and on politics of culture under communism. He is author of three books: *Perfectul acrobat. Leonte Răutu, măștile răului* [The Perfect Acrobat: Leonte Rautu, the Masks of Evil], (2008) (co-authored with Vladimir Tismaneanu); *Biserica Ortodoxă Română în primul deceniu comunist* [The Romanian Orthodox Church in the first communist decade] (2005); *Între Vatican și Kremlin. Biserica Greco-Catolică în timpul regimului comunist* [Between Vatican and Kremlin: Greek Catholic Church under Communist regime] (2003). Dr. Vasile was also co-author and co-editor of the *Final Report of the Presidential Commission for the Analysis of the Romanian Communist Dictatorship*. The printed edition was published by Humanitas in 2007 (Co-edited with Vladimir Tismaneanu and Dorin Dobrințu). He is presently working on a book that focuses upon the dynamics within the arts and education in Romania between 1948 and 1953.

## **VLADIMIR PETROVIĆ**

### **● Slobodan Milošević in the Hague. Failed Success of a Historical Trial**

#### **Abstract:**

This presentation examines implications of the trial of Slobodan Milošević, held in front of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia from extradition (2001) until the death of the accused (2006) which terminated the proceedings before the judgment was rendered. The overall aim of the presentation is to question prevailing negative views on the accomplishments of the Milošević trial. Existing literature predominantly follows the logic of criminal law, treating judgment as the fundamental goal of the trial. However, as growing findings from the field of transitional justice indicate, challenges posed by judging criminal leaders call for nuanced approach which does justice to both legal and extralegal elements of the proceedings. To that end, records of the trial are revisited in the light of six proclaimed goals of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia: (1) Holding leaders accountable, (2) Bringing justice to victims, (3) Giving victims a voice, (4) Establishing the facts, (5) Developing international law and (6) Strengthening the rule of law. Seen through such lenses, the outcome of the trial proves to be much more than a simple failure. Milošević's unlikely appearance in front of the international court signified a major breakthrough in the area of establishing the accountability on the highest level and eroding the impunity of leaders, presenting therefore an important development in international law. Ambitious design of the prosecution, which ended in a set of encompassing indictments, resulted in an unmanageable, prolonged and eventually aborted trial, but has by the same token produced massive body of evidence, which inspired further proceedings on both international and national level. Even though "bringing history to trial" remains much debated and disputed concept, the experience of establishing individual criminal responsibility of leaders seems to indicate that this aspect is to some degree inevitable. Modalities and management of this element of the trial are in the need of careful laboring, in order to avoid the perils of a show trial or scapegoating. Milošević trial succeeded to pass this test, at the high cost of its own failure. The heritage of the Milošević case and its mixed record indicates that the trial not only played, but continues to play an important role in the process of coming to terms with the atrocious decade for the region of former Yugoslavia.

#### **Biography:**

Vladimir Petrović graduated from the History Department of Faculty of Philosophy of the Belgrade University, defending his BA in 2003 and MPhil in 2006. He also graduated from the History Department of the Central European University, with MA in Central European History and PhD dissertation "Historians as Expert Witnesses in the Age of Extremes" defended in 2009. He works as researcher at the Institute of Contemporary History in Belgrade and as analyst in the Serbian War Crimes Prosecutor's Office. He published two monographs and edited three thematic volumes, and is the author of a number of articles, book chapters and essays in Serbian and English.

## IGOR CASU

### ● History and Memory of the Communist Past in Moldova

#### Abstract:

Until recently there was no coherent politics of memory in post-Soviet Moldova after 1991 and this explains and at the same time reflects the difficult and ambiguous political trajectory of the country both in its internal dimension but also external one. Communist past has been regarded by official Chisinau for the most part of the 1990s and 2000s as something to be proud of as Moldova belonged to a great power state – USSR – and there was supposedly an impressive economic development in the region and the local population witnessed the highest level of mass consumption and well-being ever attained in history. At the other hand, the civil society and the majority of professional historians have regarded the Communist party as a criminal regime both because of its violent policies against local population and its discrimination policies toward the local majority of Romanians and Russification policies.

After the anti-Communist electoral take-over in 2009 there were created preconditions for a change in the previously ambiguous politics of memory pursued in the last 20 years by the Moldovan authorities. In January 2010 the ad interim President of Moldova Mihai Ghimpu created a special commission of historians and specialists from related disciplines in order elaborating a report on the crimes of communism in former Soviet Moldavia. The local archives, including that of KGB, were becoming largely accessible for historians. This made possible disclosing the previously unknown scale of communist terror in Soviet Moldavia, not only in the Stalinist period, but also after 1953 and 1956. Corroborating the KGB files and memoirs of the victims, it became finally possible to elaborate a balanced and well documented discourse on the communist past. Changing the mentality of the local population, no matter their ethnic allegiance, toward the Communist Soviet regime would take however long time as the visions of the Communist past – mainly positive one – is forged and reproduced by a great bulk of local and Russian mass media. But without a fundamental change in the perception of the Communist past there could not be a democratic and truly European future for the Republic of Moldova.

#### Biography:

Igor Casu is Associate Professor at the Faculty of History and Philosophy, Moldova State University. He defended his Ph.D. at Jassy University, Romania in 2000 and taught History of Balkans at Lenoir-Rhyne College, NC as Fulbright Scholar-in-Residence in fall semester 2000. Since September 2010 he is Director of Center for the Study of Totalitarianism, Moldova State University. Among his recent publications are “Nation Building in the Era of Integration: The case of Moldova”, in Konrad Jarausch and Thomas Lindenberger (eds.) *Conflicting Memories: Europeanizing Contemporary Histories*, (Berghahn Books, 2007) and “Political repressions in Soviet Moldavia, 1940-1941, 1944-1989”, in Vladimir Tismaneanu, Dorin Dobrinco, Vasile Cristian eds., *The Report of the Presidential Commission for the Analysis of Communist Dictatorship in Romania*, (Humanitas, 2007), and “Stalinist Terror in Soviet Moldavia, 1940-1953”, in Kevin McDermott Matthew Stibbe, eds., *Stalinist Terror in Eastern Europe. Elite Purges and Mass Repression* (Manchester University Press, 2010).

## DAVID BRANDERBERGER

### ●Re-Writing History in Putin's Russia

#### Abstract:

Re-Writing History in Putin's Russia examines recent debates over history instruction in Russian public schools, technical institutes and universities, paying particular attention to efforts to reform this aspect of the educational system around a single official interpretive perspective. Discussions of several key textbooks (Filippov's teacher's manual, Danilov's textbook, and Barsenkov and Vdovin's university-level reader) are analyzed, as are the controversies surrounding the Russian-Ukrainian "Holodomor" television debates and the launch of the Russian Federation's Presidential Commission to Counter Attempts to Falsify History at the Expense of Russian Interests. "Re-Writing History in Putin's Russia" argues that although these new efforts are styled as part of a campaign to stimulate the rise of Russian patriotism, their message is much more fundamentally statist (etatist) than it is patriotic or nationalist.

#### Biography:

David Brandenberger (Ph.D. Harvard University) is Associate Professor of History at the University of Richmond. He has written on Stalin-era propaganda, ideology and nationalism in journals like *Russian Review*, *Kritika*, *Europe-Asia Studies*, *Jahrbuecher fuer Geschichte Osteuropas* and *Voprosy istorii*. His first book, *National Bolshevism: Stalinist Mass Culture and the Formation of Modern Russian National Identity, 1931-1956* (Harvard UP, 2002) focuses on the USSR's reliance on russocentric mobilizational propaganda and the effect that this pragmatic use of historical heroes, imagery and iconography had on national consciousness among Russian-speakers, both during the Stalin period and after. His second major book, *Propaganda State in Crisis: Soviet Ideology, Indoctrination and Terror under Stalin, 1928-1941* (forthcoming from Yale UP), explores the USSR's failure to inculcate a sense of communist identity in interwar Soviet society--a failure that precipitated the mobilizational exigencies detailed in his other published work.

## **MARK KRAMER**

### **●The Perils of Historical Forgetting and Whitewashing: The Former USSR and Soviet Bloc in Comparative Perspective**

#### **Abstract:**

The task of confronting unpleasant historical episodes is difficult for any country, even the long-established democracies. Germany, France, Austria, Japan, and the United States are among the countries that have had spotty records in coming to terms with horrendous events of the past. Difficult as the process of historical reckoning may be for Western countries, it is even more onerous in former Communist countries, especially Russia, which took on the role of the Soviet successor state at the end of 1991. The former Communist countries that have done the most to encourage a thorough reckoning with the Communist period have enjoyed much greater stability and have advanced further in democratization than the countries that have avoided any reappraisal of the past or that have embarked on the process selectively or halfheartedly. Deep and lasting democratization in the former East-bloc states has made the most headway when the iniquities of the Communist period have been exposed to public light and when leaders of these states have unequivocally denounced the individuals and regime that were complicit in systematic cruelty and terror.

#### **Biography:**

Mark Kramer is Director of the Cold War Studies Program at Harvard University and a Senior Fellow of Harvard's Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies. He was formerly an Academy Scholar in Harvard's Academy of International and Area Studies and a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University. Professor Kramer's publications include, *The Crisis in Czechoslovakia, 1968: The Prague Spring and the Soviet Invasion* and the *August Invasion and Soldier and State in Poland: Civil-Military Relations and Institutional Change After Communism*, *The Collapse of the Soviet Union*, and *Crisis in the Communist World, 1956: The Soviet Union, the Warsaw Pact, and Upheavals in Poland and Hungary* (forthcoming, 2008). He is completing another book—*From Dominance to Hegemony to Collapse: Soviet Policy in East-Central Europe, 1945–1991* (Oxford University Press, forthcoming)—which draw heavily on new archival sources. His books highlight the theoretical as well as historical implications of the new archival evidence. Professor Kramer has also edited three books -- *The Black Book of Communism* (Harvard University Press, 1999), *The Collapse of the Soviet Union* (MIT Press, forthcoming), and *Great-Power Rivalries, Tibetan Guerrilla Resistance, and the Cold War in South Asia* (Rowman & Littlefield, forthcoming).

## **JAN-WERNER MÜLLER**

### **● Germany's Two Processes of Coming to Terms with the Past: Failures, After All?**

#### **Abstract:**

Germany used to be held up as a model for coming to terms with a difficult past, with Timothy Garton Ash once joking about a German Industrial Norm in 'Vergangenheitsbewaeltigung'. More recently, however, there have been many critical voices inside the country, suggesting that both 'coming to terms with the Nazi past' and 'coming to terms with state socialist East Germany' might have been failures, after all, though for different reasons: in the case of the former, critics charge that Germans have basically appropriated the Holocaust to feel good about their own efforts in remembrance – the result being a new complacency; in the case of the GDR, critics have argued that defenders of the regime have been allowed to impose a very soft image of the dictatorship, partly because everyone is so careful not to equate socialism and National Socialism – the result again being complacency, though of a different kind. I would want to concede that there is something to these criticisms, but also underline that they are based on completely unrealistic expectations – expectations that can only arise precisely because Germany's 'memory culture' is so highly developed and remains in many ways an exception, as far as both the fascist and the communist past are concerned.

#### **Biography:**

Jan-Werner Müller teaches in the Politics Department, Princeton. He is also founding director of the Project in the History of Political Thought, University Center for Human Values, Princeton. His books include *Contesting Democracy: Political Ideas in Twentieth-Century Europe* (2011, forthcoming), *Constitutional Patriotism* (Princeton UP, 2007) and *A Dangerous Mind: Carl Schmitt in Post-War European Thought* (Yale UP, 2003).



## **BOGDAN IACOB**

### **●The Romanian Communist Past and the Entrapment of Polemics**

#### **Abstract:**

The publication of the *Final Report* of The Presidential Commission for the Analysis of the Communist Dictatorship in Romania (PCACDR), on the basis of which the Romanian president condemned the communist regime in the country as illegitimate and criminal, should have prompted extensive analyses of issues such as victimhood, responsibility, systemic legitimacy, resistance (and its twin, collaboration), etc. Instead, significant sections of the Romanian public sphere rather chose to pursue the path of mostly sterile and polarizing discussions heavily embedded in the politics of the day. In other words, debate lost ground to polemics, introspection about the communist past was replaced by obsession with controversy. I will attempt to first map out the conceptual profile of the *Report* and then to evaluate the main coordinates of its afterlife in the public discussion since 2006. The process of coming to terms with the past in Romania is currently at a state of ambivalence: the communist dictatorship is still normalized mainly through disregard to making sense of it within the mass-media, while the public use of history (via institutions) set up an interpretative shift in the general understanding of the communist experience in the country.

#### **Biography:**

Bogdan Iacob is PhD candidate at Central European University, History Department. He is Secretary of the Scientific Council of the Institute for the Investigation of the Communist Crimes and the Memory of Romanian Exile in Bucharest. He was a research fellow at the Center for Advanced Studies in Leipzig University, the Center for the Study of Post-communist Societies at University of Maryland (College Park), and for the SCOPES Project (hosted by University of Fribourg). Among his publications are: "National-Stalinism: Ideology between Ascribing Class and Re-Imagining Community", *Historical Yearbook* (2009) and "The Avatars of the Romanian Academy and the Historical Front," in Vladimir Tismaneanu (ed.), *Stalinism Revisited: The Establishment of Communist Regimes in East-Central Europe* (CEU Press, 2009).

## JOHN CONNELLY

### ●The Catholic Church's Response to the Holocaust in Central Europe

#### Abstract:

My presentation will discuss how the Catholic Church has changed its vision of the Jewish people in the shadow of the Holocaust. Given the resistance to change of this institution, how much did it (how much could it) reform the anti-Judaistic ideas that date back many centuries? Why, if it learned from the past, does the past keep returning, for example in the question of mission to the Jews? Are there insuperable theological hindrances to reconciliation? As we know the issue of Christian anti-Semitism remains one of the most disruptive in terms of "Vergangenheitsbewältigung" in the countries of East Central Europe. I will therefore try to develop a historical understanding of the Church's theological response to the Holocaust, with a special focus on positions taken within Central Europe, including the German lands (where most of the theology was developed).

#### Biography:

John Connelly is professor at University of California, Berkeley, Department of History. He is Member of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton (2002-03) and co-director, UC Berkeley History Social Science Project. He is the author of *Captive University: The Sovietization of East German, Czech, and Polish Higher Education, 1945-1956* (University of North Carolina Press, 2000) and of many important articles dealing with the politics of higher education under Stalinism in Central Europe. Prof. Connelly is currently working on the relation between anti-Semitism and racism in Catholic thought from the 1930s to 1960s, with focus on Central Europe and the US.

**ANDRZEJ PACZKOWSKI**

**●Twenty Years “After” – the Ambivalence of Settling Accounts with Communism  
The Polish Case**

**Abstract:**

The generation born in Poland after the fall of communism has now reached the threshold of maturity. Apparently, there was enough time to settle accounts – in institutional and personal terms – with the non-democratic or actually anti-democratic system: to indicate the crimes and wrongdoings, to punish the guilty, to compensate the victims, to set mistakes right and to remove unrelenting traces of the system’s existence and the monuments that it had erected for itself. The balance sheet of such accounts and changes is (in the case of Poland) ambiguous, and public opinion remains divided as regards what (and who) should be condemned or sentenced, while state institutions – from the Parliament to the courts of law - naturally follow this example. Generally speaking, a negative assessment of the past does not give rise to greater controversies (although the number of those who subsist on nostalgia remains large), but drawing conclusions from a critique of concrete persons or groups is the object of slow and far from effective procedures.

It is not surprising, therefore, that we are dealing with a large social segment composed of persons dissatisfied with such a course of events and maintaining that all the present-day obstacles and flaws – from inflation to unemployment – are the outcome of a failure to square accounts with communism and to suitably severely penalise its minions. Numerous persons sharing this stand voice radical opinions although, for all practical purposes, their activity is not that extreme. For quite some time, we have been witnessing a phenomenon once rather imperceptible, namely, the fact that the attitude towards the past – not solely communist, albeit predominantly - is affected by political and ideological conflicts, either new or emergent already after 1989. Consequently, quite often the former frontline of the communists *versus* anticommunists confrontation concerning the past becomes relegated to the background, while the main and discernible line of division runs across the former “Solidarity” camp and the anti-communist opposition. The repercussions of the recent crash of the presidential plane are, in this respect, quite striking. One could say that the first post-communist generation grew up at a time of harsh disputes concerning the not so distant past. Should we presume, therefore, that they will exert a permanent impact? Personally, I harbour numerous doubts.

**Biography:**

Andrzej Paczkowski is professor at Collegium Civitas, director of Modern History Studies in the Political Institute of Polish Academy of Sciences, member of Collegium of Institute of National Remembrance. He is a member of the Committee of Historical Sciences of the Polish Academy of Science, the Archive Board, and a member of various editorial councils in Poland and abroad. Mr. Paczkowski is a consultant of the Large Encyclopedia PWN. He is an author of twenty books among which *The Spring Will Be Ours: Poland and the Poles from Occupation to Freedom* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003); (editor) *From Solidarity to Martial Law: the Polish Crisis of 1980-1981: A Documentary History* (CEU Press, 2006).

## ISTVAN REV

### ● Overcoming Cognitive Dissonance

#### Abstract:

At 2:30 in the afternoon, on 30 August, 1940 Hitler gave back part of Northern Transylvania to Hungary. The Hungarian army moved into Romania and recaptured part of the territory that had been taken away by the Trianon Peace Treaty in 1920. According to polls, the majority of the public in Hungary today, considers the recapture of Northern Transylvania as the major Hungarian diplomatic victory of the twentieth century. On the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the so called II Vienna Decision, OSA Archive, in collaboration with Romanian historians, organized an exhibition of the events of the late summer, early Fall of 1940. The core of the exhibition was an 80 minute long movie made by the curators of the exhibit using archival documents, published and unpublished photographs, home-movies, propaganda films, contemporary diaries, etc. Close to four thousand visitors, more than fifteen high-school classes saw the exhibition that was covered extensively in the print and electronic media, including the Romanian media as well. Hundreds of people commented in and signed the guest-book, mostly congratulating the organizers and hailing Hitler, Horthy, the Arrow Cross, with anti-Semitic, chauvinistic remarks. The majority of the visitors decided to see something else than what was on show, and interpreted the documents and documentaries in a way that seemed to be consonant with the general cultural milieu of present day Hungary. My contribution analyzes the cognitive, interpretative, narrative practices used in order to overcome cognitive dissonance when confronted with unexpected, alien, complicated or unacceptable presentation of the past.

#### Biography:

Istvan Rev is professor of history and political science at Central European University in Budapest, and director of OSA Archive, one of the most important Cold War archives and repository of documents related to grave violations of human rights. In 1985 he was one of the recipients of the Right Livelihood Award (the Alternative Nobel Prize), in 1995 he received the New Europe Prize and in 2010 the Joseph Pulitzer Memorial Prize. Among other publications, he is the author of *Retroactive Justice: Prehistory of Post-Communism* (Stanford UP, 2005). He is now working on a book on confessions and confessional trials.

## LEONIDAS DONSKIS

### ●After Communism: Identity and Morality in the Baltic Countries

#### Abstract:

Eastern European countries seem locked mentally somewhere between the discovery of the intrinsic logic of capitalism characteristic of the nineteenth century and post-Weimar Republic period – an incredibly fast economic growth and a passionate advocacy of the values of free enterprise and capitalism, accompanied by a good deal of anomie, fission of the body social, stark social contrasts, shocking degree of corruption, and culture of poverty (to recall Oscar Lewis's term which refers to low trust, self-victimization, disbelief in social ties and networks, contempt for institutions, etc.), and cynicism.

Our post-modern and post-totalitarian era, in the Baltic region, proved capable of squeezing two centuries of uninterrupted European history within one decade of the "transition" of the Baltic States and other East-Central European countries from the planned economy of Communism to free-market economy and global capitalism. In a way, Eastern Europe appears to have become a kind of laboratory where the speed of social change and cultural transformation could be measured and tested. In fact, the Baltic countries and their societies are far ahead of what we know as the grand historical narrative, or, plainly, predictable and moralizing history; nay, these societies are faster than history.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, identity and morality became, in the Baltic States, core issues of political existence. One was tempted to apply to the Baltic countries that description by which Milan Kundera attempted, in "The Tragedy of Central Europe" published in 1984, to identify Central European countries: a huge variety of culture and thought in a small area. Yet the question immediately raised was if the tie that binds us to our neighbors, Latvia and Estonia, will be just a remembrance of common enslavement and a sense of insecurity. Will we be able to create a new Baltic regional identity, one that is both global and open and in which we can map our past and our present according to altogether different criteria?

Up to now modernity in Western Europe was supplying a theory to explain the world around us; the point is that Eastern Europe has changed the world becoming more than a theory-emanating entity. Eastern Europe is a laboratory of change and a vast area of side effects and damage inflicted by modernity on the world. As such, it still supplies empirical evidence to the West to judge the "second modernity" (according to Ulrich Beck), or "liquid modernity" (as Zygmunt Bauman would have it), squeezed and condensed here in less than two decades.

As Vytautas Kavolis described the Baltic region, it appears as a laboratory of change deeply embedded in Eastern Europe, itself a boundary region of Europe, – the laboratory where the great challenges and tensions of modernity can be tested, and where the scenarios for European life in the not-too-distant future take shape.

The paper will map the search for identity and the rediscovery of the traumatizing past in the Baltic countries after 1990 focusing on memory wars and major debates before and especially after their accession to the EU.

#### Biography:

Leonidas Donskis, is a philosopher and historian of ideas. In 2004, he was awarded by the European Commission the title of the Ambassador for Tolerance and Diversity in Lithuania. Until June 2009, Leonidas Donskis acted as Professor of Political Science at Vytautas Magnus University in Kaunas, Lithuania. From 2005 to 2009, he served as Professor and Dean of the Faculty of Political Science and Diplomacy at Vytautas Magnus University. In addition, he still acts as Docent of Social and Moral Philosophy at the University of Helsinki, and as Extraordinary Visiting Professor of Cultural Theory at Tallinn University, Estonia. He is the author or editor of more than twenty books, ten of them in English, including *Troubled Identity and the Modern World* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), *Power and Imagination: Studies in Politics and Literature* (Peter Lang, 2008), *Loyalty, Dissent, and Betrayal: Modern Lithuania and East-Central European Moral Imagination* (Rodopi, 2005), *Forms of Hatred: The Troubled Imagination in Modern Philosophy and Literature* (Rodopi, 2003, VIBS 2003 Best Book Award), *Identity and Freedom: Mapping Nationalism and Social Criticism in Twentieth-Century Lithuania* (Routledge, 2002), and *The End of Ideology and Utopia? Moral Imagination and Cultural Criticism in the Twentieth Century* (Peter Lang, 2000). From 2005 to 2009, he served as a Member of the Standing Committee for the Humanities in the European Science Foundation. On 7 June 2009, Leonidas Donskis was elected a Member of the European Parliament.

## **MARC HOWARD**

### **● (Discussant) Overcoming Trauma and Reconstructing Democracy**

#### **Biography:**

Marc Morjé Howard is Professor of Government at Georgetown University. His research and teaching interests address a variety of topics related to democracy and democratization, including civil society, immigration and citizenship, hybrid regimes, right-wing extremism, and public opinion. Howard's most recent book, *The Politics of Citizenship in Europe*, was published in 2009 by Cambridge University Press. It received the 2010 ENMISA Distinguished Book Award, presented by the International Studies Association's organized section on Ethnicity, Nationalism, and Migration. Howard is also the author of *The Weakness of Civil Society in Post-Communist Europe* (Cambridge UP, 2003). This book has received the 2004 Award for Best Book on European Politics, presented by the American Political Science Association's organized section on European Politics and Society. Howard is the co-editor (with Vladimir Tismaneanu and Rudra Sil) of *World Order After Leninism*, which was published by the University of Washington Press in 2006.

## **GAIL KLIGMAN**

### **● (Discussant) Searching for Closure in Democratizing Societies**

#### **Biography:**

Gail Kligman's expertise spans the domains of women's studies, anthropology, and cultural studies. She is the recipient of the Chicago Folklore Prize (1982) for her book *Calus: Symbolic Transformation in Romanian Ritual* (University of Chicago Press); and has won the Heldt Prize of the Association for Women in Slavic Studies twice, in 1998 for her book *The Politics of Duplicity: Controlling Reproduction in Ceausescu's Romania* (University of California Press), and in 2001 for *The Politics of Gender after Socialism: A Comparative-Historical Essay* (with Susan Gal) (Princeton UP). She has received many prestigious grants, including from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the American Council of Learned Societies, the Woodrow Wilson Center, the MacArthur International Peace and Cooperation Fellowship, the Soros Foundation, and, most recently, a Russell Sage Foundation grant for 2004-05.

## **KAROL SOLTAN**

### **● (Discussant) Carving the Present out of the Past: Histories and their Publics**

#### **Biography:**

Karol Edward Soltan is Associate Professor of Government and Politics at the University of Maryland in College Park. He is also Director of the Committee on Politics, Philosophy and Public Policy, and teaches at the University of Maryland Law School. His writings have centered on identifying the skills and values required for a civic awakening (arguing for a new discipline of civics: "Selznick and Civics" in Robert Kagan and Kenneth Winston, eds. *Legality and Community* [2002]), and on elaborating a militant or deep form of moderation (e.g. in "Constitutional Patriotism and Militant Moderation", *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, 6(2008): 96-116). He was co-founder of the Conference Group on Jurisprudence and Public Law and of the Committee for the Political Economy of the Good Society. In 2000 he served as Deputy Director and Acting Director of the Office of Political, Constitutional and Electoral Affairs of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor. From 2003 to 2005 he directed the Recovered States Task Force as part of the Project on Fragile States for USAID.

## **BARTOLOMEJ KAMINSKI**

### **● (Discussant) Searching for Identity in Troubled Histories**

#### **Biography:**

Bartłomiej Kaminski teaches International Political Economy, Global Economic Governance and Political Economy of Transition at the Department of Government, University of Maryland at College Park. His most recent publications include *The Caucasian Tiger: Sustaining Economic Growth* (co-authored with S. Mitra, D. Andrews, G. Gyulumyan, Paul Holden, Y. Kuznetsov and E. Vahskakmadze), The World Bank, Washington D.C., 2007, and *Korupcja rzadow: kraje postkomunistyczne wobec globalizacji* (Corruption of governance: post-communist countries and globalization), co-authored with Antoni Kaminski (2004).