This symposium is free and open to the public. The courtesy of advance registration is requested (for seat/lunch counts) but not required. Contact: Indiana University Department of Central Eurasian Studies, Goodbody Hall 157, 1011 East Third Street, Bloomington, IN 47405-7005; phone 812-855-2233; fax 812-855-7500; e-mail kniggle@indiana.edu using subject line HUNGARIAN.

If you have a disability and need assistance, special arrangements can be made to accommodate most needs. Contact Karen Niggle at kniggle@indiana.edu

Free parking is available on weekends in the Indiana University Fee Lane Parking Garage. The Kelley School of Business Graduate and Executive Education Center is connected to that parking garage at the northwest corner of 10th Street and Fee Lane. For a campus map, see www.iub.edu/~iubmap.

There will be a mini-marathon and 5K run on campus Saturday morning, April 2, that will close 17th Street between Indiana Avenue and Fee Lane from 5:00am to 2:00pm. Delays (but not closures) will occur on other city and campus streets between 8:00am and Noon. The route maps and street delay list are appended at the bottom of this message. The best route to our symposium on Saturday morning will be 10th Street, especially if you approach from the east and drive west on 10th. There will be delays while runners cross 10th Street, but 10th Street will not close.

31st György Ránki Hungarian Chair Symposium

Dedicated to the memory of IU Distinguished Professor Emeritus Denis Sinor (1916-2011)

Hungary and the Post-communist World
Two Decades After 1989

Saturday-Sunday, April 2-3, 2011

Kelley School of Business Graduate and Executive Education Center
Room 1008; 1275 E. 10th St., Indiana University, Bloomington

The György Ránki Hungarian Chair Symposium is sponsored by the Indiana University György Ránki Chair in Hungarian Studies, Department of Central Eurasian Studies, Office of the Vice President for International Affairs, Department of History, Department of Political Science, Department of Economics, School of Public and Environmental Affairs, Inner Asian and Uralic National Resource Center, and Russian and East European Institute.

Department of Central Eurasian Studies
Indiana University, Goodbody Hall 157
1011 E. 3rd Street, Bloomington, IN 47405-7005
Telephone: 812-855-2233, Fax: 812-855-7500
www.indiana.edu/~ceus
SATURDAY, APRIL 2, 2011

8:30-9:15   Registration and Continental Breakfast

9:15       Welcoming Remarks

Patrick O`Meara, Vice President for International Affairs, Professor, Political Science and Public and Environmental Affairs, Indiana University

Béla Gedeon, Cultural Attaché, Embassy of the Republic of Hungary

9:30-10:40  Panel I: The International and Historical Context

Chair: Gustav Bayerle, Professor Emeritus, Central Eurasian Studies, Indiana University


László Borhi, György Ránki Visiting Hungarian Chair Professor, Central Eurasian Studies, Indiana University, and Senior Research Fellow, Institute of History, Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Mission Accomplished? The Questions of Hungary’s Integration into the Euro-Atlantic Community

Tamás Magyarics, Associate Professor, School of English and American Studies, and Director, Hungarian Institute of International Affairs

10:40-11:00 Coffee Break

11:00-12:40 Panel II: Economic Challenges

Chair: Michael Alexeev, Professor, Economics, Indiana University

Eastern Europe in the World Economy: Past and Prospects

Iván T. Berend, Distinguished Professor, Department of History, University of California, Los Angeles

“And the First Shall be the Last?” - The Hungarian Economic Transformation in Historical Perspective

László Csaba, Professor, International Political Economy, American Central European University, University of Debrecen, and Corvinus University of Budapest

Income Distribution and Social Policy in the Former Soviet Bloc

Mark Kramer, Director, Cold War Studies Program, and Senior Fellow, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University

12:45-2:15   Lunch
Panel III: The Legacy of History
Chair: Toivo Raun, Professor, Central Eurasian Studies, Indiana University

Farewell to Post-communism
Padraic Kenney, Professor, East European History, Indiana University
The Past is Not Another Country: Romania Confronts Its Communist Past
Vladimir Tismaneanu, Professor, Comparative Politics, and Director, Center for the Study of Post-Communist Societies, University of Maryland
The Reception of the Finno-Ugric Idea in Hungary and Estonia since the Fall of Communism
Matthew Caples, Ph.D Candidate, Central Eurasian Studies, Indiana University

SUNDAY, APRIL 3, 2011

8:30-9:00 Registration and Continental Breakfast

9:00-10:10 Panel IV: The Post-Communist Experience in Comparative Perspective
Chair: Timothy Waters, Associate Professor, Law, Indiana University

The Challenges of Renewed Independence: The Baltic States since 1991
Toivo Raun, Professor, Central Eurasian Studies, Indiana University

The Political Ambiguities of Solidarity: Value Contestations in Post-1989 Poland
Jack Bielasiak, Professor, Political Science, Indiana University

10:10-10:30 Coffee break

10:30-12:15 Panel V: Culture and Society
Chair: Béla Gedeon, Cultural Attaché, Embassy of the Republic of Hungary

Bourgeois Furnishings and a Postsocialist Middle Class
Krisztina Fehérváry, Assistant Professor, Anthropology, University of Michigan

Postmodernism and the Cultural Logic of Post-Communism
Thomas Cooper, American Studies, Eszterházy Károly University

Dancing on the Edge of a Volcano: East European Roma Performers Responding to Social Transformation
Lynn Hooker, Associate Professor, Central Eurasian Studies, Indiana University

12:30 Lunch
The Political Ambiguities of Solidarity: Value Contestations in Post-1989 Poland

Abstract: Poland’s post-communist development is marked by the displacement of political solidarity and social engagement by a fragmented political scene and a passive society. Paradoxically, this is due to the legacy of Solidarity’s struggle against communist power, and the post-1989 attempt by competing political voices to use the values evident in that struggle as political capital in the new national discourse. This has led to a contestation that has distorted the movement’s norms, and produced divisions about the future of the country and Europe.

One vision is of “liberal Poland” dedicated to market and pluralist principles based on individualism, competition, and tolerance that seeks to build the new system through appeals to the spirit of sacrifice exemplified by Solidarity’s prior struggle. The other vision of a “solidaristic Poland” is dedicated to traditional and Christian values that affirm notions of nationalism and exclusivity that reach into the normative arsenal of Solidarity’s discourse. In both agendas, values of Solidarity serve as useful currency to advance distinctive political visions. However, the quest to preserve the current liberal “Third Republic” and the attempted construction of an alternative, solidaristic “Fourth Republic” distorts the legacy represented by the Solidarity movement and its contribution to a free Europe.

IVÁN T. BEREND

Iván T. Berend is Distinguished Professor at the Department of History, UCLA (1990-present). He was Director of the Center for European and Eurasian Studies (1993-2005), Professor of Economic History at the Budapest University of Economics (1953-1985), Rector of the University (1973-1979); President of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (1985-90), President

**Eastern Europe in the World Economy: Past and Prospects**

**Abstract:** Central and Eastern Europe was on the periphery of early modern and modern Europe. Within the Habsburg, the Russian, and Ottoman empires, the region remained agricultural deliverer in European division of labor, and its per capita GDP hardly reached more than one-third to one-half of the West European core’s. Modernization from the second half of the 19th century, based on export-led industrialization policy, only partially succeeded. Economic nationalism in the first half of the 20th century turned to be a failure and the region, consequently, preserved its agricultural-industrial character until the second half of the 20th century.

Forced industrialization during the second half of the century under state-socialist non-market model, led to successful industrialization, but based on obsolete technology and by neglecting the service sector. The effort thus led to the reproduction of relative backwardness. The level of GDP per capita compared to Western Europe - with certain ups and downs - virtually did not change and remained still between one-third to one-half of the Western level between 1870 and 2000.

Post-communist modernization and joining the European Union, thanks to huge foreign investments and technology transfer, generated an impressive catching up process. This trend, however, was transitorily stopped by the 2008-10 major recession.

The economic collapse of Greece, Ireland and Portugal (in certain sense Spain as well) after 2008, some of those countries that achieved a spectacular catching up with the West reaching or nearing (in the case of Ireland surpassing) the Western GDP level, clearly shows how superficial the success of those former peripheral countries were.

Central and Eastern Europe became the backyard of the West around the turn of the 21st century, and both parties were profiting from this connection. A real and deep transformation and strengthening of the domestic economy – and not only the multinational enclaves – certainly need a much longer time, even beyond the quantitative Irish-type of success measured by per capita GDP. Catching up, consequently, is still a historical task that might take another half- or an entire century -- if and where it happens.

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**LÁSZLÓ BORHI**

László Borhi is Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. He is currently the Ránki György Visiting Hungarian Chair Professor at the Indiana University Department of Central Eurasian Studies. Borhi was visiting faculty at the University of Pécs, ELTE University Budapest, and Dartmouth College, guest researcher in a number of international institutions including the Woodrow Wilson Center and the Norwegian Nobel Institute. His publications include *Hungary in the Cold War – Between the Soviet Union and the United States, 1945-1956* published by CEU Press. In 2006 he was awarded the Gold Cross of Merit of the Hungarian Republic.

*National Self-Determination versus Stability and Security: Eastern Europe in the Power Arena, 1918-1990*
Abstract: Small states often have few, if any choices in the international arena. Their fate is often decided by large powers. In 1914 the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy went to war to preserve itself; the loss of the war led to its destruction. The Entente powers decided that continental balance and security could best be restored by the construction of independent nation states which would keep the Bolsheviks out of Europe and contain Germany. National independence and continental balance were mutually reinforcing conditions. Soon, however, it became apparent that the mutually hostile new entities were more a liability than an asset. Gradually, London and Paris decided that the region was beyond repair Humpty Dumpty could not be put together again. Starting in 1938 a gradually rearrangement of middle Europe took place with Germany and the Soviet Union as the chief beneficiaries. The national independence of the newly formed states no longer mattered when the stake was avoiding a new war. It was hoped that by rectifying the injustices of Paris a new, more stable European order could be achieved. In the international history of Eastern Europe 1945 was not a dividing line. Victory gave Stalin the gains he sought before 1941. The Western powers accepted Soviet control as a price for European peace. In 1948 US policy took a new turn. Soviet domination came to be seen as a threat to international peace and stability. Containment was replaced by roll back. Restoring national independence was the prerequisite of security. However, nuclear deterrence made roll back dangerous to pursue. Domestic changes in Eastern Europe and the moderation of Soviet control led the US to accept what its allies had already done: the status quo in Europe. In 1989 a deal with Gorbachev would freeze the divided continent on a cooperative basis; a radical transformation in Eastern Europe threatened that vision. Soviet hegemony was now seen as a pillar of security, favored over Soviet withdrawal. It was the former Soviet satellites that pushed for continental reunification and the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact in the power vacuum left by the weakening of Soviet power.

MATTHEW CAPLES

Matthew Caples is a Ph.D candidate in the Department of Central Eurasian Studies at Indiana University, where he also obtained an MA in Hungarian Studies. An experienced translator of scholarly works from Hungarian to English, his current research focuses on the ideology of Finno-Ugric kinship and Hungarian-Finnish-Estonian relations, with an emphasis on the interwar period.

The Reception of the Finno-Ugric Idea in Hungary and Estonia since the Fall of Communism

Abstract: Finno-Ugric linguistic kinship was established, first and foremost by Hungarian scholars, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Yet despite the abundant evidence supporting the Finno-Ugric theory, Hungarians have typically displayed an ambivalent attitude towards this idea, and this ambivalence persists until the present day. Once held as unassailable scientific orthodoxy under Communism, it has come under attack from various quarters in the post-Communist era. The paper will attempt to examine aspects of the reception of the Finno-Ugric idea in Hungary since the change of regime in 1989-1990 as manifested in various areas: government policy, the press, academic life and the public. To further illuminate the Hungarian case, a comparison will be made with Estonia, another Finno-Ugric state where a change of regime took place but where attitudes towards Finno-Ugric kinship have been generally much more favorable.

THOMAS COOPER

Thomas Cooper completed his doctorate in Central Eurasian Studies and Comparative Literature at Indiana University and taught for two years in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures at the University of North Carolina before accepting a research and teaching fellowship at the Center for Comparative Literature and Society at Columbia University. He served as the Assistant Director of the Center before becoming a member of the faculty at the Eszterházy Károly University in Eger, Hungary. He has published in a variety of forums on Hungarian literature, Hungarian literature in translation,
Postmodernism and the Cultural Logic of Post-Communism

Abstract: In his 1991 book *Postmodernism or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* Frederic Jameson refers to the post-literacy of late capitalist culture as a condition in which literature can aspire to little more than the status of pastiche. As an imitation of a distinctive style, pastiche resembles parody, but unlike parody it is devoid, according to Jameson, of the ulterior motives and self-assurance of satire. Jameson’s diagnosis, while perhaps astute in the Western context, is less useful in furthering an understanding of the post-modern culture and literature of Hungary, particularly since the fall of communism. Though the often invoked term postmodern may well be appropriate as a characterization of style in the works of such authors as Péter Esterházy, Endre Kukorelly, Péter Nádas, László Krasznahorkai and others, it may be misleading if also assumed to imply post-historicity or the absence of perspective characteristic, according to Jameson, of late capitalist culture. The discursive heterogeneity of some of the most prominent works of Hungarian literature of the past two decades should not necessarily be (mis)taken for formal innovation or a random cannibalization of styles (to borrow Jameson’s phrase). Its stylistic affinities with the postmodern literature of the so-called West notwithstanding (and the internationalist aspirations or pretensions of postmodernism itself notwithstanding), postmodern works of literature in post-communist Hungary often can be read as attempts at restitutions of stylistic norms or, even, of style itself as value. This literature may well be a heterogeneous discursive field in which the author as an independent subjectivity or distinctive personal style remains chimerical, but as a post-communist and post-colonial interrogation of discourses of power it maintains a vocation of satire, subversion, and assertion inherited from the period before the change of regime.

LÁSZLÓ CSABA

László Csaba is Professor of international political economy at the private American Central European University, as well as the University of Debrecen and Corvinus University of Budapest. He is also a corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Author and editor of nine books and author of over 300 articles and chapters in books published in 22 countries. In 1990-94 and 1996-98 he served as Vice President, 1999-2000 President of the European Association for Comparative Economic Studies. His recent output includes the monographs *Crisis in Economics?* (2009) and *The New Political Economy of Emerging Europe-2d revised and extended edition* (2007), both Akadémiai/W.Kluwer, as well as the articles ’Orthodoxy, Renewal and Complexity in Contermporary Economics’, *Zeitschrift für Staats- und Europawissenschaften/Berlin*, vol.7. no.1 (2009) and ’Financial institutions in transition: the long view’ *Post-Communist Economies/London*, vol.23. no.1 (2011). More on his personal website, www.csabal.com

“And The First Shall Be The Last”- Hungarian Transformation In Comparative Perspective

This paper offers a bird’s eye view on the twists and turns of Hungarian economic transformation. While Hungary enjoyed the advantage of the early bird, later the country fell victim to its own success. Rather than capitalizing on the anchoring role of EU and indeed, EMU, a drift towards ever more populist/conventional policies occurred and even intensified, while the economic performance of the country inevitably deteriorated.

In order to explain the puzzle of why success has not bred more success, as traditional economic theory would have it, we focus on the relevance of lag in socio-economic processes. This means that the timely delay between action and reaction often allows for misperceptions to rule and shape public choices. In the decade when policies were forward looking, indicators deteriorated. And conversely, when economic
policies yielded results and indicators improved steadily, the policy of doing nothing seemed rational. Therefore the continuation of the drift is the most probable option for the decade to come and the chance of historic catching up will, once again, be missed.

KRI{}STINA FEHÉRVÁRY

Krisztina Fehérvary is a cultural anthropologist in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Her work focuses on the relationship between politics and material culture in east Europe, particularly the role that the built environment and consumer culture have played in shaping political subjectivities during the socialist period and in the decades since. Recent publications include the article “Goods and States” in Comparative Study of Society and History and a forthcoming article on the role of the new family house in shaping an emerging Hungarian middle class in City and Society.

Bourgeois Furnishings and a Postsocialist Middle Class

Abstract: This presentation focuses on the relationship between bourgeois furnishings (polgári lakáskultúra) and an emerging postsocialist middle class in the former ‘socialist’ town of Dunaújváros, Hungary. In the 1990s, political discourse was full of speculation about the return or revitalization of a historic bourgeoisie, and the media regularly featured the material culture of such a historic class. Such furnishings among a young, urban intelligentsia were indeed highly valued, but I will argue that this form of furnishing and its associated values were fundamentally opposed to the way an emerging middle class was imagining itself in Dunaújváros, but also elsewhere in the country. The devaluing of inherited, antique furnishings was in part the legacy of campaigns promoting modern furnishings in the 1960s and 70s, but it also arose from new ideals for a Hungarian middle class that was based on entrepreneurial achievements rather than inherited status.

LYNN M. HOOKER

Lynn M. Hooker is Associate Professor of Hungarian Studies at Indiana University, with adjunct appointments in IU’s departments of musicology and ethnomusicology. Her publications appear (among other places) in Musical Quarterly, Twentieth-Century Music, The Cambridge Companion to Bartók, Hungarian Studies, and the Anthropology of East European Review. Her book Redefining Hungarian Music from Liszt to Bartók is forthcoming from Oxford University Press. After beginning her scholarly career working on the history of music and culture through historical documents, she began in 2000 doing systematic fieldwork in both Europe and North America in Hungarian folk and popular music scenes, focusing on the role of Romani performers. Today’s presentation develops some of her observations on that role in popular music.

Dancing on the Edge of a Volcano: East European Roma Performers Responding to Social Transformation after the Change of Regime

Abstract: The advent of a more open society in Eastern and Central Europe has created space for political and cultural freedoms unthinkable under state socialism, freedoms Roma musicians have used to innovate stylistically, to collaborate with musicians from many backgrounds, and to discover and develop new audiences for their creations. The twenty years since the change of regime have revealed apparently insatiable appetites for “Gypsiness” among consumers and recording companies, and artists from the East Bloc (and their agents) have proved adept in appealing to those appetites. Yet the increased visibility of Roma artists has rarely been able to do anything for the masses of Roma in the region, for many of whom the political changes of twenty years ago have been disastrous: the end not only of full employment and a robust social safety net but also of the limitations on free speech and a rigidly enforced state monopoly on violence that hid racial tensions under a veil of oppression. This
paper addresses the contrast between the conditions of the Roma population at large with those of a handful of successful musicians. It also considers the ways some of those musicians are working to improve both the conditions for Roma and non-Roma’s perception of Roma in and out of Eastern Europe.

PADRAIC KENNEY

Padraic Kenney is Professor of History and Director of Polish Studies at Indiana University. He is the author or co-editor of seven books on Central European history, including A Carnival of Revolution: Central Europe, 1989 (Princeton, 2002), which has been translated into Polish, Czech, Ukrainian, and Romanian; and The Burdens of Freedom: Eastern Europe Since 1989 (Zed Books, 2006), which has appeared in Croatian and Italian.

Farewell to Post-communism

Abstract: What value does the term “post-communism” have for talking about the recent history of Eastern Europe? The post-communist era in the region can be said to have ended in 2004. What, then, was post-communism, and what has succeeded it? Finally, if there is no longer post-communism, is there still an Eastern Europe?

MARK KRAMER

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 has taught international relations and comparative politics at Harvard and also as a visiting professor at Yale University, Brown University, and Aarhus University in Denmark. He was formerly an Academy Scholar in Harvard's Academy of International and Area Studies and a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University.

Income Distribution and Social Policy in the Former Soviet Bloc

Abstract: The initial consequence of economic changes in East-Central Europe and the former Soviet Union was an increase in income inequality. From 1988 through the late 1990s, income distribution in most (though not all) of the former East-bloc countries became more unequal. The trend was not strictly monotonic – in some countries, such as Poland, Slovenia, Hungary, and Romania, the level of inequality initially decreased, then increased, and then decreased again – but the general pattern during the first several years was one of growing income inequality.

But in the late 1990s the distribution of income in most countries either became more equal or at least stopped becoming more unequal. Over the past decade, the trends again have fluctuated. Social transfer policies have played an important role in patterns of income distribution, though again the impact has varied from country to country.

TAMÁS MAGYARICS

Tamás Magyarics earned an M.A. in History and English at Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE), Budapest. He was a graduate student at LSU, Baton Rouge (1984-1986). He received a University Doctorate at ELTE in 1987 (The Relations Between the U.S. and the Successor States, 1921-1925). He has been teaching at the School of English and American Studies since 1987; currently, he is Associate Professor there. He earned his Candidate’s Degree at the Hungarian Academy of Science in 1996 (US-Hungarian Diplomatic Relations, 1957-1967). Besides teaching, Dr. Magyarics has had several other
academic and non-academic positions over the past 20 years. He taught – or is teaching – as guest professor at UCSB, Corvinus University (Budapest) and the IES (Vienna). He was Secretary General of the Hungarian Atlantic Council in 2001-2002. He was Vice-President of the International Center for Democratic Transition (ICDT) in 2008-2010. He was Senior Research Fellow at the Hungarian Institute of International Affairs (HIIA) between 2002-2010; since July 2010 he has been Director of the same institution. He was the editor-in-chief of Küldügyi Szemle and Foreign Policy Review between 2002-2010. He is also Chair of the Advisory Board of the Hungarian-American Enterprise Scholarship Fund (HAESF). Dr. Magyarics specializes in Cold War history, U.S. foreign affairs, transatlantic relations and security issues. He has authored or edited 10 books, published extensively in diverse peer reviewed and non peer reviewed journals and has read papers at some 90 conferences in various countries.

Mission Accomplished? The Questions of Hungary’s Integration Into the Euro-Atlantic Community

Abstract: If one state does not pursue policies in harmony with its capabilities/weight, it always destabilizes the international system. The government after the 1990 parliamentary election identified three ‘priorities’ for Hungary’s foreign policy in harmony with the country’s changed geopolitical and geo-economic position: accession to the Euro-atlantic community, ‘good neighbor’ policy, and ‘nation’ policy, i.e., the protection and eventual cultural (and, possibly, economic integration of the Hungarians, primarily those living in the Carpathian Basin. In fact, membership in the Euro-Atlantic community (NATO and EU) was expected to solve the other two strategic objectives too. Conversely, the latter two ‘priorities’ were seen as important elements of Hungary’s contribution to expanding the zone of stability, economic prosperity, and the values of the Atlantic community.

However, Hungary is at best half-way in realizing the original strategic goals. The country has remained predominantly a consumer of security (and not a provider); Budapest is not likely to be able to move to the ‘core’ of the European integration even in medium-term; the relationship with the neighbors with sizable Hungarian minorities has been rather controversial for a number of domestic and international reasons, while the ‘nation’ policy (including the Status Law, the Law on Dual Citizenship) has become a political football not only between Hungary and the ‘host countries’, but also within Hungary as well.

The paper takes a stock of the options and the actual policies the successive Hungarian governments have taken and it and tries to assess to what extent the latter have advanced the ‘grand strategy’. 

TOIVO U. RAUN

Toivo U. Raun is Professor of Central Eurasian Studies and Adjunct Professor of History at Indiana University, Bloomington. He received his Ph.D from Princeton University and is a past president of the Association for the Advancement of Baltic Studies. He is the author of Estonia and the Estonians (updated 2nd ed., 2001) and co-editor of Soviet Deportations in Estonia: Impact and Legacy (2007), and he has published numerous studies on Baltic and Finnish history in the following journals: Slavic Review, Slavonic and East European Review, Journal of Baltic Studies, Zeitschrift für Ostforschung, Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas, Journal of Soviet Nationalities, Nationalities Papers, Nations and Nationalism, East European Politics and Societies, and Acta Historica Tallinnensia.

The Challenges of Renewed Independence: The Baltic States since 1991

Abstract: The paper will focus on several key challenges that the Baltic states have faced since the restoration of their independence in 1991 after a hiatus of five decades. To what extent has a fully democratic political culture become rooted in the three countries? How successful has the search for security been given the geopolitical realities of the Baltic states’ location? How can such small states establish and maintain economic viability? What is the experience so far and what are the prospects for a meaningful integration of non-Balts, whose presence is perhaps the most intractable Soviet-era legacy?
How have Baltic political leaders and thinkers addressed the growing gap between have-s and have-nots in society? What solutions, if any, are available for the demographic crisis each Baltic state faces?

VLADIMIR TISMANEANU

Vladimir Tismaneanu is Professor of Politics at University of Maryland (College Park), Director of the university's Center for the Study of Post-Communist Societies, and Chair of the Scientific Council, Institute for the Investigation of the Crimes of Communism and the Memory of Romanian Exile. He is the author of “Reinventing Politics: Eastern Europe from Stalin to Havel,” “Fantasies of Salvation: Democracy, Nationalism, and Myth in Post-Communist Europe,” and “Stalinism for All Seasons: A Political History of Romanian Communism.” He is the editor, most recently, of Stalinism Revisited: The Establishment of Communist Regimes in East-Central Europe and Promises of 1968: Crisis, Illusion, and Utopia. He just completed a book manuscript entitled The Devil in History: Communism, Fascism, and the Lessons of the 20th Century.

The Past is Not Another Country: Romania Confronts Its Communist Past

Abstract: The challenge of the past, its legacy and burden, was the inevitable starting point for the new democracies of Eastern Europe. Twenty years after the fall of communism, both public intellectuals and scholars face a fundamental query: How can truth and justice be reinstated in a post-totalitarian collective without the emergence of what Nietzsche called the “reek of cruelty”? For the first time in Romania’s contemporary history, the Presidential Commission for the Analysis of the Communist Regime (PCACDR) rejected outright the practices of institutionalized forgetfulness and generated a national debate about long-denied and occulted moments of the past (including instances of collaboration, complicity, etc.). I had the honor of being appointed Chair of this state-body. I was one of the coordinators of its Final Report. Generally speaking, decommunization is, in its essence, a moral, political and intellectual process. The PCACDR Raport answered a fundamental necessity, characteristic of the post-authoritarian world, that of moral clarity. Only memory and history can furnish responsibility, justice and expiation. Reconciliation and the healing of a nation besmirched by the bloody mire of Evil depend on the recognition and non-negotiability of human dignity as a primordial moral truth of the new society.

Indiana University Hungarian Chair History

The György Ránki Hungarian Chair at Indiana University is funded by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and Indiana University to ensure teaching and research focused on Hungarian Studies, including history, politics, culture, language and literature, art, and other topics relevant to Hungary’s past and present. The Chair functions within the Department of Central Eurasian Studies, offering courses that form an integral part of the curriculum of the Department and of Indiana University. Papers from many of the symposia can be found in the journal Hungarian Studies, published by the Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest. A listing of Hungarian Chair appointees and their sponsored or co-sponsored IU conferences/symposia:

1981-1982 György Ránki Mar-82 “Hungarian Economy in International Perspective”
1982-1983 György Ránki Apr-82 “Béla Bartok Symposium”
1983-1984 György Ránki Apr-83 “Habsburg-Ottoman History Conference”
1983-1984 György Ránki Apr-84 “Hungarian Studies Conference for Graduate Students”
1985-1986 György Ránki Feb-85 “Conference for Young Hung. and Am. Economists”
1985-1986 György Ránki Apr-85 “Hungary in European Civilization”
IU MINI-MARATHON AND 5K RUN DETAILS

Road closings, course map for IU Mini Marathon and 5K Run/Walk April 2

A map of this year's route is below.

From 5 a.m. to 2 p.m., 17th Street will close between Indiana Avenue and Fee Lane.

Other delays will occur between 8 a.m. and noon as follows:

- 8 to 8:45 a.m.: 17th Street (Indiana to Walnut)
- 8 to 9 a.m.: Walnut (17th to Kirkwood)
- 8 to 9:15 a.m.: Kirkwood (Walnut to Indiana)
- 8 to 9:30 a.m.: 10th and Fee Lane
- 8 to 9:30 a.m.: Fee (10th to Jordan)
- 8 a.m. to noon: Indiana (Kirkwood to 17th)
- 8:15 to 9:45 a.m.: N. Jordan Ext. to 10th
- 8:45 to 10:15 a.m.: Jordan (10th to Second)
- 8:45 to 10:15 a.m.: Second (Jordan to Woodcrest)
- 9 to 10:30 a.m.: Woodcrest, Woodbine, Rechter, Winfield
- 9 to 11 a.m.: Renwick to Rock Creek
- 9:15 to 11 a.m.: High (Rock Creek to Winslow)
- 9:15 to 11 a.m.: Winslow (High to Highland)
- 9:15 to 11:15 a.m.: Highland (Winslow to Azalea)
- 9:15 to 11:30 a.m.: Azalea to Wylie Farm
- 9:15 to 11:30 a.m.: Henderson (Wylie Farm to Hillside)
- 9:15 a.m. to noon: Henderson (Hillside to Kirkwood)

During the IU Mini Marathon, those traveling east or west around Bloomington should take the 45-46 Bypass and Rhorer Road to avoid delays on Third Street, Atwater Avenue, 17th Street, Winslow Road and Moores Pike. Those traveling north or south should take Sare Road, College Mall Road, 45-46 Bypass, Walnut, and College.

MAPS APPENDED BELOW THIS PAGE.
Photos courtesy of Indiana University.