

FCE
STANFORD

FORUM ON CONTEMPORARY EUROPE



THE FORUM ON CONTEMPORARY EUROPE (FCE) AT THE FREEMAN SPOGLI INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES INITIATES AND PROMOTES RESEARCH AND TEACHING AT STANFORD RELATING TO EUROPE, ARGUABLY THE UNITED STATES' MOST IMPORTANT ALLY IN A WORLD MARKED BY INCREASED RISK AND UNCERTAINTY. THE FORUM ENCOURAGES FACULTY AND STUDENT DISCUSSION OF THE ROLE OF EUROPE IN BROADER ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, CULTURAL, AND SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS.

FREEMAN SPOGLI INSTITUTE
FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

Distinct from academic programs at many U.S. universities, the Forum on Contemporary Europe (FCE) creates dialogue through public programs and the widespread dissemination of its research findings. We have established a forum for the free exchange of ideas and experience, and are poised to grow into a center known for its vigorous promotion of greater U.S.-European understanding.

Your gift supports FCE's innovative research and public programs by helping us recruit talented faculty, embark on new research projects, develop educational curricula, and share our research findings with policymakers. To make a contribution or to discuss the development of FCE, please contact Roland Hsu, 650-723-9133.

“Separated by an ocean and occasional disagreements over the appropriate course of action in a world at risk, the United States and Europe share crucial interests and values. The Forum on Contemporary Europe promotes greater understanding of Europe and trans-Atlantic relationships as geographic borders are expanded and addresses critical issues such as economic globalization and migration.”

AMIR ESHEL, DIRECTOR, FORUM ON CONTEMPORARY EUROPE

The Forum on Contemporary Europe has created a program for new thinking about Europe in the new millennium. The increasingly complex challenges facing Europe and its global relations—including labor migrations, strains on welfare economies, local identities, globalized cultures, expansion and integration, and threats of terrorism—coupled with Europe’s recent struggle to ratify a single constitution, underline the challenges that Europe and the United States share, and the need to bring Stanford’s finest multi-disciplinary research into practical policy dialogue with an engaged public.

Founded in 1997, the Forum gathers Stanford’s best Europeanists across all disciplines, encourages them to speak on

our most pressing issues, and brings them into policy dialogue with public leaders. The Forum has hosted events with invited speakers including Oxford chancellor Lord Christopher Patten, Latvian foreign affairs minister Artis Pabriks, former German foreign minister Joschka Fischer, the European Parliament’s Greens/European Free Alliance co-president Daniel Cohn-Bendit, author Christopher Hitchens, and ambassadors to the United States Sir David Manning (United Kingdom), Eva Novotny (Austria), Alexandros Mallias (Greece), Andras Simonyi (Hungary), and John Bruton (European Union).

To deepen these dialogues, the Forum’s directors invite affiliated Stanford faculty and co-sponsoring Stanford centers to design international conferences to bring advanced research to the public. The Forum will host and co-host multiple international conferences on topics that address European and trans-Atlantic dynamics of society, culture, security, and politics.

The Forum has ambitious plans to build its programs to serve as a center for Stanford and international research and public programs on Europe. Over the next several years, the Forum seeks to launch new senior research and pre-and post-doctoral fellowships, an undergraduate honors program, graduate study abroad internships, and a publication series to widely disseminate its affiliates’ papers.

As part of its design for growth, the Forum will invite its affiliated Stanford faculty to coordinate seminar and research fellowship programs on the following topics:

- Austria and Central Europe
- Iberian Studies
- European Union Integration and Expansion
- Europe’s International Relations
- Europe, the eastern Mediterranean, and the greater Middle East
- Scandinavia and Europe’s New Economies
- Democratic Transitions in Eastern Europe

SUPPORTING FCE

Gifts to the Forum will support the launching of research residencies, scholarly and policy-oriented research projects, and teaching programs to address the most pressing issues facing Europe at the start of the 21st century. Along with the Freeman Spogli Institute’s research centers, the Forum will play an increasingly important role in advancing the agenda of Stanford’s International Initiative—the campus-wide effort, led by the Freeman Spogli Institute, to bring together faculty, researchers and students to address the global challenges of peace and security, governance, and human well-being.

Cover photos: (left) courtesy of Refugees International, (middle) courtesy of Rod Searcey. Faculty profile photo: courtesy of L.A. Cicero/Stanford News Service.

FCE RESEARCH PROFILE:
NORMAN NAIMARK



Fires of Hatred: Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe —its impact on European and trans-Atlantic debate

The Forum on Contemporary Europe (FCE) is proud to offer a profile of recent work with significant public impact by Norman Naimark, an FCE senior research affiliate. Professor Naimark is the Robert and Florence McDonnell Professor of East European Studies in the Department of History, a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution, and senior fellow by courtesy at FSI. He is one of the world’s preeminent experts on modern Eastern European and Russian history, and has published widely on the history of radicalism in Poland and Russia, the history of the Soviet bloc, and the problems of ethnic cleansing and genocide.

His current research focuses on post-World War II Soviet policy towards Europe and on issues connected to the history of mass killing and genocide in Eastern Europe. His book, *Fires of Hatred: Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe* (Harvard, 2002), exemplifies the finest of Forum scholarship with lasting political import. *Fires of Hatred* presents research Naimark conducted while working at the Forum on cases of ethnic cleansing, genocide, and forced migrations in five cases including Armenians in Turkey, Chechens-Ingush and Crimean Tatars in the USSR, Bosnian

Muslims and Albanian Kosovars in the Yugoslav lands, as well as Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe, and Germans in Poland and Czechoslovakia. Such historical comparison dislodges common assumptions to reveal patterns of our modern world. Without losing sight of relative magnitude or original aggressor, Naimark clarifies that crimes occurred in all the above cases, and sets details of atrocities ordered by authoritarian regimes alongside evidence of ethnic cleansing enabled by Europe’s democratic powers. In the example of the Yugoslav wars of the 1990s, Naimark demonstrates that the Serbian ethnic-cleansing campaign, with concentration camps and raping of Bosnian Muslim women, had their precedents in ethnic-cleansing campaigns during World War II. Media images of the Serbian camps shocked EU and U.S. audiences, and rightly so; but publics and political leaders on both sides of the Atlantic may read in Naimark’s work the importance of a fuller historical record.

Naimark’s comparison presents evidence for his argument that these instances of ethnic cleansing are “interconnected and embedded in the European 20th century.” The notion of interconnected atrocity, with points of comparison across nationalities, ideologies, and territories, leads to provocative insight. Throughout 20th-century Europe, victims and perpetrators could become perpetrators and victims. Naimark clearly distinguishes between original aggressors and victims, and does not blur the scale of Nazi atrocity with other modern

war crimes. But his research demonstrates that the division of Europeans into fixed categories of victims and perpetrators, and the politics of peace-keeping based on these identities, must be tested against Naimark’s seasoned and influential scholarship.

As a work of illuminating history, *Fires of Hatred* has a history of its own. Naimark has injected penetrating scholarship into Europe’s politicized debates over history and memory of World War II. Since its publication in English, some of Europe’s political commentators have sought to defend their versions of postwar history with which they identify, against the complex details of Naimark’s work. Naimark himself has granted numerous interviews with European journalists seeking his help to set their record straight. Audiences and scholars at the Forum have been privileged to have Naimark’s work in its original English version, long before European publishers would wade into the politics of memory with translations of this important book. Demand in Europe for Naimark’s work is finally being met. Five years since it first appeared in English, *Fires of Hatred* has been translated into Italian, Czech, Russian, Croatian, and German. Further translations are undoubtedly in the works. The Forum is dedicated to consequential thinking about Europe in the new millennium, and Professor Naimark exemplifies the beneficial impact of our programs for public dissemination of Stanford research.

More than 30 Stanford faculty members are currently affiliated with the Forum, which continues to expand its affiliations across all seven of Stanford's schools. In addition, the Forum regularly hosts visiting scholars from Europe, including a senior professor to hold the Austrian Chair. The Forum also maintains close relations with the diplomatic missions and cultural centers of European countries in the United States.

Stanford faculty affiliated researchers at the Forum on Contemporary Europe (selected):

Russell Berman, *German Studies, Comparative Literature, FSI Senior Fellow*

Coit Blacker, *FSI Director, FSI Senior Fellow, Political Science*

Gerhard Casper, *Stanford University President Emeritus, FSI Senior Fellow*

Judy Goldstein, *Political Science*

Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, *French and Italian Literature, Comparative Literature*

David Holloway, *History, Political Science, FSI Senior Fellow*

Josef Joffe, *Political Science, International Relations, Hoover Institution Fellow*

Michael McFaul, *Director of CDDRL, FSI Deputy Director, Political Science*

Richard Morningstar, *Law*

Norman Naimark, *History, FSI Senior Fellow*

Joan Ramon Resina, *Spanish*

Aron Rodrigue, *History*

James Sheehan, *History, FSI Senior Fellow*

Allen Weiner, *Law*



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Information on the Forum on Contemporary Europe, including a full listing of public events may be found at: <http://fce.stanford.edu>