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Visitors to Central and Southwest Asian Studies Center

Then Governor of Montana, Brian Schweitzer, stops in to visit the CSWA center with his canine companion, Jag.

Participants of the annual Kyrgyz Cadet Training Program, held at the Central and Southwest Asian Studies Center, through the National Guard Bureau’s State Partnership.

Uyghur artist Nijat Hishur with Dr. Ardeshir Kia, Associate Director of CSWA.

Geography Professor Rick Graetz gives a Brown Bag presentation on the Silk Road at the CSWA center.
Above and Beyond: 29 Years of Outstanding Teaching, Research and Service at the University of Montana
by Ardi Kia

On Jan. 28th, 2012, the Central and Southwest Asian Studies Center lost a dear friend and brilliant scholar, Professor Don Bedunah.

Don started his career as a grassland ecologist at the University of Montana, College of Forestry and Conservation in 1981. His area of specialty included restoration ecology, rangeland resource management, grazing management, wildlife habitat improvement, watershed management and agro-forestry. He began working in Central Asia in 1991. Based on his extensive field work and analyses of grasslands in the Gobi Desert of Mongolia, the Wakhan Corridor of Afghanistan, the Tibetan Plateau, and the Kunlun Mountains of Xinjiang (northwest China), he wrote more than forty articles for professional journals. He was also an editor for the journal, “Rangelands of Central Asia” and “The Journal of Range Management.”

Don worked closely with his colleagues at the Central & Southwest Asian Studies Center (CSWA), at the University of Montana. He was a member of the CSWA Executive Board since 2008 and he participated regularly in the annual CSWA conferences. Don was also a regular guest lecturer in Central and Southwest Asian studies courses, sharing his most recent findings with students.

Don’s last group project with CSWA was “Discovering Central Asia”, a textbook supported by funds from the U.S. Department of Education. Contributing authors, Rick Graetz, Alexey Gunya, Spike Hampson, Marc Hendrix, Ardi Kia, Mehrdad Kia, Alex Klaits and James Sears have dedicated this book to the memory of their friend, Professor Don Bedunah.

Modern Middle East Authoritarianism to be Published by Routledge

While the Arab uprisings have overturned the idea of an Arab “exceptionalism,” or acceptance of authoritarianism, better analysis of authoritarianism’s resilience in pre-and post-uprising scenarios is still needed. *Modern Middle East Authoritarianism: Roots, Ramifications, and Crisis* undertakes this task by addressing not only the mechanisms that allowed Middle Eastern regimes to survive and adapt for decades, but also the obstacles that certain countries face in their current transition to democracy.

This volume analyzes the role of ruling elites, Islamists, and others, as well as variables such as bureaucracy, patronage, the strength of security apparatuses, and ideological legitimacy to ascertain regimes’ life expectancies and these factors’ post-uprising repercussions. Discussing not only the paradigms through which the region has been analyzed, but also providing in-depth case studies of Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Algeria, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and Iran, the authors arrive at critical conclusions about dictatorship and possibilities for its transformation.

About the Editors

Noureddine Jebnoun is a faculty member at Georgetown University Center for Contemporary Arab Studies where his teaching interests focus on Arab politics, Islamism, authoritarianism, democratization, violent extremism, civil-military relations and security sector reform of the Arab Middle East. He is the author of *L’espace méditerranéen: les enjeux de la coopération et de la sécurité entre les rives nord et sud à l’aube du XXIème siècle* (2003), as well as many book chapters and articles.

Mehrdad Kia is the Director of the Central and Southwest Asian Studies Center and a professor of Middle Eastern, North African and Central Asian history at the University of Montana. Kia has published extensively on the intellectual and cultural history of nineteenth century Iran, as well as the history of the Ottoman Empire. His most recent books continued on page 8
Central Asia - an uncommon land and a region unlike any on earth best describes this sprawling geography holding topography, history and culture unrivaled on any other continent.

It boasts of corralling the planet’s highest summits, cradles more than 20,000 glaciers and its eastern heights careen off into some of the world’s lowest elevations and fiercest of deserts. On its northern perimeter grassy steppes seem endless and silt-laden rivers deposit rich loam in great river valleys.

Lofty passes crossing its heights ferried the trade caravans of the grand Silk Road era as they traveled from oasis-to-oasis carrying riches of the Middle Kingdom to the Mediterranean and beyond and in turn brought the wealth of Europe and the Middle East to China. In doing so, this route passing through the Asian heartland was the conduit that linked, for the first time, the civilizations of East and West.

This book gathers the writings of ten university professors and brings alive, through words and photography, all that is the heart of Asia.

An introductory section gives the reader an in-depth yet succinct overview of the physical, historical and cultural geography of Central Asia. Other chapters delve into the geologic history in the context of tectonics of the region, the environmental niches where most of the people have chosen to live, comprehensive discussion of the environmental setting of Central Asia, including its high mountain grasslands, deserts, and semi-deserts, which sustain a fascinating array of wild animals, many threatened by extinction.

Further along in this work a vibrant past is again highlighted with a synopsis of the long history of Central Asia extending from the arrival of ancient and nomadic Scythians to the establishment of Soviet rule after the victory of the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917. This same chapter also emphasizes the impact of various invasions and migrations. Then the reader is provided with an analysis of the cultural legacy, art history, and religious and ethnic traditions of Central Asia and how spiritual customs and movements have impacted this region, which has served as a cross road connecting the civilizations of East Asia with those of India, Iran, the Middle East, and Europe.

Next comes a review of the period between the sixteenth century when Eurasia emerged as a predominantly Turkic speaking region to the beginning of Soviet rule in the early twentieth century when the region was divided into five autonomous republics. As trade and commerce along the Silk Road withered away, the intricate network of oasis communities that had for so many centuries been at the heart of a continental trading system, found itself without any role to play. This framework allows the author to discuss the arrival of the Russians, the beginning of the Great Game, and the adverse impacts of Soviet colonialism on the native population.

In the last chapter discourse centers around the history and politics of Central Asia since the imposition of Soviet rule, the demarcation of the region into five distinct Soviet republics with their own distinct elite, and the impact of the collapse of Soviet Union on each of the five countries. As a book, DISCOVERING CENTRAL ASIA: AN INTRODUCTION TO ITS HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY AND POLITICS, is as unique as the region it portrays. The heart of Asia is just making its entrance on the world stage and this work from The University of Montana Press provides readers with a fascinating introduction.
In the past few years, affluent Chinese cities have fallen into a mania of holding costly sports and exhibition events: Beijing Olympic Games in 2008; Shanghai World Expo in 2010; Guangdong Asian Games in 2010; Fujian Cross-Strait Gardening Expo in 2010; Xi’an World Gardening Expo in 2010; plus countless minor national and regional events. The most recent case was 2011 Shenzhen Universiade, an international sports event for university athletes. With an overall budget of 14 billion Chinese Yuan (approximately 2.26 billion US dollars), it was comparable in terms of expense to Beijing Olympic Games, which cost 19.3 billion Yuan. In sharp contrast, however, the revenue of Beijing Olympic Games was 20.5 billion Yuan, while the Shenzhen Universiade only made a small fortune of 1.2 billion. After all, few international tourists would consider buying a flight ticket to see college athletes. Does this mean the bureaucrats of Shenzhen City were out of their minds in preparing such an expensive event? Definitely not. Shenzhen was remembered as the example of China’s rapid economic growth. Even today, Chinese primary school students are repeatedly taught that “time is money”, which is a slogan that originated in Shenzhen. In a place where everyone from street workers to officials see money and efficiency as their moral guidance, it is hard to believe that the city would be willing to waste excessive money to hold an event that generates very limited revenue and little international reputation. Yet such conduct has become common amongst Chinese cities on the eastern coast, which have benefited the most from the Chinese economic reform since the 1980s. They did so because they needed to spend their revenue somewhere else rather than helping their counterparts in China’s poorer western regions. It is an example of China’s economic feudalism.

“Chinese economic feudalism” is a concept first introduced by a famed Chinese economist, Hu Angang, in 1990. It describes a phenomenon in contemporary Chinese economic development: except for the mandated “tribute” that the Chinese provincial governments (equivalent to US state governments) have to pay to Beijing, these local authorities are largely left independent: they manage their regional economies on their own. While western observers often view China as a centralized authoritarian regime, China’s level of federalization is in fact higher than that of the US. The overall tax revenue ratio between the US federal government and state governments in 2011 was about three to one; in China during the same year it was one to one. In other words Chinese provincial governments have more fiscal autonomy than their state counterparts in the US. Chinese provincial governments see each other as rivals instead of partners. Unlike in the US where the interstate freeway system has broken trade barriers between states, the Chinese highway system is hampered by endless toll stations set up by local authorities. Some provinces openly enact policies forbidding the sale of certain products from other provinces. On the other hand, some resource-rich provinces charge an “export fee” should the resource be used in other provinces. The most famous example of such hostility is a battle between Chinese southern provinces of Guizhou, Guangxi and Guangdong over power transmission. Guizhou wished to sell its cheap electricity to Guangdong, but the power line had to go through Guangxi. Local authorities in Guangxi barred the construction project numerous times, because it wanted to sell its expensive hydro-power to Guangdong too. The fight took so long that the governor of Guangdong even planned to use flights to transmit the electricity in batteries from Guizhou.

Economic feudalism is also the reason for the bitter relationship between China’s eastern coastal provinces and western inland provinces. Export industries, one of China’s major growth engines, enrich the coastal provinces at the expense of the resource-rich western ones. Those poorer western provinces often see themselves as the resource colonies of the east: resources are depleted, land is polluted, yet few jobs are created. Much worse, China’s west is also the region with high ethnic diversity. The income inequality between the east and the west can eas-
In the summer of 2008 I arrived in Guiyang, capital city of Guizhou province, located in southwestern China. I had come to live, teach and immerse myself in the everyday life and culture of the Chinese. I had read many books about China’s rich civilization and history along with many accounts of China’s 20th century experience. As an American, I had been inundated with popular discourses, both in national political forums and in the media, that most commonly define China as an emerging economic threat and competitor to the U.S. I couldn’t help but feel that our perceptions of China didn’t necessarily match the reality on the ground and I was disturbed to see how little our discussion on China ever included the lives of the Chinese people. Why were the experiences of the Chinese people so absent from our discussion? Arriving in the bustling city of Guiyang, nestled in a sea of karst, I was quick to realize that the best place to learn about Chinese culture is in the streets. While our visions of contemporary China are filled with skyscrapers and neon lights, it is the streets, in the public realm, where a great deal of economic and cultural activity occurs and individual and group expression are provided a venue. The streets tell the story of the common people and give daily life a texture that otherwise is removed from national Utopian narratives of what cities in China should look like and be. It is also undeniable that the informal sector of China’s economy (street economy) has contributed significantly to China’s recent growth, providing sustenance to those who work in the formal sector of China’s economy, whose livelihood depends on the street economy’s goods and services in being able to afford to meet their basic needs. In this sense, the street economy has accommodated and made possible low wages in the formal sector of China’s economy, whose livelihood depends on the street economy’s goods and services in being able to afford to meet their basic needs. In the winter, in preparation for the Chinese New Year (chunjie), meats soaked in salt are hung in the streets, from telephone poles, electrical wires and any other objects that prompt hanging. During chun jie, popularly known as the Spring Festival, meat dishes are primarily eaten for fourteen days of the festival, whereby on the last day primarily only vegetable dishes and soups are consumed. Eating dinners together as a family is the foundational ritual event of celebrating the chun jie, in addition to the giving of gifts to the hosts of each meal. It is common for family members visiting the homes of their relatives to buy as a gift, either a box of fruit or alcohol, to give to their hosts upon entering the household, in addition to giving red envelopes (hongbao) with money inside, to the children of the household. Transporting all of the various food items into different locations of the city can prove difficult, whereby often local porters are employed to haul items deemed too heavy to carry. These porters, known as beidou (back basket), most typically come from rural areas of Guizhou and Sichuan, and do not have a place to live or shelter to keep them warm in the winter. It is common to see groups of beidou circled around fires on street corners, huddled together while using their baskets as seats or as shelters to protect them from the constant rain. What makes this population of porters in Guiyang interesting is that there is a historical basis for their presence in Guizhou, given the fact that 80 percent of the province is mountainous, making it throughout history, nearly impossible to transport goods into and out of Guizhou without the use of ‘bipedal’ transportation. The rugged terrain of Guizhou has

Nathan with his wife Mingzhu (who is from Guiyang) in the Pamir Mountains, Xinjiang, China

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There are two popular types of Spring festival meat: *fengrou* (wind meat) and *larou* (burnt meat). It is also during this time of the year, when the weather is chilly and wet and locals are more prone to catching colds, that new commodities appear in the streets, sold by mobile vendors. These include loquat flowers (*pipahua*) that are boiled and made into a tea that is drunk to heal respiratory ailments, and dog meat (*gourou*), which is prepared and consumed as part of the annual winter festival (*dongzhi*). This tradition of consuming dog meat, which dates back at least six hundred years, has recently become increasingly controversial in China, as more Chinese start to own dogs as pets and a new consciousness of animal rights emerges. Winter is also the time of the year that migrants from high-altitude regions of China, predominately Tibet and Xinjiang, flow into Guiyang, to escape the harsh weather of their high elevation homelands. Tibetans line the streets with blankets laid out displaying a variety of goods for sale, many of which originate in Tibet, such as animal parts used for medicinal purposes and various stones and hardened saps, some with bugs encased in them. Migrants from Xinjiang similarly sell various goods that originate in Xinjiang, such as their popular walnut cakes (*hetaotang*) and lamb kabobs (*yangrouchuan*). 

As winter ends and the weather warms up, the streets re-fill with performance artists, vendors and locals participating in sports and hobbies. Elderly get out for walks with their children, and collectively participate in *taiji* exercises and other aerobic feats that counter expectations in the West of what elderly people do when they grow old. Every night, large crowds gather at *wenchange*, a section of what is left of the old city wall, for ballroom dancing (*jiaojiwu*). Groups of *feng piao* (wind floats) for sale in the Daying street area of Guiyang. Men play *tuoluo* (top gyroscope), a game popular in Guiyang that involves whipping a top so that it spins on the ground, making a continual cracking noise that sounds like gun shots. Tops are most commonly made of wood and metal and vary in size; however, today it is not uncommon to see electrical tops that play music and have neon lights on them. Similar to how the streets become filled with hanging meats in the winter in preparation for *chunjie*, in April the streets start to fill up with colorful floats made out of paper, called *fengpiao* (wind float). These floats are bought on the streets and brought up into the mountains by family members to hang over the tombs of their deceased loved ones. The presence of *fengpiao* indicates the coming of *qingmingjie* (Ancestors Day), a festival popularly celebrated in China where Chinese visit the tombs of their ancestors to pay respects and make offerings of food and paper money to their deceased loved ones and clean the tomb grounds. In addition to the ritual offerings of food and paper money, it is common for family members to offer paper replicas of modern prestige commodities of popular desire, such as paper cars, business suits, credit cards, cell phones, passports and multi-story houses (this being the most ironic, given the fact that the vast majority of Chinese people live in high-rise apartment buildings). In addition to making offerings to the deceased, family members shoot off firecrackers while burning incense and candles to ward off evil spirits and call their ancestors back to their tombs (*mu*) to be with their loved ones. These are just a few of many examples of street culture in contemporary China and how the culture of the streets is reflective of and instrumental in determining the continuity of daily life, expression and meaning in China. Much of what Chinese value, believe in and look forward to in their daily lives, originates from, is manifested in, and finds a venue for expression in the streets. This is not only true for the elderly, but also the youth, who are often seen giving the remainder of their lunch money as alms to beggars and performers, and who spend the evenings walking and observing the streets as participants in a most popular, yet unspoken, form of entertainment, namely that of street culture. It is my hope that through exposing students to everyday life and experience in contemporary China, that we can come to further understand the Chinese for their complexity, diversity and richness, instead of defining China in ways that excludes its very own people.
ily cause ethnic tensions. Chinese central government tries to solve the problem by encouraging eastern provinces to form economic partnerships with their western counterparts. In reaction to this, the provinces in the east prefer burning their money in advance to sparing it for their partners. The quickest way of burning cash, of course, is building infrastructure and holding sports games.

Furthermore, economic feudalism is linked with the massive environmental degradation across the Chinese landscape. Chinese regional environmental protection agencies are under the administration of local governments, not the Ministry of Environmental Protection in Beijing. This reality renders the Chinese local EPAs powerless in regulating and enforcing environmental protection policies, particularly the misconduct of local governments.

What caused this feudalism? Superficially speaking, it is the consequence of the Chinese economic reforms. As the old centralized and planned economy failed to bring growth and welfare to the Chinese in 1970s, the central government had to yield its administrative power to local authorities for the sake of economic efficiency. Yet the fundamental cause is local officials’ desire for wealth and power. The local and central officials in China belong to the same and intact bureaucratic system. If a local bureaucrat wants to be promoted to Beijing, he needs to have some political achievement, such as GDP growth, or major international events like sports games. Moreover, it is through the economic growth in their dominions that these officials accumulate their personal fortune, either legally or illegally.

Economic feudalism is the most challenging political problem for the new Chinese President to tackle. In a time of global recession, Chinese economic growth needs the contribution from its domestic consumption, which is depressed by the economic feudalism due to the provincial authorities’ destructive competition. Moreover, economic feudalism sows the seed of ethnic, environmental and social problems. Chinese leadership and public media are now constantly remarking the “cycle of Chinese dynasties”. In Chinese history, economic feudalism, if unchecked, often led to the fall of dynasties. The next ten years might experience a new wave of Chinese political reform targeted at reframing the distorted central-local relationship, which should be a major point of interest for political scientists and historians to observe.
Among the numerous tasks accomplished during its visit to China, the UM delegation headed by Dr. Mehrdad Kia, the Director of Central and Southwest Asian Studies Center, created new China ties for The UM Central and Southwest Asian Studies Center.

During its visit to the Shanghai International Studies University (SISU), one of the three national key universities in international studies in China, the UM delegation met with the leadership of SISU’s Middle East Studies Institute. The two sides introduced their own Middle East programs respectively and reached an agreement on cooperation and partnership between the two institutions in teaching, research and publications. In September, 2011, per agreement, Professor Samir Bitar from the UM’s Central and Southwest Asian Studies Center and Dr. Khaled Huthaily from the UM’s Anthropology Department attended the international conference entitled: “Transformation of the Islamic Countries in the Middle East and Its Global Impacts” co-sponsored by SISU and the U.S. Asia Cultural Academy (UACA). The conference was held on SISU campus September 14th-16th, in Shanghai, China. Reciprocally, SISU’s Middle East Research Institute is going to send their faculty representatives to attend the UM’s Central Asia conference in April, 2013.

Shanghai International Studies University is a research, teaching, and multidisciplinary comprehensive university, committed to cultivating foreign language elites with “high-quality, multiple skills, international vision, spirit of innovation, and capacity of practice”. SISU enjoys a very good reputation both at home and abroad. It has numerous well-known alumni, including Mr. Jiechi Yang, the current Chinese Foreign Minister and Madame Yeping Wang, the former first lady (wife of President Jiang Zhemin).

SISU’s Middle East Studies Institute was established in 1980. It has three divisions: Middle East Politics Research Section; Middle East Economy Research Section and Middle East Culture Research Section. The Institute offers both M.A. and Ph.D degrees. Right now there are 28 students studying for their master’s degrees and six students are working on their Ph.D degrees. The Institute has two Middle East research publications, one in Chinese and one in English.

The UM delegation set up another tie for its Central and Southwest Asian Studies Center with SISU’s College of Oriental Languages and Literatures. This college offers bachelor’s degrees in the following eight Asian languages: Arabic, Persian, Hebrew, Turkish, Indonesian, Thai, Vietnamese and Korean. Their Arabic program, which started in 1962, is among the earliest in the nation. During their visit to SISU, the two UM professors presented papers at the college. Since their return home, Professor Samir Bitar has published the paper he gave at SISU, titled Language, Identity and Arab Nationalism: Case Study of Palestine, in the Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies.
New Members of CSWA Team

Sisu Pan, Faculty Affiliate

Sisu Pan joined CSWA in November of 2012 as a faculty affiliate. He helps the Center to conduct research projects on the Chinese relationship with Central and Southwest Asia, and to coordinate CSWA’s annual Central and Southwest Asia conference. Sisu Pan was born in China. He attended Peking University, Beijing, and later on moved to Imperial College, London to finish his undergraduate study in biological science. He acquired an M.A. in international affairs (concentration: international science and technology policies) from George Washington University in 2012.

Sisu Pan has working experience in various positions, including researcher in China International Engineering Consulting Company and China Center for Globalization. His research interests include history of China and Central Asia, energy policies, and regional economic development. Sisu Pan published a book, A New Chinese Identity, in 2009. The book examines the psychological and social transition of the Chinese people since China’s economic reform in the 1980s. He is now working on several sequels of it.

Missoula is the first non-capital city that Sisu Pan has lived in for over one year. He is deeply impressed by the hospitality of the Missoulians, as well as the extraordinary beauty of the Rocky Mountains.

Nathan Domitrovich, Coordinator

Nathan joined CSWA in August of 2012 and is the Coordinator of CSWA. His duties include coordinating and hosting CSWA events along with creating and distributing promotional materials, in addition to newsletter and website design. He is the initial point of contact for the CSWA center, enjoys working with others and is happy to be back on the UM campus, the place where his higher education began.

Nathan studied abroad at two universities in Thailand during his undergraduate studies at the UM. While in Thailand, he was instrumental in forming an exchange relationship between Khon Kaen University and the University of Montana. Returning home in 2007, Nathan worked at the Office of International Programs at the UM as a study abroad assistant, and after, moved to the city of Guiyang, in southwestern China, to live and teach English, History and Art. In addition to working in China, Nathan has also traveled to many regions of the country, including Xinjiang, Yunnan, Guangdong, Chongqing, Sichuan, Guanxi, Beijing, Hunan and Hainan. He has also spent time in Cambodia, Japan and Laos.

Nathan is currently a graduate student in the Anthropology Department (Cultural Heritage option) at the UM. He is going to be a father in February and enjoys spending time with his family and friends, hiking, fishing and camping.
Upcoming Events

CSWA Spring Semester Brown Bag Lecture Series

February 13th, 2013
“Education in Iraq”, Yassim Khalaf, Visitor Scholar, University of Montana

March 6th, 2013
“Understanding Ottoman and Turkish Modernization: Religion, Science and Politics, 1860-1960”, Dr. Serdar Poyraz, Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of History, University of Montana

March 13th, 2013
“From alla turca to alla franca: Constructing the “New Woman” in the Late Ottoman Empire and the Early Turkish Republic”, Secil Poyraz, Ph.D. Candidate, Florida State University

March 20th, 2013
“Palestinians and the Arab Spring”, Samir Bitar, Professor of Arabic, University of Montana

March 27th, 2013
“A Thousand and One Lenses on Israel-Palestine”, Brendan Work, Head Teacher of Arabic, Missoula County Public Schools

April 10th, 2013
“Removed from Contested Territory: Migrant Uyghurs in China”, Nathan Domitrovich, Graduate Student, Anthropology Department, Coordinator, Central and Southwest Asian Studies Center, University of Montana

All Brown Bag Lectures are held at the Central and Southwest Asian Studies Center, located in Stone Hall (Old Journalism) building, room 303

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Persian Student Association Film Festival

True Noon (Tajikistan)
Friday, February 22nd, 2013

Color of Paradise (Iran)
Friday, March 15th, 2013

The Kite Runner (Afghanistan)
Friday, April 12th, 2013

All movies will be shown in Urey Lecture Hall 101 at 7pm. Admission is free and everyone is welcome!