



Newsletter of the Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies

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In this issue:

Notes from the Director 1
 Alexandre Beliaev and Dace Dzenovska
Some Reflections on the "Global"
Crisis in Latvia..... 3
 Berkeley and the World Conference 6
 Zhivka Valiavicharska
*Socialism's Decrepit, Useless Monuments:
 Can We Really Do without Them?* 7
 Giving to the Institute..... 14
 Associates of the Slavic Center..... 15
 FLAS and BPS fellowships
 recipients 16
 Faculty and Student News..... 17
 Campus Visitors 18
 ISEEEES and EU Center Awards 18
 Daniela Stoica
*Kafka and the Fate of the Body in a
 Surveillance Society: A Foucauldian
 Reading of Franz Kafka's "In The Penal
 Colony"*19
 Fall 2009 Courses 26
 Upcoming Events 27
 Funding Opportunities 28

Newsletter of the Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies

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The ISEEEES Newsletter is published twice a year, in the Spring and Fall semesters.

Notes from the Director

Welcome back to the start of another academic year!

This is John Connelly of the Department of History speaking. While Yuri Slezkine enjoys a well-deserved sabbatical at Stanford I am acting director of the Institute, responsible for everything except complaints, which still go to Yuri.

As you are well aware, the University of California, Berkeley is facing an unprecedented economic crisis. The Institute is feeling the brunt of this crisis in an exceptional way—with a 25% cut in its state funding. In order to maintain the superior programming and research and academic support our students, faculty, and public constituents have come to expect, ISEEEES is forced to rely more and more on our discretionary funds, much of which comes from gifts and endowments made by friends and colleagues such as yourselves. Even modest gifts make a difference.

Rest assured that ISEEEES will continue to sponsor high quality academic programs, including our visiting speakers series, the annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference in Slavic and East European Studies, the annual Outreach Conference, the annual Colin Miller Memorial Lecture, the annual Peter N. Kujachich Lecture in Serbian and Montenegrin Studies, our biannual ISEEEES Newsletter, graduate student working groups, and faculty-student seminars. We look forward to seeing you and reconnecting at these events throughout the year.

Support of private donors supplements funds we receive from other sources, enabling us to maintain superior programming, research, and academic support, and meet the standards required of us by the U.S. Department of Education (as a Title VI National Resource Center), and by UC Berkeley. As such, we have expanded opportunities for targeted giving in order to encompass a variety of ISEEEES programs. These opportunities include: the ISEEEES General Support Fund, the ISEEEES Graduate Student Support Fund, the Hungarian Studies Fund, the Fund for Romanian Studies, and the Colin and Elsa Miller Endowment Fund. Detailed descriptions of these funds can be found on page 14 of this newsletter and on our newly designed website at <http://iseeess.berkeley.edu/give>. By making a gift to any of these funds, you will automatically become a member in our annual giving program: Associates of the Slavic Center.

Moreover, current or retired UC Berkeley faculty and staff, their spouses or partners, and current students are eligible to participate in the *Chancellor's Challenge for Student Support*, whereby your gift to the ISEEEES Graduate Student Support Fund will be matched dollar for dollar. Contributions made through June 2012 are eligible for the match. Gifts are tax-deductible and can be paid in installments over a five-year period.

In addition, the *New Alumni Challenge* invites all undergraduate and graduate alumni from the Classes of 2005 through 2010 to participate in a first-ever 3:1 match for all contributions up to \$1,000. All alumni—

undergraduate and graduate—from the Classes of 2005 to 2009 and all current students—undergraduate and graduate—who expect to graduate this academic year are eligible; and all gifts up to \$1000 made to any of the aforementioned ISEEEES funds will be matched.

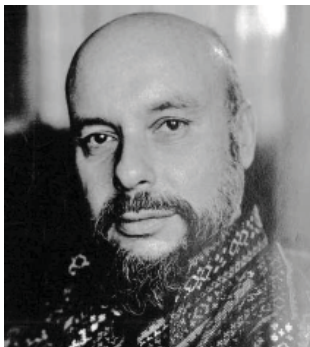
I am pleased to announce a number of visiting scholars for the fall. Helge Blakkisrud is a Fulbright researcher from the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs in Oslo, where he serves as head of the Department for Russian and Eurasian Studies. He is working on his dissertation on Russian federalism and the process of decentralization and recentralization under Yeltsin and Putin. Elira Karaja is a Ph.D. candidate in economics at the Institute for Advanced Studies IMT in Lucca, Italy. Her research is in transition economics of southeastern Europe. Bogusława Lewandowska is a lecturer in philosophy at the Institute of Fundamental Technological Research of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Her research focuses on Dostoevsky's question of anthropology and conception of freedom within its existential context. Eva Loy is a visiting student researcher from the European University Viadrina in Frankfurt (Oder), Germany. Her field is socio-cultural studies with an emphasis on linguistic minorities, especially Russian-speaking minorities in the South Caucasus. Vahram Ter-Matevosyan is a Fulbright researcher from the Institute for National Strategic Studies in Yerevan, Armenia, where he is head of the analytical center. While at Berkeley he will conduct research on prospects of national security strategies in the South Caucasian Republics.

Lastly, I am pleased to announce some of our major upcoming fall events. On Monday, October 12, we will co-sponsor a talk by Ms. Odile Quintin, Director-General for Education and Culture of the European Commission, who will speak on European identity and educational diversity in Europe. This will be at 5 p.m. in the Alumni House on the Berkeley campus. Our faculty/graduate student seminar series "Ideology and Religion" continues to be very successful, and our Carnegie-supported Field Development Project will bring three scholars from Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia to Berkeley for a two-week working visit this fall. For those of you who will be attending this year's AAASS convention in Boston, there will be a joint Berkeley-Stanford reception Friday evening, November 13, at 7:45 p.m. in the Marriott Copley Place Grand Ballroom Salons A & B. Please feel free to drop by and catch up with friends and colleagues.

Be sure to check our new website <http://iseees.berkeley.edu> for additional happenings and updates to the calendar. I hope to see you at many of our events.

John Connelly
ISEEES Acting Director
Associate Professor of History

Professor Simon Karlinsky dies at 84



Our friend and colleague Simon Karlinsky died peacefully at home on July 5, 2009, at the age of 84. A distinguished Professor of Slavic Languages and Literatures, he taught in Berkeley for over thirty years. It is difficult to imagine the contemporary study of early Russian drama, Gogol, Chekhov, Tchaikovsky, Diaghilev, Russia's gay literature and culture, Stravinsky, Nabokov, Tsvetaeva, and the Russian emigration in general without Simon's pioneering efforts. He is the author and editor of numerous books, including *The Sexual Labyrinth of Nikolai Gogol*; *Marina Tsvetaeva: The Woman, Her World, and Her Poetry*; *Russian Drama from Its Beginnings to the Age of Pushkin*; *Dear Bunny, Dear Volodya: The Nabokov-Wilson Letters, 1940-1971* (editor); *Letters of Anton Chekhov*. (Co-editor with Michael Henry Heim); *Anton Chekhov's Life and Thought*; Vladimir Zlobin, *A Difficult Soul: Zinaida Gippius* (editor); Boris Poptavsky, *Collected Works*. 3 vols. (Co-editor with Anthony Olcott); *The Bitter Air of Exile: Russian Writers in the West 1922-1972* (Co-editor with Alfred Appel, Jr.); *Marina Cvetaeva: Her life and Art*. He is survived by his husband, Peter Carleton.



Berkeley/Stanford Reception at the 2009 AAASS Convention in Boston

ISEEES invites UC Berkeley faculty, students, alumni, and ASC members to the Berkeley/Stanford Reception at the 2009 AAASS Convention in Boston. If you plan to attend the convention or are in the Boston area, join us on Friday, November 13, 2009, at 7:45 p.m. in Grand Ballroom Salons A & B at the Marriott Copley Place, 110 Huntington Avenue, Boston, MA.

Some Reflections on the “Global” Crisis in Latvia

Alexandre Beliaev and Dace Dzenovska

Alexandre Beliaev and Dace Dzenovska are Ph.D. candidates in the Anthropology Department at UC Berkeley.

Between Exceptionality and Ordinarity

In the last eight months, as the financial crisis spread around the world, Latvia has emerged in much of the international media as the worst-hit country in Europe. Claims of Latvian exceptionality abound. Even the Canadian Broadcasting Company, which, in comparison to its Southern neighbors, usually avoids sensationalist headlines, ran a story about Latvia titled “Europe’s Sickest Country.” Reports on the BBC, articles in the *New York Times*, the *Financial Times*, and the *Economist* have all spent significant time discussing how a once-strong “Baltic Tiger”—that not so long ago was a model case of democratization, marketization, and liberalization in post-socialist Europe—has gone awry.

Some of the facts, cited by the likes of the *Financial Times* (e.g. Kuper 2009), are that Latvia’s GDP is expected to shrink by 18% in 2009, and by 25% over 2008-2010. (For comparison, Iceland’s economy, which made headlines in September 2008, is expected to shrink by 10.6%; the US economy contracted by 30% during the Great Depression.) The IMF’s bailout package has received much discussion as well. However, this discussion has focused not on the draconian and unfair measures the Latvian government has adopted as a result of IMF requirements (pensions have been cut by 10%; salaries of teachers, doctors, and civil servants by 20%, etc.), but rather on the stakes of continuing to peg the Latvian currency to the Euro (Dombrovskis 2008).

Amidst the discussion of just how exceptionally bad things in Latvia are, a different, much ridiculed voice emerged. In December of 2009, shortly before rioting in Riga contributed to the fall of the ruling coalition, Atis Slakteris, Latvia’s then-minister of finance, made headlines when he stated, in an attempt to explain to a Bloomberg correspondent what happened to the Latvian economy, that this was “nothing special.” People made fun of Slakteris: t-shirts, buttons, and even notebooks with his response quickly became abundant in Riga. A new rock-band formed and called itself “Nothing Special” claiming that they had found Slakteris’s profound statement deeply inspiring (Gasuna 2009).

But how exactly does Slakteris’s position, which stresses the ordinarity of the Latvian situation, differ from the position of his Western colleagues that accentuates its exceptionality? Arguably, not much at all. Both claims foreclose discussion of the concrete and specific factors that enable, structure, and condition the local economy’s experience of the global economic downturn. The best that Western economists, politicians, and reporters can do is to talk about the Latvian politicians’ incompetent application of widely-known and universally-valid rules of economic

development. For them, the Latvian exception is little more than an extraordinarily steep slide across a common economic slate. For Slakteris, the emphasis is on the common economic slate, which renders the Latvian situation ordinary. Its especially potent manifestation is simply a matter of degree and does not merit special attention.

A pervasive way of talking about the crisis has made extensive use of the word “global.” The danger that categories like “global” hold is being stuck between the poles of exceptionality and ordinarity. Latvia is either an ordinary manifestation of a global phenomenon or this phenomenon’s extraordinarily bad manifestation. What gets lost in the headlines is precisely that which goes under the sign of “Latvia.” By reducing a specific place to a general logic of economic and financial laws, flows, and hardships, sensationalist headlines do everything but talk about the place in question. As a result, an in-depth analysis of a concrete situation becomes constrained and risks morphing into a set of widely-shared truisms: that people are suffering, that IMF reforms are murderous, that those affected most strongly by government reforms are those least capable of defending themselves.

Recognizing that it is neither possible nor necessary to position oneself entirely outside of established discursive frames, we make an attempt not to rehearse these truisms, but rather to outline specific factors that enable, structure, and condition the Latvian experience of what goes under the sign of the “global” crisis. We suggest that it may be precisely at moments like this—when polities around the world make a claim to being subject to a world-wide process—that social scientists must turn their attention to local issues that condition the possibility of these processes. We turn our attention to two issues. The first is Latvia’s entanglement within the Baltic region—particularly its relationship with Sweden and Russia, which has enabled a certain configuration of lending possibilities. The second is Latvia’s experience with post-Soviet consumption, investment, and entrepreneurial practices in the context of integration into the European Union which have facilitated a certain configuration of borrowing possibilities.

Particularity of Lending: Between Sweden and Russia

In much of the financial press Latvia is presented as a “typical” case of economic over-heating. The story presented by the press goes like this: in the late 1990s and early 2000s, there was a massive inflow of investment capital to Latvia, primarily from Sweden and to a lesser extent from Russia. At one point, Swedish banks gathered 25% of their operating profits from the Baltic Region. The Latvian government did nothing to control the conditions

under which the loans were given (thus they were given to pretty much everyone) or the ways in which the loans were spent (thus they were spent on whatever the borrowers desired).

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union (and even before that), a broadly understood West structured peoples' hopes and aspirations. While some were inspired by the American self-narrative of unfettered economic activity and individual prosperity, others looked to Scandinavia as a model of sustainable and socially responsible economic growth. Sweden in particular emerged as a model that Latvians aspired to. On the one hand, this aspiration existed on a discursive level, in the form of imaginations of history otherwise: in the question/fantasy of "where would Latvia be had the Russians not won it over from the Swedes in 1710?" On the other hand, this aspiration had a social and geopolitical basis. Following the Second World War, Sweden became an important, if not always asylum-granting, destination for Latvians seeking to escape Soviet rule. During the late Soviet period and in the immediate post-Soviet years, many people visited their relatives in Sweden; many Swedish Latvians traveled to Latvia and even returned to live and work in Latvia. Sweden held a great deal of symbolic capital: it was the place that could most tangibly show Latvia how to leave its Soviet past behind. Many young Latvians went to Sweden to study. For example, the bank that later became Hansabanka (and is now Swedbanka)—one of Latvia's biggest banks—was founded by people who received their financial education in Sweden.

Recently there has even been talk about return of the "Swedish times"—referencing the reign of the Swedish crown in Vidzeme (1629-1700)—to mark the domination of Swedish banks in the Latvian financial market and their role in making the crisis an especially difficult experience for Latvia (Melbārde 2009). Many point out that not only did the Swedish banks flood the Latvian financial market with credits during the "fat years" (*treknie gadi*, beginning with accession to the European Union in 2004 and lasting until the onset of the crisis in 2008), but that they are potentially compromising the success of the bailout program by demanding that Swedish daughter banks in Latvia repay loans to their parent banks, thus creating significant Euro outflows (Eglitis and Louis 2009).

A westward orientation, however, was not the only geopolitical configuration to shape the development of Latvia's finance sector. During the early post-Soviet years, Latvia emerged as one of the premier destinations for Russian "off-shore" lending. To escape paying taxes, Russian businessmen would register their businesses somewhere in the Caribbean, but open bank accounts in Latvia. Latvian banks were both close enough (under an hour by plane from Moscow); far enough (under European jurisdiction); and, more importantly, were staffed by *svoi*: people who could understand the "particularities" of the Russian business world and people who could freely

communicate in Russian. A crucial player in the "Russian" banking industry was Parex Banka: founded by a Russian-speaking Latvian and rumored to have had significant connections with Russian and Ukrainian businesses. While Hansabanka was bought out by Swedbanka, Parex Banka was nationalized by the Latvian government—following its profligate lending of "Russian" investments to Latvian consumers.

Following an established tradition, invocations of the "Soviet times" also continue to mark the weight of the past against the present. Thus, commenting on the crisis in an interview with the *Financial Times*, Krista Baumanė, development director of the think-tank Providus, said: "The politicians grew up in the Soviet Union. In a way you feel sorry for them: how were they supposed to know how to govern a democratic country if they never lived in one themselves?" (Kuper 2009:4) And, yet, it is noteworthy that the northern connections, which in addition to continued ties with Russia constitute the Latvian financial sector today, also easily fold into historical narratives of domination. For us, this serves as a symbolic marker of the need to focus on local history in order to disentangle the particular configuration of the crisis in Latvia.

The Orgy of Credits

That the global financial crisis is related to the collapse of the credit boom seems to be an established truth (Hart and Ortiz 2008). In Latvia too, lending had become unsustainable, the Swedish banks were making "fantastic profits," and, according to the current Prime Minister Valdis Dombrovskis, the government did not intervene in this "orgy of credits" facilitated by the lending of the Swedish banks (Melbārde 2009, Kuper 2009). Yet, once again, rather than reading "the orgy of credit" as a result of political incompetence, we would like to consider the specificity of the lending and borrowing practices in Latvia which were enabled not only by historical relations and geopolitical configurations, but also by postsocialist imaginaries and temporalities.

It seems to us that having an orgy of credits entails a particular temporal orientation in which the long-term horizon gets suspended. In order to gesture towards some ways of thinking about the specific temporalities of lending and borrowing in Latvia, we outline three ways of inhabiting the lack of a long-term horizon through credit practices: desire for consumption, uncertainty about the future, and faith in the present. While here we focus on the practices of credit takers rather than lenders, further inquiry would most certainly require analysis of the conduct of lending institutions or, better still, an ethnography of a loan (Elyachar & Maurer 2009).

Desire for consumption

One of the most characteristic features of the early post-Soviet landscape in Latvia was the *sadzīves tehnikas veikals* (a shop of household electronics). People purchased irons,

washing machines, mixers, juicers, kitchen combines, and whatever else they found appealing after years of beating egg whites by hand. Kitchens and bathrooms were overloaded with household technologies, many of which were rarely used. It was in the sphere of household electronics that people first learned to buy on credit. Competing for customers whose small living spaces were filling with Bosch, Electrolux, and Zanussi items of various sizes, stores advertised in-store credit with no down-payment: you walk into the store with no money and walk out with the steam-spewing iron you always wanted. And want it you did, because you simply could not get it back in the Soviet times and, moreover, your neighbor already had one.

Credit obtained for the purchase of these items was not significant, though 400 Latvian lats (about US \$700 at the time) for a washing machine still constituted a whole lot of money in the early 1990s. However, these were not long-term investments with the aim to secure a future. Rather, these were small credits meant to satisfy the immediate consumption needs of the present. They were successful insofar as they eliminated the need for public laundromats and got people used to the idea of borrowing not from a neighbor or a family member or the state but from a private institution, which seemed more than willing to lend.

Economic uncertainty

As many scholars of postsocialism have argued, the collapse of socialism and the subsequent economic transformations ushered in material and existential uncertainty, often described as a loss of the possibility to imagine a future. Economists too argued that postsocialist economies did not have the same level of stability and investment horizons as more mature capitalist economies.

In such conditions, businesses and private individuals alike tried to make “a quick buck” or *uzvārīties* (literally, to boil up), as the Latvian saying goes. This meant that people took credits and invested them with short-term returns. For example, many people purchased apartments and sold them a little while later, either in the same condition or renovated. The returns were great, as real estate prices were going up. One could wait longer, but it was better to sell quickly in order to generate profit, which could be used to make more money. Moreover, one was never sure how long such an opportunity would last. Latvia’s accession to the European Union in 2004 provided a sense of security, but it did not necessarily translate into long-term planning. The boom of the real estate market and the growing prices and wages of the early 2000s (30% annual increase in salaries, see Dombrovskis 2008) made the temporary seem permanent.

Faith in the permanence of the present

The false sense of endless prosperity created by the good life of the *treknie gadi* (fat years) affected credit practices as well. Certainly, some still borrowed to make a quick buck. Others took credits with the purpose of securing housing

and stopped at that. But many continued to borrow more and more money to finance vacations abroad, country homes, apartment renovations, and even medical operations. So much so that taking credit seemed to become an endless source of wealth, an end in itself. People began to gain faith in living on credit. Yet, this was not necessarily an indication that they became more certain about the future. Instead, they developed a faith in the permanence of the present and the possibility not to imagine, but rather to endlessly defer the future.

The post-Soviet transformations interrupted the sense of progressive time cultivated by the dominant Soviet socialist narrative. The future was lost, and uncertainty was a structuring factor of life. For a long time, accession to the European Union served as the most concrete horizon of the future, though what it meant was not entirely clear. Amidst the uncertainty and shifting temporalities, learning to live on credit offered novel ways of inhabiting the present and imagining the future. The present and the future became collapsed into a circular temporality where dwelling in the present provided security which did not necessarily require imagining a future.

Beyond Global and Local

In the current crisis conditions, the lending and borrowing practices that became a central feature of the Latvian financial scene have come under critique. Domestic and international actors alike point to the immaturity of lenders and borrowers which has contributed to the crisis. The narrative that post-socialist states and peoples have not been good students in the supervised process of total social transformation towards free markets and liberal democracies remains strong.

Tempting as these narratives are, in conclusion we would like to reiterate the question of whether there are other analytical frames through which to make sense of the “global” crisis in Latvia. In other words, if we began this article with an invitation to look at the crisis from a historically grounded rather than a universal perspective, then how can we make sense of the Latvian “orgy of credit” without falling back into the distinction between responsible, and therefore good credit practices, and irresponsible, speculative, and therefore bad credit practices?

Operating on the scale of the “global,” politicians and pundits diverge over whether the situation in Latvia is exceptional or ordinary. We suggest that considering the question on a different scale would be a useful beginning point of inquiry. But this is not necessarily a call for a focus on the local in lieu of the global. Rather, looking at the specificity of that which goes under the sign of Latvia entails tracing the translocal connections—historical and contemporary—and therefore turning the analytical lens on the articulations of Swedish money and local politics, on a desire for household electronics and emerging credit practices, on international financial institutions and working

pensioners. Neither local nor global, the crisis is real; however, we seriously question whether imposing an ever stricter application of “universally valid economic rules” will resolve it in Latvia or elsewhere.

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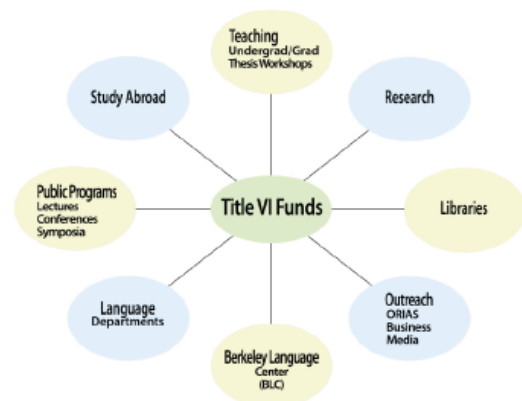
Berkeley and the World: 50 Years of International Education

This year marks the 50th anniversary of the US Department of Education Title VI program, known at its inception as the National Defense Education Act. Title VI was a response to the Cold War and the launch of Sputnik, and recognized the need for the United States to develop a stronger and broader capacity in foreign language and international and area studies in order to participate and compete in the modern era. Title VI was later incorporated into the Higher Education Act of 1965.

Three programs that were included in the original 1958 legislation continue today as the National Resource Centers (NRC) program, the Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowship (FLAS) program, and the International Research and Studies (IRS) program. UC Berkeley participates in all three programs. The programs are designed to strengthen the capability and performance of American education in foreign languages and in area and international studies and to improve secondary and postsecondary teaching and research concerning other cultures and languages, the training of specialists, and the public's general understanding of the peoples of other countries.

Berkeley has participated in Title VI since the program inception in 1959 and now receives \$3.35 million per year from Title VI funds. Much of this is used to fund core campus teaching and research priorities, as well as to support graduate students in many different disciplines.

In recognition of this milestone and of the importance of the Title VI programs on the Berkeley campus, especially the National Resource Centers and Foreign Language and Area Studies fellowships, the eight Berkeley Institutes and Centers receiving Title VI funding hosted an event to commemorate the 50th anniversary on Friday, March 6, 2009. The event's keynote speaker was George Breslauer, executive vice chancellor and provost and former director of the Center for Slavic and East European Studies at UC Berkeley. Excerpts of his remarks can be found online at http://www.usglobalcompetence.org/videos/breslauer_large.html.



UC Berkeley was one of only 14 universities to have NRCs established in 1959 as part of the National Defense Education Act. In 1959, two NRCs were funded at Berkeley through the NDEA: the Center for Slavic and East European Studies (Russia/East Europe field) and the Center for South Asian Studies (South and Southeast Asia field). Starting in 1959, forerunners of FLAS fellowships were first offered in languages deemed as critical for national security. Early fellowship recipients at Berkeley studied Russian, Hindi, Chinese, Japanese, Arabic, Indonesian, and Portuguese.

Today at Berkeley there are 7 comprehensive (NRC + FLAS) centers and 1 FLAS center. Since 1991, Berkeley NRC and FLAS programs have received approximately \$55 million from Title VI funds. Title VI support to NRCs funds the teaching of less commonly taught languages at Berkeley, as well as at consortial partner institutions; supports area studies courses that fill gaps in the curriculum; supports library acquisitions; and underwrites an active program of K-12 and public outreach. Currently Berkeley offers 62 modern languages, including 59 *Less Commonly Taught Languages* and 34 *Priority Languages* (as designated by the US Department of Education). From August 2006 to the present, the 7 NRCs have contributed \$1,376,000 to less commonly taught language instruction at UC Berkeley alone (primarily for lecturer and graduate student instructor salaries). Additionally, in the 2006-10 funding cycle, the 8 FLAS Centers are providing \$1,725,500 per year in graduate fellowships for academic year and summer language and area study.

Socialism's Decrepit, Useless Monuments: Can We Really Do Without Them?¹

Zhivka Valiavicharska

Zhivka Valiavicharska is a Ph.D. Candidate in the Department of Rhetoric, UC Berkeley

What to do with the monuments of Bulgaria's socialist past? During the past twenty years, they have lived in exile, abandoned and neglected, subject to numerous renamings, relocations, destructions, lootings, and abuses. The few serious analyses we have deal with how a solid narrative takes shape out of negotiations between personal experience and collective memory, in which these monuments appear mostly as the living sites of contests over how to remember, narrate, and legitimate the heterogeneous and conflicting socialist experiences.² And while the emphasis on history and memory is extremely valuable as it captures the contested terrains of different sites, symbols, and images upon which the present articulates itself *vis-à-vis* its pasts, presumptions about the monuments' failed ideologically-driven function remain completely unquestioned.

Here I am interested in complicating the question of "ideology" in these monuments, "ideology" narrowly understood as an official state doctrine that has found a representational expression in a particular thematic and aesthetic canon—albeit evolving canon—of state-commissioned projects. In such visions, ideology's somewhat two-dimensional, almost self-evident transparency is taken for granted—founded on the inherent presumption that its stale products have failed to interpellate a collective subjectivity, and subsequently, to have any bearing on the social. Those who endorse the views that the function of public monuments was one that only instructs and represents—unsuccessfully—place themselves in a space outside their reach and have rendered themselves impervious to the monuments' material dimensions and the social relations they have ordered. Thus they posit a subject existing prior to, independent of, or outside their power, a subject that remains immune to the social mediations that these monuments command through the material reality they arrange—and therefore, radically outside the socialist state's material order and its complex governing mechanisms.

Can we therefore examine the more complex ways in which these monuments functioned? In what follows, I

would like to bring into focus not so much their prescriptive content but rather the way they bring into being a material order within public space that conditions social relations in a particular way. Thus, these projects functioned not only as the present's vehicle for narrating nationhood, for instructing a socialist personhood, for making public statements about political relations, and for ordering loud imperatives about the future, but as those sites that open the everyday material terrains upon which experiences of leisure and community are possible, which provide the material conditions for particular forms of sociality, which draw the limited but also enabling material contours that determine the sense of access and entitlement to space, and where particular collective subjectivities emerge in relation to the material sites they engage. Materiality here is not understood only as an empirical reality. It is rather, as Judith Butler has suggested, a set of practices, governed by rituals and reiterations that inevitably bear on matter.³ Materiality here should be seen as the social medium that sets the radically limited but enabling conditions for various agencies to unfold. In other words, here I would like to suggest that these monuments have had *governing functions* within public space as much as they might have had didactic ones; they produced subjects and enabled these subjects' self-realization in ways that extend beyond the narrow prescriptions they had to communicate. Because most of these monuments—being parts of the state's modernizing efforts—were conceived as massive multi-functional complexes combining architecture, urban development, monumental sculpture, and decorative arts, they also had more intricate governing functions such as granting access to public space, designing recreational patterns, and arranging and ordering particular forms of socialities. Those governing aspects, however, can only be understood if we take into account the various ways in which everyday practices utilized, exploited, and reconfigured these monuments as public sites.

1. This research was supported by the Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies at the University of California, Berkeley. I thank librarians Snezhka Neshkova and Filka Litovoyska at the Plovdiv Public Library "Ivan Vazov" for their enormous help with the research for this essay, and for their unconditional dedication to enabling intellectual work by putting themselves in service to the public accessibility of resources. I also thank Vessela Valiavicharska for her editing suggestions and critical comments. A shorter version of this paper will appear in Suzana Milevska, ed. *The Renaming Machine*. Ljubljana: P.A.R.A.S.I.T.E. Institute, 2009.

2. For an excellent essay on the history of Sofia's Mausoleum of Georgi Dimitrov and its demolition, ordered spontaneously by the City of Sofia in August 1999, see Maria Todorova, "The Mausoleum of Georgi Dimitrov as *lieu de me'moire*," *The Journal of Modern History* 78 (June 2006): 377–411. Also, on the discursive wars over the interpretations of the socialist past seen through Dimitrov's Mausoleum, see Lilyana Deyanova, "Bitkite za mavzoleite: 1989 (svidetelstvo)—2006 (svidetelstvo)" in *Ochertaniya na mulchanieto: istoricheska sociologiya na kolektivnata pamet* (Sofia: Kritika i humanizum, 2009).

3. Judith Butler, *The Psychic Life of Power: Theories in Subjection*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 125.

The socialist period in Bulgaria has left us with a large number of ambitious public monuments, which over the years have grown into gigantic ensembles involved in the production of “nature” and the socialist cityscape as much as they have been involved in the production of ideological content, political hierarchy, history, nationhood, or the geography of national or socialist heroism. Planned and executed by interdisciplinary collectives of architects, urban planners, monumental sculptors, and visual artists, they are conceived as site-specific micro-worlds and marked by a strong synthesis between architecture, sculpture, and geography, and between subject matter, form, and the specificity of their location. After 1989 they have found themselves highly politically charged and activated, constituting those rare and extremely valuable sites around which political contestations articulate themselves in the postsocialist public space, while also being subject to severe physical neglect. In Bulgaria as in many other former socialist states, these monuments have suffered abuses and erasures, they have been subject to renamings and replacings in attempts to reconfigure their meaning, to subdue their unabating agency. And yet, their eccentric shapes quietly persist throughout to remind us of history’s unapologetic presence and of the spectral hauntings of socialism’s material legacy.

Only recently have there been more systematic attempts to open public debate about the current condition of these projects and to search for discourses and arguments that would relegitimize their existence and acknowledge them as part of the nation’s material culture. A recent project *Sleda*—which launched a much needed effort to give them visibility, ask questions outside the usual language of ideology, and develop approaches to integrate them into the contemporary urban context—organized a one-day conference about the monumental architectural-sculptural ensembles of the socialist era, followed by a public debate about the future of the monument in front of Sofia’s National Palace of Culture.⁴ An exhibition of photographs accompanied the events, documenting some exemplary monumental-architectural complexes from the 1970s and 1980s in the country. As if a symptom of the failure to find a language powerful enough to legitimate them, the photographs gave neither introduction nor contextualization; they had let the giants make themselves visible as they are, their shabby but monolithic bodies standing mute and silent, left to ask for recognition through the legitimating mechanisms of the gallery instead.⁵

4. See information on the project “Sleda:” the one-day conference “Monumentalnite kompleksi na komunisticheskiya rezhim v suvremenniya evropeyski grad: Edno budeshhte pod vupros?” (“Monumental Complexes of the Communist Regime in the Contemporary European City: A Future Under Question?”); the public debate “Pametnikut pred NDK: Kakvo da se pravi? (The Monument in front of the National Palace of Culture: What to do?)”; and the photography exhibition “Bulgarian Communist Monuments Today” Red House Center, 24 October, 2008, www.project-trace.com (accessed on January 22, 2009).

5. Photographs by Nadezhda Yurukova, Boris Missirkov and Georgi Bogdanov, Alexandur Yordanov, Nikola Mihov, Marko Krojak, and Krasimir Umarski. See also Neli Georgieva and Rossen Kolev’s short documentary *Sleda* about Varna’s *Monument to the Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship*, available through the website, which also examines the monuments as a lived site and attempts to reconstruct its habitus.

6. Zhivkova was Deputy Head from 1972 to 1975, after which she was appointed Head of the Committee for Culture.

A lot of what follows here was triggered by these recent efforts, and especially by the public debate about the urgency to decide on the fate of the *1300 Years Bulgaria* monument, given its current physical condition. The work, dating from 1981, is dedicated to 1300 years of Bulgarian statehood and is part of an ambitious state-wide initiative to commemorate the anniversary. The monument constructs an image of a unified national community within the context of the socialist project and legitimates culturally and historically the socialist present as a culmination of the national narrative. It insists on a historical and conceptual continuity of the national and socialist projects—which should not be read as a paradox if one takes into account the conceptual shift of the state’s cultural policy under Lyudmila Zhivkova, Head of the Committee for Culture and the Arts for most of the 1970s until her death in 1981.⁶ Her ambitious



“1300 Years Bulgaria,”
view from the North-
East; Sofia, May 2008

vision in the early 1970s launched a state-wide effort to give energies to a new era in the life of the nation by using culture to emancipate the country from Soviet hegemony, to open and reorient the national community to the rest of the world, to gain world-historical recognition for the cultural heritage of the nation, and to signal the latter’s belonging to a wider international community. She leaves an enormous material and cultural legacy—from opening thousands of regional cultural centers, libraries, *chitalishta*, museums, and galleries all over the country, to launching annual festivals and pouring money into archaeological excavation projects. The *1300 Years Bulgaria* commemorative work is conceived as part of a larger project of cultural and urban renewal in the capital and is coordinated with the building of NDK, the National Palace of Culture. The latter, following Zhivkova’s death in 1981, was named after her until 1990. Consisting of 15,000 square meters (over eleven floors) of spacious conference, congress, and concert halls, movie theaters, exhibition spaces, multi-functional lobbies and hybrid interiors, all of them with enormous technical capacities, NDK is a project that has combined architectural novelty and a high concentration of monumental-decorative

arts to remain unmatched in its ambitious investment of material resources and creative labor for the entire modern history of the Bulgarian state. NDK crowns a surrounding open public space with squares, fountains, green alleys and flower beds. There is a bridge connecting the area to one of the main parks in the city—Park *Yuzhen*. Having a symmetrical rigor to it, the public area around NDK is nevertheless designed to open diverse spaces to a wide variety of communities, from groups of older retired people to the young hipster culture, who continue to share it almost effortlessly day and night. Thus it gives common people public access to an unusually large piece of high-value land in the cluttered center of the capital, the public spaces of which have been rapidly shrinking over the last twenty years of neoliberal development.⁷



View of the square in front of NDK with “1300 Years Bulgaria” to the right, Sofia, May 2008.

1300 Years Bulgaria, designed by architect Atanas Agura and sculptor Valentin Starchev—but more properly, by an interdisciplinary collective under the overall leadership of Krum Damyanov—won a competition initiated by the Ministry of Culture for its formal radicality, its conceptual novelty, and its ambition to engage the viewer in communication with the surrounding space. The monumental edifice consists of several large multi-faceted geometrical bodies rising from below level zero and spiraling upwards in a dynamic composition. They converge into the structure’s highest architectural component, which protrudes diagonally upwards, signaling a forward movement. The dynamic but somewhat rigid and austere architectural body, tiled with blocks of gray marble, comfortably anchors a series of four large sculptural figurative scenes made out of metal. Their expressive forms offer a brilliant visual interpretation of the abstract theme of the project “Past, Present, and Future,” combining both symbolism and narrative, abstraction and detail. Nested on different heights, the figural compositions animate the austerity of the structure with its flat, polished surface which, in return, emphasizes the rich plasticity and the complex play of volumes of the sculptural compositions. The four compositions are loosely grouped in four key scenes that reiterate the nation’s epic narrative: “The Golden Age of Simeon,” picturing the glory of the First Bulgarian State; “Baptizing the Community,” emphasizing the centrality of Christianity to the formation of the Bulgarian

national community; “Pieta,” symbolizing the suffering of the Bulgarian people throughout the ages and gesturing towards the Ottoman presence against which national self-determination movements in Bulgaria and throughout the region articulated themselves; and “The Builder,” situated on the highest level, synthesizing a unified image of the socialist worker but also meant to signify the ordinary toiling people throughout the ages. The authors have inserted textual elements along the vertical edges of the architecture—quotes from Bulgarian literature during the national self-determination period—that send clear messages of national heroism, sacrifice, and attachment to land. The base of the monument ascends



The four sculptural compositions of “1300 Years Bulgaria”, Sofia, May 2008.

from a large underground space decorated with stone reliefs interpreting some examples taken from a body of iconic images and objects of material culture that constitute the stable content of what counts as Bulgarian national cultural heritage. The main functional role of the underground level is to provide space for organized collective ritual, and the authors describe that they reached the conceptual solution for this underground base to emphasize the ties of the people, their past, and their greatness, to the ground and the earth—both symbolically and literally.⁸ What is striking is the complex dynamism of this abstract edifice: each movement of the body reveals a new aspect of the three-dimensional composition, making



The underground level of “1300 Years Bulgaria”, Sofia, May 2008.

it virtually impossible to associate its shape with any stable visual referent: from one perspective it looks like a pyramidal structure, from another angle it resembles a monster with its head turned backwards—hence the numerous, sometimes insulting, labels it has acquired in the colloquial culture of the capital. The artists’ emphasis on three-dimensionality, movement, and abstraction not only succeeds in defying easy semantic references, but

7. See architect Pavel Popov’s recent article in *Kultura* about the complicated property status of the building and the surrounding space, about the privatization of some essential components of NDK such as a big parking lot and the English Courtyard in the back of the building, and about the continuous pressure to privatize under the rationality, strongly endorsed by several consecutive mayors, that the state and municipality manage property “badly,” while private owners are “good” managers. Pavel Popov, “NDK: Durzhaven? Obshtinski? Chasten?” *Kultura* 35, 17 October 2008, 5.

8. Valentin Starchev, public debate, Red House Center for Culture and Debate, 24 October 2008.

also leaves viewers with a sense of incompleteness and dissatisfaction unless they explore the uneven rhythms of the monument's protruding shapes and shady nooks, verticals and horizontals, unless their eyes follow the letters climbing the diagonals all the way up to the highest architectural component, thus making visitors engage actively with the surrounding space.

And while NDK still remains a well-maintained and functioning infrastructure for a variety of cultural, commercial, academic, and political events,⁹ the monument protruding in its vicinity is, on the contrary, in a dire state. Since it was erected in haste to make the anniversary celebrations deadline, its technical execution suffered some compromises, most notably the structural support of the edifice, for which an improvised metal construction was quickly designed to replace the planned solid concrete cast, the size of the marble tiling, and some improvised materials used for its installation.¹⁰ Consequently, the final version of the monument has strayed significantly from its original plan. Since 1989 there has been virtually no maintenance of the monument and the marble started falling off plate by plate, exposing the raw metal structure supporting it. Prior to the official visit of Pope John Paul II in 2001, the city boarded off the adjacent area.¹¹ Since then, the boarded area has become a hub for undesired activities of the post-socialist urban youth, from graffiti-writing to alcohol and substance abuse—right in the ideal center of the capital.

The legal status of the monument has further complicated attempts to assign responsibility to an appropriate institutional body for its current condition and fate. For over twenty years the land underneath the structure had ambiguous status, belonging neither to the state nor the city, another consequence of the rushed execution.¹² Some claim that the actual edifice was a “temporary” solution never legally approved by the Ministry of Culture, thus questioning the legality of the monument itself.¹³ Its property status was settled in October 2001 with a motion of the Ministry of Regional Development and Public Works, which assigned ownership to the municipality and automatically placed most of the financial burden of dealing with it on the city government. More recently, Sofia's mayor Boyko Borisov was reported to have stated publicly his intention to demolish the structure, citing the enormous amount of money necessary for its reconstruction and—not

unimportantly—his own aesthetic opinion,¹⁴ pitting himself against Minister of Culture Stefan Danailov and Director of NDK Hristo Drumev, both proponents of restoration, and against a small community of intellectuals, architects, and artists concerned about the destructive drive that has dominated the public moods for much of the last two decades.¹⁵

Almost half a year of unproductive back-and-forths between the Mayor's Office and the Ministry of Culture, the fate of the monument's future is still pending and the debate at the Red House in October was meant to reignite the fading energies. Participants included Hristo Drumev, Director of NDK, Petur Dikov, Chief Architect of the City of Sofia, architect Todor Bulev, Deputy Head of the Union of the Bulgarian Architects (*Suyuz na Bulgarskite Arhitekti*), and visual artist Luchezar Boyadzhiev, whose recent work looks at the contradictions of post-socialist public space. The room was packed with public figures and ordinary citizens, who were encouraged, following the initial statements of the invitees, to take a stance on how to proceed with the monument. With the exception of Hristo Drumev, Director of NDK, who invited for contextualization of the work within the surrounding public space and offered NDK's help in restoring it, the discussion was dominated by a mixture of “professional” verdicts and “non-professional” judgments on the aesthetic qualities of the work. Architect Todor Bulev argued that in order to reach a reasonable solution, we need to take the monument out of its political context and decide its fate based on aesthetic principles and consider making interventions that respond to the city's contemporary visual environment. Similarly, Sofia's Chief Architect Petur Dikov proposed to save the monument but remove the “unnecessary” marble tiling and leave the “elegant” and “interesting” metal construction supporting it. Professional expertise and loaded aesthetic categories used with little self-reflection were the chief weapons used in the discussion, and they served to depoliticize the object and the debate around it. One is left to wonder, however, whose perspective and whose privilege hides behind judgments that employ such aesthetic categories, and even more importantly, what normative values and political investments they may betray. Artist Luchezar Boyadzhiev proposed a project, infused with irony and humor, to alter the monument by covering its base with

9. Architect Pavel Popov wrote how the project's disproportionate ambitions posed enormous financial challenges to maintain it and utilize it fully both during socialism and after 1989, and noted the immense efforts and creativity of current Director Hristo Drumev, thanks to whom the building has been functioning exceptionally well under the current conditions. Pavel Popov, “NDK: Durzhaven? Obshtinski? Chasten?,” 5.

10. Petur Dikov, public debate, Red House Center for Culture and Debate, 24 October 2008.

11. Vesselin Dimitrov, “(Monu)mentalna glupost: Istoriyata na pametnika pred NDK e pulna s nelepi greshki. Kraynoto reshenie za negovoto budeshite nablizhava,” *Kapital* 15, 12-18 April 2008, 40-41.

12. Vesselin Dimitrov, “Monumentalna Glupost,” 40-41.

13. Stela Stoyanova, “Pametnikut se raztsepil predi zavrshvaneto si. Stolichani na nozh za kolosa pred NDK. Ne mozhe pri zhiv avtor da go butnat, vuzmushtava se suzdatelyat mu Valentin Starchev,” *Standart* 5475, 7 April 2008, 16.

14. Stela Stoyanova, “Pametnikut se raztsepil predi zavrshvaneto si,” 16.

15. Svetlomira Dimitrova, “Kmet sreshtu ministur zaradi pametnika pred NDK” *Dnevnik*, 10 April 2008, 18.

a pyramidal structure in the spirit of the corporate glass-and-steel aesthetic of the capital's recent neoliberal urban development, perhaps to underscore visually the absurdities of post-socialist urban evolution, but unfortunately to offer no responsible and serious articulation of what political statement such intervention would endorse if it were to be taken seriously. I was somewhat surprised by a comment made by Irina Genova, one of the most prominent and erudite contemporary art historians and visual theorists currently active in the country. She remarked that there is no cultural institution in Sofia that is originally conceived, planned, and constructed to function as an institution of memory: the National Gallery is housed in the former Royal Palace, she noted; the Gallery for Foreign Art adopted part of the former National Printhouse; the Museum of Archaeology inhabits the former Buyuk Djami; a former casino has been converted to fit the needs of the Sofia City Art Gallery (*Sofijska Gradska Hudozhestvena Galerija*), and so on.¹⁶ During the early seventies, she continued, the state began collecting resources for a cultural institution of collective memory; however, funding was diverted towards NDK and *1300 Years Bulgaria*. "I have no opinion on whether to leave or demolish the monument," Genova stated, "but I would like to appeal for discontinuing the spending on such monuments at a moment when we continue to live in a city that defines itself as a capital but has not erected its own institution of memory yet."¹⁷

Now, Genova might have had good reasons to intervene and shift the focus of the conversation towards an ongoing public outcry about the neglect towards contemporary cultural institutions, towards the lack of contemporary art venues, towards the needs for financial and infrastructural resources for contemporary culture—and I am addressing this debate elsewhere.¹⁸ What surprised me was the implied statement that a monument such as *1300 Years Bulgaria* does not function effectively as a cultural institution of memory. It points to methodological presumptions that set very particular limits on our understanding of both what constitutes an institution and what we mean by culture. For what else could a monument be, if not a powerful institution of material culture—a discursive agency that utters us into a community and enables particular cultural self-understanding, a political agency that actively synthesizes, monopolizes, and institutionalizes the production of collective memory, and a material agency that mediates our social relationship through the space it organizes,

that interpellates our socially mediated subjectivity and conditions the terrains of our agency within its material givens? The limits to such object-oriented methodological approaches should definitely be taken into account when we try to understand, analyze, and decide the fate of our material culture. They often see socialism's material legacies as the stale products of a transparent, two-dimensional state ideology that failed to deliver its doctrine to the subjects it addressed, as the inactive remnants of an unattainable utopian vision—rather than taking into account their material power that has silently generated subjective experiences, interpellated social orders, and provided the material conditions for the subjects' limited agencies.

In other words, what I would like to ask here is *not* how projects such as the *1300 Years Bulgaria* find themselves, inscribe themselves, and fit into a pre-given urban environment, but rather how these numerous micro-cosmic environments actively produce our relation to the surrounding space that we so easily perceive as neutral. It is not a question how they fit into a particular, and no doubt dynamic—too dynamic maybe—contemporary urban context, but how they themselves actively produce that context and our relationship to it. I grew up in Plovdiv, and back in the early 1990s, when I was in high-school, there was a similar public debate about the *Monument to the Unknown Soviet Soldier*. The project is part of an ambitious large-scale initiative of the new Bulgarian socialist state, initiated by the ministry of People's Defense, to commemorate the victory of socialism over fascism, to heroicize the Soviet "army-liberator" across country, and in many cases including Plovdiv's, to relocate from nearby sites the bones of the victims of the Soviet army's WWII offensive against Nazi Germany, the improvised burials of which have been randomly scattered across the lands of the new Bulgarian state.

Contrary to common assumptions that such projects were planned centrally, commissioned from above, and funded top-down, each region was given considerable autonomy to develop the conceptual and aesthetic vision of their project, taking into account the geographical and architectural givens of the region, the local histories of the war, and the public opinion of local communities. The Ministry of People's Defense ordered the administrative regions of Sofia, Vidin, Plevna, Plovdiv, Stara Zagora, Nova Zagora, Yambol, Russe, Sliven, Dobrich, Burgas,

16. See Irina Genova's careful and sensitive work on the institutionalization of Bulgarian modernisms as part of the national project, a process which incorporates various exchanges with the European and Balkan artistic communities while simultaneously shaping the experience of modern city life. *Modernizmi i modernost: Nevuzmozhnost za istorizirane: Izkustvo v Bulgaria i hudozhestven obmen s balkanski strani* (Sofia: Ida, 2004).

17. Irina Genova, public debate, Red House Center for Culture and Debate, 24 October 2008.

18. "Socialist Subjects, Post-socialist Cultural Conditions, and Neoliberal Development in Bulgaria," presented at the conference *Migration of Subversion: Living on a Border*, organized by Peace Institute for Contemporary Social and Political Studies, Ljubljana, Slovenia, 21-23 November 2008. The paper will be published in a future issue of the Slovenian journal *Borec*.

19. See Third Decree of the Council of the Ministry of People's Defense, Sector "Museums, Monuments, and Military Cemeteries" from 26 December 1947, Protocol No. 191. See also Veneta Ivanova's discussion in her *Bulgarskata monumentalna skulptura: razvitie i problemi* (Sofia: Bulgarski Hudozhnik, 1978), 113, and Footnote 4 to Chapter 3, 280.

Shumen, Varna, and Kula to initiate commemorative projects and to announce calls for competitions.¹⁹ The decree ordered each region to form initiative committees, giving them the right to gain ownership of the sites chosen for the purpose by “expropriating” it or purchasing it from their previous owners.²⁰ Such committees were complex bodies, a combination of state and regional political and administrative institutions, cultural and public organizations.²¹ The projects were only partly funded by the Ministry of the People’s Defense. Committees were responsible for raising their own funds from donations by public organizations, industrial enterprises, and private individuals.²²

Thus, within less than ten years from 9 September 1944, the geography of socialist Bulgaria was engraved with a vast number of site- and context-specific socialist realist monumental works, which were simultaneously acts of legitimation of the new state power and public displays of gratitude, loyalty, and allegiance to the Soviet state, often conveyed in the official language by the single word “friendship” (*druzhiba*).²³ The winning project for Plovdiv’s monument was chosen out of four submitted projects after a difficult deliberation process that took several years. It is authored by a collective of architects, sculptors, and artists, led by sculptor Vassil Radoslavov.²⁴ It required a redrafting of the initial project several times and the execution of two consecutive full-size prototypes, which were installed temporarily at the chosen site—one of the three tall granite hills around which the city is comfortably settled—to test concerns about conceptual relevance, visual impact, urban development, and recreational utility.²⁵ Special consideration was given to the synthesis of conceptual, aesthetic, and utilitarian aspects, where impact was sought both on micro

and macro levels: important points of discussion were the composition’s effect of monumentality when viewed from up close; its architectural effect within the immediate urban and natural environment; the proportionality of its components and the composition’s site-specific visual solution given the rocky and edgy structure of the hill; and the monument’s visibility in the easily recognizable cityscape.²⁶ The result was a simple and somewhat imposing symmetrical composition of a massive singular figure standing still on a high pedestal mounted on Plovdiv’s second-highest granite hill.²⁷ It is supported by a solid concrete and metal construction inside, covered in thick blocks of Vitoshka mountain granite.

Considering the distinctive view of the city with its three sharply protruding granite formations in the middle of the vast Thracian valley, the silhouette of the *Unknown Soldier* easily stands out as the city’s landmark, recognizable from miles away.

One can approach the giant via the two wide cobbled-stone alleys on both sides of the hill which zig-zag sharply to manage the incline, by occasionally taking the numerous staircase shortcuts, or by hiking up the steep improvised paths, well-trodden over the years. As if to signal the end of the long hike, the figure of the soldier emerges suddenly, comfortably standing there with all its austerity and might, with its expressly monumental forms and overly emphasized masculine volumes



“Monument to the Unknown Soviet Soldier,” Plovdiv, November 2008.

20. Third Decree of the Council of the Ministry of People’s Defense, Protocol No. 191.

21. For a short history of Plovdiv’s *Monument to the Unknown Soldier*; see Vassil Naydenov, *Stoi na tepeto Alyosha...* (Plovdiv: Zhanet 45, 2002).

22. At the time that the Plovdiv Committee circulated a closed competition for the monument, it also opened a call for donations. According to the numbers Naydenov gives, the Ministry of People’s Defense contributes with one million levs—only one-sixth of the overall amount of close to 6.5 million levs collected by various public organizations, private individuals, and administrative institutions. Thus the City Municipality participates with two million levs; the Plovdiv Women’s Association Ana May contributes with 12,000 levs; the Women’s Association of the Wives of the Officers from the Plovdiv Garrison contributes with 10,000 levs; various nearby city and town municipalities participate with considerable amounts. Vassil Naydenov, *Stoi na tepeto Alyosha...*, 17, and Appendix 29, p. 139.

23. Some of these are Ivan Lazarov’s *Monument to the Soviet Army* in Stara Zagora from 1949; Ivan Funev’s *Monument to the Soviet Army* in Kula from 1949-51; Vassil Radoslavov’s *Monument to the Soviet Army* in Sliven from 1952; *Monument to the Soviet Soldier* by sculptors Vassil Radoslavov and Aneta Atanasova, and architect Milko Milkov in Burgas from 1953; the charnel house (*Bratska Mogila*) near Sofia’s boul. Cherni Vruh from 1956; as well as the projects in Yambol, Shumen, Plevan, Tolbuhin, and Russe. One of the most exemplary urban projects is the *Monument to the Soviet Army* from 1953 in the center of Sofia, reminiscent of the Treptower Park in Berlin, designed by an extensive collective of architects, urban planners, and artists. For a well-documented study of the monuments from the socialist realism period in Bulgaria, see Veneta Ivanova, *Bulgarskata monumentalna skulptura: razvitie i problemi* (Sofia: Bulgarski Hudozhnik, 1978).

24. Leader of the project and author of the main figure is Vassil Radoslavov. The collective includes sculptors Alexandur Zankov, Georgi Kotzev, Ivan Topalov, and architects Boris Markov, Petar Tzvetkov, and Assen Marangozov. Vassil Naydenov, *Stoi na tepeto Alyosha...*, 19-29; Veneta Ivanova, *Bulgarskata monumentalna skulptura*, 307.

25. Vassil Naydenov, *Stoi na tepeto Alyosha...*, 21-29.

26. The final solution evolved out of several drafts, which initially included three male figures and a large flag. For a discussion on the different versions of the project, see Vassil Naydenov, *Stoi na tepeto Alyosha...*, 11-15, and Veneta Ivanova, *Bulgarskata monumentalna skulptura*, footnote 6 to Chapter 3, 281.

27. Ivanova offers a critique of the final version which, according to her analysis, has failed to produce a distinct silhouette appropriate to the site’s unusually good visibility. Veneta Ivanova, *Bulgarskata monumentalna skulptura*, 123.

communicating strength and vigor.²⁸ Its official dedication, sealed in a capsule and built into the base of the monument, unequivocally states: "...[in honor of] the Soviet Army and its genius troop leader (*pulkovodec*) Joseph Stalin."²⁹

In the early 1990s, a public debate opened in the city over what to do with the *Unknown Soldier* in the new political context. Plovdiv's monument constitutes a very different contextual and technical challenge from that of *1300 Years Bulgaria* and opens very different questions regarding its memorial functions in relationship to national history. This gigantic and almost unparalleled in its monumental ambition homage to the Soviet army constitutes one of the most ideologically direct material inscriptions by the young socialist state, and the *Unknown Soldier* is certainly anything but a subtle statement, both a gesture of loyalty and an act of subservience, constituting the visibility of Soviet power and its real solid, material presence. Many have argued after 1989 that such a visual and material presence, occupying the city's second-highest hill, is much too imposing. It should not be left, the argument goes, to dominate the city's visual landscape. Plovdiv prides itself on layers of historical traditions, from the remains of amphitheaters, stadiums, agoras, wide stone roads, and sophisticated water and sewage systems of a large cultural and trade-route center during the Macedonian and Roman empires, some of which have been excavated and meticulously restored, while others inevitably lying underground and serving as the structural base to subsequent development; to being a home to some of the finest mosques and baths in the Balkans built by the Ottomans in the fourteenth century; to having one of the biggest clusters of public and private architecture of the national Revival period from the nineteenth century, built by the newly emerged bourgeois class of complex ethnic composition; to the eclectic European architecture from the beginning of the twentieth century, when the young nation turned westward and strove to make its European aspirations a material reality at home. In this not uncomplicated situation of material heritage, the argument continues, the *Monument to the Unknown Soldier* should not be allowed to dominate the visual environment and hijack the city's symbolic representation.



"Monument to the Unknown Soviet Soldier," Plovdiv, November 2008.

But as in Sofia's case, the debate reflected a sharp political divide over socialism's meanings and experiences and showed an equal lack of awareness for the project's active role in producing and organizing urban space. Besides the actual physical removal of the monument, proposals for its symbolic dethroning included ideas to rename it or turn it over to a local or international artist for an artistic intervention, along with some other much less sophisticated and sometimes ridiculing ideas. Thus for most of the early nineties, the monument lived an intense and uncertain life. One of the most contested sites in the city's political life, on certain days the soldier would welcome nostalgic visits and red carnations laid in his feet, while on other mornings he would wake up abused by swastikas and offensive graffiti.

The debate intensified in 1996 under Spas Gurnevski, the then-mayor of Plovdiv and member of the Union of the Democratic Forces (*SDS*), the major westward-looking, right-leaning party, demanding democratic reforms of state institutions, privatization of state property, market liberalization, and the development of private entrepreneurship—the party that mobilized the democratic progressive movements from the early nineties. Enjoying strong support among the predominantly "blue" city, Gurnevski drafted a proposal to be voted in the City Council to "dethrone" the "granite soldier inherited from the totalitarian past."³⁰ In an article in *Standart*, Gurnevski himself states: "The question about [the monument] in Plovdiv is not just about whether it should be removed or destroyed. The question is whether it should be taken down as a symbol."³¹ Gurnevski's proposal was voted on April 19, 1996 by the Plovdiv City Council. It was opposed by an immediately formed local association for the preservation of the monument, by some local public figures, and paradoxically—by the Plovdiv Orthodox Metropolitanate, which reminded the community that the monument is also a charnel house and its demolition would disturb the remains of the dead. The City Council's order was contested in the Regional Court and overturned on June 20 on the basis of a treaty signed in the early 1990s between Presidents Zhelev and Yeltsin that binds Bulgaria to an agreement with Russia to preserve the latter's cultural and historical heritage.³²

Before 1989, the monument functioned as a site for elaborately organized collective visits, for official rituals on state holidays such as September 9 and May 9, and for a site where official guests were taken. The city made it a custom to take every astronaut visiting Plovdiv up to the hill, including Gagarin, and have them plant a tree in the vicinity. In 1974, a massive pantheon of national history was

Continued on page 25

28. The overall height of the monument, including the pedestal, is 17.30 meters (more than 50 feet). The North and South sides of the massive base have anchored two dynamic multi-figure lime-stone reliefs, one depicting a moment of ordinary people greeting the Red Army in Bulgaria in 1944 (sculptor Alexander Zankov), the other narrating a moment from the Frontline (sculptor Georgi Kotzev).

29. The full text is transcribed by Vassil Naydenov, *Stoi na tepeto Alyosha...*, Appendix 2, p. 70.

30. Valeri Todorov, "Cherveni postove shte braniat podstupite kum pametnika na Alyosha." *Standart* 1276, 5 April 1996, p. 6.

31. Spas Gurnevski, "Iskame da svalim pametnika na Alyosha kato simbol," *Standart* 1471, 21 October 1996, 14.

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The ISEEES General Support Fund is an unrestricted fund that is used to: provide travel grants to affiliated graduate and undergraduate students for the purpose of presenting papers at academic conferences; provide research assistance to affiliated faculty members; convene conferences, open to the public, that examine current topics in Slavic, East European, and Eurasian studies; host an annual reception to foster community building among faculty, students, and the public; and augment the state and grant funds that provide minimal support for ISEEES operations.

ISEEES Graduate Student Support Fund

The ISEEES Graduate Student Support Fund is a new UCB Foundation endowment that was established by a generous gift from an anonymous donor. When fully funded, the ISEEES Graduate Student Support Fund will be used to support graduate students in the field of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies. The endowment was launched by the initial gift and matching funds from the Graduate Division. Additional gifts to the Fund are encouraged and gratefully accepted.

Colin and Elsa Miller Endowment Fund

The Annual Colin Miller Memorial Lecture honors the memory of a journalist and radio and TV producer who was devoted to the Center for Slavic and East European Studies (as ISEEES was called before the year 2000). The endowment funds an annual lecture given by a respected scholar in the field of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies.

Hungarian Studies Fund

This fund promotes the teaching of the Hungarian language at UC Berkeley, provides research assistance to faculty and students studying Hungarian topics, and supports lectures, workshops, and conferences devoted to Hungarian studies.

Fund for Romanian Studies

This fund promotes the teaching of the Romanian language at UC Berkeley; supports lectures, workshops, and conferences devoted to Romanian topics; and provides research assistance to faculty and students pursuing Romanian studies.

FLAS Fellowship Awards

Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) fellowships enable US citizens and permanent residents to acquire a high level of competency in modern foreign languages. FLAS funding for Russian and East European languages comes to UC Berkeley through a Title VI grant from the US Department of Education to ISEEEES. Applications are accepted through the Graduate Fellowship Office.

Awards for Summer 2009

Sarah Cramsey, Department of History, received funding to study Polish at the University of Pittsburgh.

Sarah Garding, Department of Political Science, received funding for intensive study of Serbo-Croatian in Zagreb.

Cammeron Girvin, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, received funding to study Bulgarian at the New Bulgarian University and Sofia University, Bulgaria.

Michelle Reid Hamel, Department of Demography, received funding to study Tajiki at Arizona State University.

Elise Herrala, Department of Sociology, received funding to study Russian at Berkeley.

Anastasia Kayiatos, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, received funding for study of Russian at the Summer Program 2009, Moscow State University.

Tony Lin, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, received funding to study Polish at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow.

Douglas O'Reagan, Department of History, received funding for study of Russian at Berkeley.

Malgorzata Szajbel-Keck, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, received funding to study Czech at Charles University in Prague.

Awards for AY 2009-2010

Nina Aron, Department of Anthropology, received a fellowship to study Russian.

Sarah Cramsey, Department of History, received a fellowship to study Polish.

Bathsheba Demuth, Department of History, received a fellowship to study Russian.

Elise Herrala, Department of Sociology, received a fellowship to study Russian.

Traci Lindsey, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, received a fellowship to study Romanian.

Sara Moore, School of Public Policy, received a fellowship to study Serbo-Croatian.

Japhet Weeks, School of Journalism, received a fellowship to study Russian.

BPS Fellowship Awards

Awards for Summer 2009

Alexandre Beliaev, Department of Anthropology, for dissertation field research in Riga, Latvia.

Robia Charles Farrell, Department of Political Science, for dissertation field research in Tbilisi, Georgia

Nicole Eaton, Department of History, for work on her dissertation on Königsberg/Kaliningrad.

Monica Eppinger, Department of Anthropology, for dissertation field research in Ukraine.

Theocharis Gregoriadis, Department of Political Science, for dissertation research on the social legitimacy of authoritarian regimes.

Anastasia Kayiatos, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, for archival research work on her dissertation on Soviet pantomime after Stalin.

Alexis Peri, Department of History, for dissertation research project on the Leningrad blockade.

Erik Scott, Department of History, for dissertation research on the Georgian diaspora in the Soviet Union.

Charles Shaw, Department of History, for field research in Tashkent and Samarkand, Uzbekistan.

Susanne Wengle, Department of Political Science, for work on her dissertation on "Power Politics: The Political Economy of Market-Making in Russia's Electricity Sector."

Awards for AY 2009-10

Zhivka Valiavicharska, Department of Rhetoric, for work on her dissertation titled "Neoliberalism, Critical Discourses, and the Future of Progressive Politics in Post-Socialist Bulgaria."

Elizabeth Wenger, Department of History, for work on her dissertation "Matters of State, Matters of Consciousness: Censorship in Poland and the DDR under Stalin."

David Beecher, Department of History, for work on his dissertation on Tartu University in Estonia.

Eleonory Gilburd, Department of History, for work on her dissertation on foreign culture in the Soviet Union, 1955-1968.

Cindy Huang, Department of Anthropology, for work on her dissertation on ethics and modernity in Uyghur China.

Faculty and Student News

Sener Akturk filed his dissertation *Redefining Ethnicity and Belonging: Persistence and Transformation in Regimes of Ethnicity in Germany, Turkey, Soviet Union, and the Russian Federation* in July 2009. He will be a post-doctoral fellow at the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies at Harvard University in 2009-2010 academic year, where he will also teach a course on the *Comparative Politics of the Post-Soviet States* in Spring 2010. He will then take up a faculty position as an Assistant Professor of International Relations at Koc University, Istanbul, starting in Fall 2010.

Robia Charles, Ph.D. candidate in political science, published an article she wrote at the Caucasus Research Resource Center (CRRC) in Spring 2009 as a BPS Working Paper. It is entitled *Religiosity and Trust in Religious Institutions: Tales from the South Caucasus (Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia)*.

Sarah Garding, Ph.D. candidate in political science, received the Outstanding Graduate Student Instructor award last spring, and received an IREX-IARO for fieldwork in Croatia, Serbia, and Ukraine for 2009 - 2010.

Mark Aaron Keck-Szajbel, Ph.D. candidate in history, received the Hertelendy Fellowship for study in Berkeley, Budapest, and Vienna during the 2009-10 academic year. Additionally, he presented two papers: *Budapest – New Worlds for Travel in East Central Europe* at the 34th Annual Conference of the American Hungarian Educators' Association, 15 May, 2009 and *It's the Journey, not the Destination: Hitchhiking as Getaway in Communist Poland* at the 2009 Joint Conference of the National Popular Culture and American Culture Associations, 10 April, 2009.

Hugh McLean, professor of Slavic languages and literatures, had a review essay in *Tolstoy Studies Journal* (vol. XX, 2008) on the supposed "original" version of *War and Peace*. He also taught a freshman seminar on that novel in Fall 2008.

Gerard Roland, professor of economics and political science, was asked by United Nations University - World Institute for Development Economics Research to organize a conference in Helsinki on September 18 and 19 titled *Reflections on Transition: Twenty Years After The Fall of The Berlin Wall* which will regroup most of the economists who played a major role in economic research on transition. http://www.wider.unu.edu/events/2009-conferences/Transition/en_GB/transition-index

Erik R. Scott, Ph.D. candidate in history, presented at the annual convention of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, held at Columbia University from April 23-25, 2009. His paper, *The Georgian Diaspora in the Soviet Union: Legacies of Empire and Ethnicity in Russia and Georgia*, was awarded the prize for Best Doctoral Student Paper on Russia, Ukraine and the Caucasus.

Victoria Smolkin, Ph.D. candidate in history, received the Charlotte Newcombe Dissertation Fellowship (on Ethical and Religious Values) for the 2009-2010 academic year.

Cinzia Solari, Ph.D. candidate in sociology, received the Department of Sociology 2009-10 Leo Lowenthal Fellowship. She also received a BPS Travel grant to present the paper: *Between "Europe" and "Africa": Building the "New" Ukraine on the Shoulders of Migrant Women* (which was later published as a BPS working paper), and the paper: *Exile and Exodus: The Affects of Migration Pattern on Transnational Families and the "New" Ukraine*. Her paper: *"Prostitutes" and "Defectors": Constructing Ukraine as a Sending Country* has been solicited to be part of a volume on how migrants impact their homeland edited by Susan Echstein and Adil Najam.

Alyson Tapp, Ph.D. candidate in Slavic languages and literatures, participated in the roundtable *The Rise and Fall of the Russian Novel: The Paradigm Reconsidered* at AATSEEL, San Francisco, December 2008. She also published the article *"Kak byt' pisatelem?": Boris Eikhenbaum's response to the Crisis of the Novel in the 1920s in Slavonica* 15:1, April 2009.

Katalin Voros, EECS MS1984 and Berkeley Microlab Operations Manager since 1986, as well as an ISEEEES friend and frequent collaborator on Hungarian topics and events, was awarded the Gold Cross of Merit of the Republic of Hungary for her outstanding dedication and achievement among Hungarian Americans. This national recognition from the Hungarian Office of the President is awarded for advancing the interests of the independent and democratic Hungary. The Gold Cross was presented to Ms. Voros by His Excellency Balázs Bokor, Ambassador of Hungary and Consul General of Hungary in Los Angeles who described Ms. Voros' work as instrumental to "helping maintain the identity of the Hungarian community in Northern California and solidifying the interaction of Hungarian scientists with the United States." The award ceremony took place in Sacramento at the State Capital building on August 20, 2009. The ceremony was scheduled in coordination with passage of State Senate Resolution 1096 by Senator Fran Pavley (23rd Senatorial District). This Resolution recognized this year's Hungarian National Founding Holiday (August 20, 2009) as Hungary Day in California.

Crucibles of Political Loyalty: Church Institutions and Electoral Continuity in Hungary (Cambridge University Press, 2006), a book by **Jason Wittenberg**, Assistant Professor of Political Science, has been selected for the 2009 Hubert Morken Award, given by the American Political Science Association for the best book on religion and politics published in 2006 or 2007.

Campus Visitors

Helge Blakkisrud will be a visiting researcher during the 2009-2010 academic year. He currently serves as the head of the Department for Russian and Eurasian Studies at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI), in Oslo, and he took a sabbatical year in order to finish his Ph.D. at Berkeley. His visit is sponsored by a Fulbright grant, and, while in Berkeley, he will continue working on his dissertation on Russian federalism and the process of decentralization and recentralization under Yeltsin and Putin.

Elira Karaja will be a visiting student researcher with ISEEEES from October 2009 to October 2010. She is a Ph.D. candidate in economics at the Institute for Advanced Studies IMT in Lucca, Italy. Her visit is funded by the Institute for Advanced Studies, and, during her time at Berkeley, she will conduct research for her dissertation, under the supervision of Professor Gerard Roland.

Eva Loy is a visiting student researcher with ISEEEES during the 2009-2010 academic year. She is currently studying at a Masters program at the European University Viadrina in Frankfurt (Oder), in Germany. Her visit is sponsored by her university. Her field is Socio-Cultural

studies with an emphasis on linguistic minorities, especially Russian-Speaking Minorities in the South Caucasus. During her time in Berkeley, she will continue conducting research for her thesis, and she will take various classes from experts in her field.

Vahram Ter-Matevosyan is a visiting student researcher with ISEEEES during the 2009-2010 academic year. He holds a Ph.D. in History from Yerevan State University and is a doctoral student at the University of Bergen, Norway. He is also the Head of the Analytical Centre at the Institute for National Strategic Studies, Armenia. His visit is sponsored by a Fulbright grant, and during his time in Berkeley, he will conduct research on prospects of national security strategies in the South Caucasian Republics.

Ayselin Yildiz is a visiting student researcher with ISEEEES from September 15, 2009 to February 15, 2010. She is a Ph.D. candidate in International Relations at the Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey. She is also a lecturer and director of European Union Research Center at Yasar University, Izmir, Turkey. Yasar University is funding her visit, during which she will research migration policies of the European Union.

ISEEEES and EU Center Awards

The Peter N. Kujachich Endowment in Serbian and Montenegrin Studies provided a dissertation fellowship to **Elena Nelson**, Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures. Her research topic is “Temporality and Narrative Structure in Church Slavonic,” and it deals with the structure of the liturgical language of the Serbian Orthodox church.

Additionally, the endowment provided a grant to The Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures at UC Berkeley to support teaching of Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian language at two levels per year.

The Hertelendy Graduate Fellowship in Hungarian Studies was awarded to **Mark Keck-Szajbel**, Ph.D. candidate in the Department of History, to conduct research on the socio-cultural history of Comecon – the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Mark is focusing on intra-bloc foreign tourism within the Eastern Block during the 1970s and 1980s.

Alexandre Beliaev, Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Anthropology, received an **EU Center grant** for Summer 2009 for a pre-dissertation research project titled *Specters of Soviet Affinity: Political Participation among Latvia's Noncitizens*. This project investigates practices and categories of political practice among Latvia's “noncitizens,” many of whom are Soviet Russians who, following the restoration of Latvian independence in 1991, refused to participate in Latvia's national integration.

Zhivka Valiavicharska, Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Rhetoric, received an **EU Center grant** for Summer 2009 for a dissertation research project titled *Culture as a Technology of Neoliberal Governance in Post-Socialist Southeastern Europe*. This dissertation examines the growing number of internationally funded projects in the fields of arts and culture in the Balkans, designed to promote peace “from below” by encouraging cross-border cultural exchange and multi-ethnic regional collaboration. The project argues, however, that the call for peace and mutual understanding is not just a humanitarian endeavor: there is a strong neoliberal rationality present in the agendas of international cultural policy-makers.

Kafka and the Fate of the Body in a Surveillance Society: A Foucauldian Reading of Franz Kafka's *In The Penal Colony*

Daniela Stoica

Daniela Stoica is Assistant Professor at the Department of Foreign Languages at University Fan S. Noli in Korçë, Albania. She was a visiting scholar with ISEES during the Spring 2009 semester.

Franz Kafka's life and writings have been the object of many literary interpretations and debates which have continuously over-emphasized such aspects as solitude, guilt or trauma. In response to these (mis)interpretations, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, in *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature*,¹ discuss Kafka's works as a "line of escape," while one is paradoxically inside the cage, as a way out of all systems of power, including ideology, which are in place before one is born.

According to Deleuze and Guattari, Kafka's answer to the question "Is there a way out?" which seems to underlie all of his writings, appears to be the method of a minor literature whose main characteristic is the "deterritorialization of the language" and its essentially political nature. As a result, the deterritorialization of the language implies the rupture of its symbolic order both in terms of contents and form, and the intrusion of the real, perceived as a site of intensities and of things fundamentally in motion. The much discussed Oedipal triangle becomes a pattern for social, economical, and political relations of power. Human beings are seen in two fundamental ways: subjected to power (as subjects) and being agents of power at the same time, status highlighted by Judith Butler in *The Psychic Life of Power*:

Subjection consists precisely in this fundamental dependency on a discourse we never chose but that, paradoxically, initiates and sustains our agency. "Subjection" signifies the process of becoming subordinated by power as well as the process of becoming a subject.²

Even though human beings internalize power to a great extent, becoming both subjects and agents of power, Butler, following Freud's line of thinking, emphasizes that there is an interiority within the human being, whereas for Kafka, the human body is made up only of surfaces. Such a conceptualization of the body, praised by Deleuze and Guattari, is in tune with their theory on "the body without organs," a body conceived as a hollow sphere whose surface is structured by patterns of intensities. In other words, Kafka's stories seem to focus on the human body, seen as

made up only of surfaces, but also as a "desiring machine,"³ a mechanism, a tool through which power is exerted, a kind of extension or capillary of the power system itself.

Kafka's story *In the Penal Colony* seems to illustrate very well the relationship between the human body and power or, speaking in more general terms, the relationship between the human body and the discursive practices inscribed upon it.

Its action takes place in a penal colony that does not have a name or a clear location. From the few details scattered throughout the narration, one may suppose that the penal colony probably belongs to a colonial power, whose name is never mentioned. Its location seems to be in one of those conquered countries, on a far away island. The only specific information given at the end is that access to it is possible only by ship. Consequently, the penal colony carries a complex symbolism: on the one hand, it may stand for a colonial power which imposes its culture and language on the culture of a conquered country; on the other hand, the penal colony may be looked upon as a micro-power system within and, paradoxically enough, at the same time separate from a larger power system. Such a system, if it is seen as functioning independently from the larger one, may be very well associated with the state of exception in which sovereign power makes its presence felt by the right to suspend law, to situate itself outside law. Consequently, the island where the penal colony and its prisoners are located may very well echo the state of exception that characterized the Guantanamo Bay prison – its geographical location outside the borders of the United States, on Cuban land but not under Cuban rule, and its prisoners, whose very rights and ontological status as humans and subjects were suspended, are kept in indefinite detention. The concept of "indefinite detention," discussed by Judith Butler in one of her essays included in the volume *Precarious Life*, "does not signify an exceptional circumstance, but, rather, the means by which the exceptional becomes established as a naturalized norm."⁴ Moreover, the isolation of the prison from the rest of the world may also be interpreted as a deprivation of its prisoners of their social dimension

1. Gilles Deleuze, and Félix Guattari. *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature*. Theory and History of Literature, v. 30. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986) 16.

2. Judith Butler. "Introduction," *The Psychic Life of Power*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997) 2.

3. Gilles Deleuze, and Félix Guattari. *Anti-Oedipus, Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, translated by Robert Hurley. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).

4. Judith Butler. "Indefinite Detention," *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence*. (New York: Verso, 2004) 67.

and their reduction to bare life. The concept of “bare life,” which is central in Giorgio Agamben’s book *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*,⁵ designates the status human beings have when they are deprived of their rights of citizenship, and thus they enter a suspended zone, neither living in the sense that a “political animal” lives, in community and bound by law, nor dead and, therefore, outside the constituting condition of the rule of law.

Last but not least, one cannot overlook the striking resemblance between the penal colony and Jeremy Bentham’s Panopticon described in detail by Foucault in *Discipline and Punish*. Foucault compares modern society with Bentham’s Panopticon design for prisons, where a single guard can watch over many prisoners while the guard himself remains unseen. The dark dungeon of pre-modernity has been replaced with the bright modern prison, but Foucault cautions that “visibility is a trap.” It is through this visibility, Foucault writes, that modern society exercises its controlling systems of power and knowledge (terms which Foucault believes to be so fundamentally connected that he often combines them in the single hyphenated concept, “power-knowledge”). Increasing visibility leads to power located on an increasingly individualized level, shown by the ability of institutions to track individuals throughout their lives. Foucault suggests that a “great carceral continuum”⁶ runs through modern society, from the maximum security prison, through secure accommodation, probation, social workers, police, and teachers, to our everyday working and domestic lives. All are connected by the supervision, surveillance, application of norms of acceptable behavior of some humans by others. This way, *Discipline and Punish* analyses the micro-power structures that developed in Western societies since the 18th century with special focus on prisons and schools.

The Symbolism of the Apparatus

But let us return to Kafka’s story whose plot is triggered by the act of disobedience of a soldier, who insults his superior, an act that leads to the soldier’s sentence to death and execution. The execution is to be carried out by the Officer of the penal colony, who, together with the Old Commandant, invented and developed a terrifying torture machine, called “the Apparatus,” which is made up of three parts — the Harrow, the Bed and the Designer.

According to its dictionary definition, a harrow is a piece of farming equipment that is pulled over land that

has been ploughed to break up the earth before planting. This definition directly connects this element of the torture machine to the primary meaning of the word “culture,” which is “cultivating the land.”⁷ Thus, on a metaphorical level, the torture machine may stand for the tools of the dominant culture, which imposes itself by force on the conquered culture (which is viewed as a land that needs to be cultivated). If one adopts Louis Althusser’s conceptual model concerning ideology developed in “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses,”⁸ the harrow may also carry a dual symbolism: it may stand for both the Repressive State Apparatuses (since it is an instrument of torture, inside a repressive institution) and the Ideological State Apparatuses (since it inscribes the death sentence directly on the condemned’s body, and the meaning of this sentence is understood by the condemned in a moment of euphoria or illumination just before his death). This undoubtedly brings up the debate on the relation between culture and politics discussed by Terry Eagleton in *The Idea of Culture*, where he states that “culture is more the product of politics rather than politics is the dutiful handmaiden of culture,”⁹ implying that politics is more influential on culture than the other way round. This is why, according to Eagleton, culture should no longer be connected to the spirit but to the body.

Furthermore, the definition of the harrow, that of breaking up, of shaping earth before being cultivated, implies the idea of uniformity and conformity to the rules and values imposed by a dominant culture; it also implies the idea of shaping, of bringing to some previously decided and accepted standards and norms, to the so-called “normal/normalization.” In this respect, the torture machine could be seen similar to the aggressive methods that a conquering culture (such as a colonial power) or a political power system uses in order to impose its values, its laws, and its order. Consequently, the torture machine may symbolize any system of power, whose aim is to control society, to discipline human beings, by shaping them socially, economically, intellectually. It is not by chance that “The harrow appears to do its work with uniform regularity.”¹⁰

While analyzing the meanings of The Harrow, one cannot forget the fact that this torture machine is a product of the human mind, an artifact, which has a certain purpose: to torture and finally kill. In this respect, it may stand for the tools human beings have invented throughout history to tame, to control nature, and later on to exert power on other human beings. In the Officer’s words, the machine

5. Giorgio Agamben. *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, translated by Daniela Heller-Roazen. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).

6. Michel Foucault. “The Carceral,” *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, translated by Alan Sheridan. (New York: Vintage Books, 1995) 297.

7. From the Latin verb *colere*.

8. Louis Althusser. “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses,” *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, translated by Ben Brewster. (London: Ben Brewster, NLB, 1971) 121-176.

9. Terry Eagleton. “Culture Wars,” *The Idea of Culture*. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 2000) 60.

10. Franz Kafka. “In the Penal Colony,” *The Complete Stories*, Nahum N. Glatzer, ed. (New York: Schocken Books, 1971) 147.

resembles those in mental hospitals: “You will have seen similar devices in hospitals.”¹¹ This remark reminds us of Foucault’s theory on hospitals, as institutions which control human bodies. Moreover, the shape of the harrow corresponds to the shape of the human body, as is stated by the Officer himself (“As you see, the shape of the Harrow corresponds to the human form...”¹²), implying that a system of power always adapts, re-shapes its own tools and methods in order to exert power effectively on human bodies. This idea is also supported by the remark that The Harrow was not like that since the moment of its creation, but that it was developed, improved in time, well taken care of (the Officer himself saw and contributed to that). Although the apparatus operates with great “artistry,” its violence is brought to the fore by several details in its construction — the numerous straps that hold the criminal secure and the stub of felt which the criminal must insert into his mouth to prevent him screaming and biting his tongue.

The torture machine even appears to have characteristics of an object of desire, of a fetish, since it seems to give pleasure both to the crowd witnessing the public executions and to the Officer. The way the Officer describes The Harrow, the minute details he gives in his descriptions, as well as his special preoccupation with the maintenance and functioning of the machine, make us suspect that he derives a kind of sadistic pleasure out of it. The executions themselves are described by the Officer as ceremonies led by the Old Commandant, during which the crowd seems to undergo an experience of catharsis:

A whole day before the ceremony the valley was packed with people; they all came only to look on... fanfares roused the whole camp... Before hundred of spectators- all of them standing on their tiptoe as far as the heights there- the condemned was laid under the Harrow by the Commandant himself.¹³

The uncanny aspect of these executions is that, from the Officer’s words, they seem to have a sacred dimension: the administration of Justice directly on the human body is almost similar to a kind of revelation: “Many did not care to watch it but lay with closed eyes in the sand; they all knew: Now Justice is being done.”¹⁴

Finally, the whole functioning system of The Harrow may also be compared to the technological system in a factory. In this respect, the human body may be looked upon as a product of a technological process, a process of manipulation, transformation, alteration, which may very

well include the modern concepts of body manipulations like genetic engineering or cloning. Through extension, in the line of Foucault’s thinking, this process may also mean the cultural process to which the body is subjected during its lifespan or, to put it in other words, the system of education, the main Ideological State Apparatus in modern times, according to Althusser.¹⁵

The apparatus is comprised of “the Bed” on which the criminal lies, symbolizing the human being’s state of absolute subjection, as well as “the Designer,” which is made up of several other smaller mechanisms joined together, supposed to perform their task perfectly. But what Kafka is interested in is that particular element in the system which may cause its dismantling, as it actually happens at the end of the story: “Besides, one of the cogwheels in the Designer is badly worn; it creaks a lot when it’s working...”¹⁶ states the Officer, while he is describing the apparatus to the Traveler. So, with Kafka there is always a break, a flaw in the system, a possible way out.

Nevertheless, the apparatus cannot be separated from the human body, since they form together what Deleuze and Guattari call “an assemblage” or a “desiring machine,” described at its best in the following passage from *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature*:

To enter or leave the machine, to be in the machine, to walk around it, to approach it—these are still components of the machine itself: these are states of desire, free of all interpretations. The line of escape is part of the machine. Inside or outside, the animal is part of the burrow-machine. The problem is not that of being free but of finding a way out, or even a way in, another side, a hallway, an adjacency. Maybe there are several factors we must take into account: the purely superficial unity of the machine, the way in which men are themselves pieces of the machine, the position of desire (man or animal) in relation to the machine. In the “Penal Colony,” the machine seems to have a strong degree of unity and the man enters completely into it.¹⁷

In many interpretations the apparatus has been seen as a signifier for the Law (“Nomos”) understood as a law “being in force without significance,” a signifier without a signified. It is interesting that one does not know the law of the penal colony. The only thing one knows is that the sentences which are to be passed by the apparatus directly on human bodies emerge from sovereign power (the Old Commandant

11. Kafka, 143.

12. Kafka, 146.

13. Kafka, 153.

14. Kafka, 154.

15. Althusser, 138.

16. Kafka, 142.

17. Deleuze and Guattari, 7.

and the Officer formulated them), and that, even though the New Commandant does not agree with them, an execution is about to take place. According to Giorgio Agamben, life under a law that is in force without signifying is very similar to life in the state of exception, and it is precisely this kind of life that Kafka describes.¹⁸ Paradoxically, this kind of law becomes a mediator, a ground for knowledge, since the condemned undergoes the experience of illumination by understanding the meaning of the law which has been passed directly on his body. This close connection between power and knowledge is undoubtedly one of the main focuses of Michel Foucault's theory on power-knowledge.¹⁹

The Symbolism of the Characters

From the very beginning it is impossible not to notice the fact that the characters do not have names or surnames. They do not represent separate identities; their names (Soldier, Captain, Officer, Condemned, Commandant, Traveler) are mere labels for social bodies as well as for the relations of power established between them.

On top of the pyramid there is the Commandant of the penal colony. The Old Commandant has been replaced by the New Commandant, but they both may be considered as variables of the same function in the system. The Old Commandant was a combination of functions ("Did he combine everything in himself, then? Was he soldier, judge, mechanic, chemist, and draughtsman?' 'Indeed he was,' said the Officer..."²⁰), which may also correspond to the state institutions.

It seems that the new power system stands against the old one, against its methods and tools (the New Commandant does not agree with the public executions or with the use of the apparatus), but at the same time it seems to be built on it: though the New Commandant relieved himself of some of the old functions (the functions of judge and executioner), he retains and exerts absolute sovereign power. There are Captains who also served in the old system, and now they fear the New Commandant the way they feared the previous one, and they do not dare to offer resistance. In addition, the Old Commandant is a symbol of absolute sovereign power, just like the king used to be in absolute monarchies. So it is not surprising that after the death of the Old Commandant, the Officer looks for his corpse. The body of the Old Commandant represents, using Foucault's terms, "a political reality" and a guarantee of this power.²¹

Immediately under the Commandant there is the Officer, who plays the same role in both systems—he is

both a judge and an executioner, and, most significantly, he is the heir of the Old Commandant's legacy. This legacy is symbolically represented by the diagrams the Old Commandant left him, written down in a language that only the Officer understands, in a code that only he can decipher. This is why they may be interpreted as standing for laws and rules, but they may also symbolize the culture, or "the symbolic medium" in which each human being is born and moves, in Terry Eagleton's terms: "Human beings move at the juncture of the concrete and the universal, body and symbolic medium..."²² Because it moves in a symbolic medium, the human being is also a "symbol-making creature": the diagrams designed by the Old Commandant are written in a code that only the Officer may decipher and understand. They make sense only to him but not to the Traveler, who metaphorically represents another culture, another system of values and meanings, and consequently another code. The Officer is not only the heir, but he is also the only one in the colony who seems to openly stick to the values of the old system. In this perspective, the diagrams represent, paraphrasing Terry Eagleton, 'the pictures that hold him captive.' In other words, the Officer is himself a captive of the culture he inherited and whose product he is. Consequently, the penal colony may also be interpreted as the "prison-house" each culture represents.

On the other hand, the relationship between the Commandant and the Officer appears to have all the characteristics of the Oedipal relationship between father and son. This idea is also reinforced by the Commandant's legacy left to the Officer: the designs and the machine, representing their culture, their symbolic medium. Nevertheless, Kafka always has a surprise in store for us, and he finds a way of breaking any kind of symbolic order: the machine's dysfunction and going haywire may be seen as the revenge of an obscene father, since the Officer ends up being killed by stabbing. It is as if the son's unconscious desire to kill his father, which characterizes the Oedipal triangle, turns against the son in a strange act of revenge. Nevertheless, a proof of the Officer's subterranean jealousy comes to light when he describes the public executions, which the Old Commandant used to attend surrounded "by his ladies."²³

Another interesting aspect is that the experiencing of the law is mediated by the body and not by the mind, another proof supporting the idea that with Kafka the human body is conceived as having no interiority. Moreover, just before his death the Condemned understands the meaning of the law inscribed on his body in a moment of illumination or

18. Agamben, 51-52.

19. Michel Foucault. "The Subject and Power," *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1982) 208.

20. Kafka, 144.

21. Michel Foucault. *Power/Knowledge, Selected Interviews and other Writings 1972-1977*.

22. Terry Eagleton. "Culture and Nature," *The Idea of Culture*. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 2000) 97.

23. Kafka, 153.

euphoria which seems to be similar to that of “jouissance,” in which his desire for meaning or knowledge has been fulfilled. And this is how the apparatus produces not only an almost inhuman violence but also desire:

Enlightenment comes to the most dull-witted. It begins around the eyes. From there it radiates. A moment that might tempt one to get under the Harrow oneself. Nothing more happens than that the man begins to understand the inscription, he purses his mouth as if he were listening. You have seen how difficult it is to decipher the script with one’s eyes; but our man deciphers it with his wounds.²⁴

This practice may correspond with the executions in the Middle Ages, when the convicts were tortured and stigmatized; signs of the laws in force were left on the convicts’ bodies. This is why the apparatus as a whole may also be interpreted as a symbol of sovereign power, in which, according to Agamben, “the sovereign is the point of indistinction between violence and law, the threshold on which violence passes over into law and law passes over into violence.”²⁵

Such an act may also bring back into our memory the Nazi mass executions during World War II or the atrocities caused by dictatorial systems in the former communist countries, where innocent people were sentenced to death, without having the right to defend themselves and without knowing the reason why they were executed or persecuted. The underlying principle of such systems seems to be “Guilt is never to be doubted,”²⁶ which is also emphasized by the following dialogue between the Officer and the Traveler: “Does he know his sentence?’ ‘No,’ said the officer... ‘He doesn’t know the sentence that has been passed on him?’ ‘No,’ said the officer again, ... ‘There would be no point in telling him. He’ll learn it on his body.’”²⁷

Under the power position occupied by the Officer, there are the Captains, who are subordinated to the Officer but are the superiors and masters of the Soldiers, also defined as servants. The relation of power between Captains and their Soldiers is clearly explained by the event which leads to the Condemned man’s execution. In fact, the Condemned, before being sentenced to death, used to be a Soldier, an element and tool of the power system. The Captains’ and Soldiers’ levels appear as the lowest levels at which power is distributed. This segment of power relations reminds one of Jeremy Bentham’s ‘Panopticon’: the way the convicts in cells were observed and controlled from the central tower is similar to the way the Captain(s) keep(s) under observation his/their Soldier(s): the Soldier is supposed to stay in front

of the Captain’s door and stand up every time the clock strikes the hour and salute in front of the door. This way the Captain(s) can control if the Soldier(s) perform(s) his/their duties by simply opening the door at any time (as it indeed happens in the short story) or even by peeping or gazing through the keyhole of the door.

There are many allusions throughout the story (including the threat “I’ll eat you alive” addressed by the Condemned to his Captain) that hint at the Condemned’s status of an animal: “In any case, the condemned man looked like a submissive dog that one might have thought he could be left to run free on the surrounding hills and would only need to be whistled for when the execution was due to begin.”²⁸ According to Deleuze, “the becoming dog” fascinates Kafka, because “the deterritorialization of the becoming-animal is absolute; the line of escape is well programmed, the way out is well established.”²⁹ Nevertheless, the Condemned does not manage to find his way out by metamorphosing into a dog, but remains in his condition of total subjection, marked by “his bent head.” Furthermore, there is a moment when he shows a kind of curiosity towards the torture machine, as if he is attracted to it and wants to try it – another proof that the Apparatus never ceases to produce desire. This curiosity and attraction may be interpreted as the human drives to power (Nietzsche’s ‘will to power’). This is why Michel Foucault states in *Discipline and Punish* that anybody may become a tool in the power system and consequently a torturer. His curiosity, which may be seen as a propensity towards coercion, and aggressiveness, may be instinctive, childlike, but it may also be looked upon as inculcated by the system which cultivates such values.

Finally, the Officer’s suicide marks the end of the old system of power and its replacement with a new one. His destiny is bound to that of the old system, and in the pyramid of power he disappears as a function (the function of torturer). In this sense, the dysfunction of the harrow (which does not torture him with its needles but actually stabs him) is a kind of an ironic and symbolic revenge of the machine against the human being. This revenge may suggest on the one hand what the degeneration of the system because of surplus of power may lead to, and on the other hand that the tools and methods human beings employ to exert power may backfire one day.

The only character who does not seem to be part of this system of power is the Traveler. Still, that does not mean that he does not detain power or that he is not involved in relations of power: he is not part of the system because he

24. Kafka, 150.

25. Agamben, 32.

26. Kafka, 145.

27. Kafka, 145.

28. Kafka, 140.

29. Deleuze and Guattari, 36.

is a foreigner; he does not belong to the culture of the penal colony. Moreover, he does not know its code, symbolically expressed by his incapacity to decipher the diagrams. He belongs to another culture, with different, apparently more humane values: he rejects the Officer's request to help and support him in his attempt to preserve the practices and rules of the old system, simply because he does not agree with them. His power lies in the fact that his opinion may influence the new Commandant's incoming decision to abolish the executions. In this respect, he is a representative of the Western European culture (as it is overtly expressed in the story), which seems to have at its centre the value of humanity. But the contemporary question raised by the role played by the Traveler (who may also stand for what is known nowadays as 'The International Community') is whether a culture and a political power has the right to interfere with another culture and political power and, if so, to what extent. The Traveler's first reaction is that of non-interference, of passivity, but after the Officer's attempt to manipulate him (a technique which he masters very well, the same as the technique of torturing), he decides to not keep silent. Silence can be seen as a sign of compliance with the power system, of normalization. Another significant detail is the fact that the Traveler and the Officer, even if they do not belong to the same culture, speak the same language (French), whereas the Soldier and the Condemned do not speak or understand French. This fact may have several implications: since language is usually associated with culture, the colonial power hinted at in the story may be France. Language is, according to Eagleton, "our most obvious surplus over sheer bodily existence,"³⁰ one of the criteria which make us "humans." Nevertheless, the exertion of power directly on human bodies is possible even in the absence of language. Another implication may be that a conquering/ dominant culture does not impose its values through language or communication, but through force, through aggressiveness whose main goal is the "normalization" of the conquered/minor culture.

In conclusion, Kafka's story seems to analyze sovereign power in its complexity and its effects at the level of the human body. As a result, in a kind of apocalyptic aesthetics, the human body turns into an object to write upon, an object subjected to various kinds of transformations and manipulations, emphasizing the idea that we are formed by power from the very moment of our birth. Such an analysis appears

to be made possible by the practice of a "minor literature," which, according to Deleuze and Guattari:

does not come from a minor language; it is rather that which a minority constructs within a major language... In this sense, Kafka marks the impasse that bars access to writing for the Jews of Prague and turns their literature into something impossible—the impossibility of not writing, the impossibility of writing in German, the impossibility of writing otherwise.³¹

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30. Eagleton, 101.

31. Deleuze and Guattari, 16.

Continued from page 13

built nearby—the so-called *Bratska Mogila*—which was connected to the base of the hill via a wide boulevard with pedestrian alleys and chestnut trees. Thus the monument became part of an entire complex heavily exploited for various party rituals. But we should not forget that the *Unknown Soldier* was simultaneously meant to urbanize the otherwise steep and not easily accessible granite hill and activate it as a public recreation park. One climbs the “Bunardzhik tepe” to reach the highest point of the hill where the massive base of the monument organizes a circular movement necessary for the unfolding of a full, staggering view of the city. In this sense, the monument should not be seen as an object that exploited a preexisting landscape. Rather, it actively produced the panoramic image of the city’s historical topography.



“Monument to the Unknown Soviet Soldier,” view from the “Bratska Mogila.” Plovdiv, November 2008.

I often visited the park and the monument when I was growing up in Plovdiv in the 1980s and all the way to the mid-1990s, when I moved away. Everyone in town referred to it informally as “Alyosha.” It is not clear when and exactly how the city’s unknown friend acquired its colloquial name, and yet local inhabitants preferred it, investing the lad with a personality of sorts that subverted his anonymity, thus giving him a place in the everyday life of the city. For me and my generation Alyosha was a special place. In the daytime the playgrounds and benches were swarming with mothers and kids, while retired people were walking up the hill for their daily exercise. After dark Alyosha was a site for adolescent city culture, offering

newly-in-love couples some privacy and the romance of the city’s nightlights, and providing a hiding spot for high school kids to go drinking. It gave me a special adrenaline buzz to climb the hill at night, with friends or alone, randomly finding the way up through the pitch-dark labyrinthine paths and woody slopes, almost as if blind-folded. During the month of May, the prom-night season, it was a must that high-school graduates end their nights at the monument in loud crowds, eagerly dressed in their fantasies of what adulthood might be. I also climbed the hill in my somewhat tacky high heels, utterly unfit for the purpose, to clear my head while watching the sun-rise. Entire wedding parties used to visit Alyosha or the nearby Bratska Mogila after signing their marriage agreements at the City Ritual Hall, in order to take their group photos and lay their wedding flowers there.

For the generations growing up during late socialism, it was rarely on anyone’s mind that Alyosha was initially dedicated to Stalin and the flowers laid may be paying tribute to the legacy of the most controversial figure in Soviet history. By no means should it be assumed that such sites were necessarily experienced as ideological, “totalitarian,” or even political during socialism, and it is worth thinking about when and by means of what discourses their “totalitarian” experience was produced *aposteriori* for many. In other words, it is not a question how the ideological has permeated the everyday during socialism—as it has often been argued before—but rather how daily uses colonized and reconfigured the ideological, contaminating it and infusing it with various unpredictable meanings and uses.³³ In fact, if one takes into account the everyday utilizations of these sites, distinctions between the ideological, on the one hand, and the everyday or personal on the other, inevitably fail.

33. For an excellent anthropological study of the everyday meanings and experiences of organized party life during late socialism in Leningrad, see Alexei Yurchak, *Everything Was Forever Until It Was No More: The Last Soviet Generation*. (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006).

Monday, October 12, 2009.

Ms. Odile Quintin

Director-General for Education, Training, Culture and Youth, European Commission

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With funding from the U.S. Department of Education under Title VI, ISEEEES is pleased to announce the return of Romanian to the list of East European languages currently offered at UC Berkeley. This year's course in Introductory Romanian is being taught by Mrs. Suzan Negip-Schatt, a native of Bucharest, Romania and a graduate of the Faculty of Foreign Languages at the University of Bucharest and the New School for Social Research in New York City. Further support for Romanian studies at Cal can be made by a gift to the ISEEEES Fund for Romanian Studies (see page 15).

Upcoming Events

Events are subject to change. For current information on ISEEEES-sponsored events, please call (510) 642-3230. For all other events check the website of the sponsoring organization.

Tuesday, September 22, 2009. Public talk. **Carla Shapreau**, Visiting Scholar at the Institute of European Studies will speak on *Musical Cultural Property: Nazi Era Looting and 21st Century Challenges*. At 12 noon, in 201 Moses Hall. Sponsored by the Institute of European Studies and Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies. For more details call 510-643-2115. Valuable musical manuscripts, printed music, musical instruments and other musical cultural property were looted, lost, and swept up as war trophies during the Nazi Era. The history and fate of these musical materials, many still unaccounted for, is the subject of research efforts by Carla Shapreau, visiting scholar at the Institute of European Studies.

Tuesday, September 22, 2009. Lecture followed by book reading. **Michael Bobelian**, J.D. (Univ. of Michigan), Journalism M.S. (Columbia University) will speak on the struggle for Armenian genocide recognition in the U.S. and will read from his book *Children of Armenia: A Forgotten Genocide and the Century-Long Struggle for Justice*. Sponsored by: Armenian Studies Program, Institute of International Studies, Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies, and UC Berkeley Armenian Alumni. In 223 Moses Hall, 6:30-8:30 p.m. For more information call (510) 643-5844.

Thursday, September 24, 2009. Lecture. **Jörg Monar**, professor of modern history and political science, College of Europe, will speak on *EU Asylum and Immigration Policy: 'Fortress Europe'?* In 201 Moses, at 4 p.m. Sponsored by the EU Center of Excellence, ISEEEES, Institute of European Studies. For more information, call 510-642-3230.

Thursday, October 1, 2009. Lecture. **Tomáš Sedláček**, Chief Macroeconomic Strategist at ČSOB, will speak on *Europe's Response to the World Economic Crisis*. In 223 Moses, 4 p.m. Sponsored by the EU Center of Excellence, ISEEEES, Institute of European Studies. For more information, call 510-642-3230.

Monday, October 5, 2009. Lecture. **Benjamin Sutcliffe**, assistant professor of Russian at Miami University, Ohio, will speak about his latest book *The Prose of Life*. 4 p.m., 160 Dwinelle Hall, UC Berkeley. Sponsored by ISEEEES. For more information, call 510-642-3230, or e-mail iseees@berkeley.edu.

Wednesday, October 7, 2009. Lecture: *Cold War and European Integration in the 1950s: A Biographical Approach*, by **Madelon de Keizer** of Netherlands Institute for War Documentation, Amsterdam. In the post-war years,

many Europeans saw the USA as a bastion of freedom and democracy. European and US politicians established contacts with émigré organizations from the Soviet satellite countries, which were vigorously lobbying to secure the liberation of their native countries. This presentation focuses on the infrastructure of this tripartite partnership and provides insights into the political networks that were being woven to galvanize this collaboration. At 5 p.m., 201 Moses Hall, UC Berkeley. Sponsored by Institute of European Studies, ISEEEES, Department of Dutch Studies. For more information, call 510-643-2115.

Wednesday, October 7, 2009. Lecture. **Oleg Kharkhordin**, Rector, European University at St. Petersburg, will speak about *The Great Bridge in Medieval Novgorod and its Comparisons with the Rialto in Venice: Political Economy of Republican Liberty?* In 270 Stephens, at 4 p.m. Sponsored by ISEEEES. For more information, call 510-642-3230.

Monday, October 12, 2009. **Odile Quintin**, Director-General for Education, Training, Culture and Youth, European Commission, will speak about *Education Without Borders: Multiculturalism, Integration, and Diversity in European Higher Education*. At the Alumni House, Berkeley Campus, 5 p.m. Sponsored by EU Center of Excellence, ISEEEES, Institute of European Studies. For details call 510-643-4558

Thursday, October 15, 2009. Lecture: *The Euro After the Crisis*. **Barry Eichengreen**, George C. Pardee and Helen N. Pardee Professor of Economics and Political Science, Department of Economics, UC Berkeley. Sponsored by the European Union Center. 12 noon in 223 Moses Hall, UC Berkeley. For more information: nwizansk@berkeley.edu, 510-643-4558.

October 30, 31 2009. Performance. University Symphony Orchestra, **David Milnes**, conductor. Rachmaninoff, *Symphony No 2*. Bloch, *Suite Hébraïque*, **Nils Bultmann**, viola soloist. Sponsored by the Department of Music. 8 p.m. at Hertz Hall. For tickets concerts@berkeley.edu, or call (510) 642-4864.

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December 24-27, 2009. Performance: Oakland Ballet Company and Peninsula Ballet Theatre present *The Nutcracker*, celebrating choreographer **Carlos Carvajal's** 15th Anniversary. Thursday, December 24th, 11:00 am, Saturday December 26th, 2:00 and 7:30 pm, Sunday December 27th, 2:00 p.m. More details and tickets at their website <http://www.oaklandballet.org/>.

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The Peter N. Kujachich Endowment in Serbian and Montenegrin Studies offers awards to faculty and/or graduate student projects that focus on the experience of the Serbian and Montenegrin peoples. To apply, send a proposal with a budget. Deadline: March 19, 2010.

The Hertelendy Graduate Fellowship in Hungarian Studies offers awards to encourage and recognize the study of Hungary. This fellowship provides partial support (tuition, stipend, and/or travel and research-related expenses) to UC Berkeley graduate students working in Hungarian studies. UC Berkeley faculty, undergraduates, and visiting researchers may also apply for funding of research projects devoted to Hungarian studies. Eligible fields include history, language, culture, arts, society, politics, economics, and institutions of Hungary; and research projects may include conference presentations and language study. An application consists of a letter of intent, research proposal, budget, and letter of recommendation from faculty advisor or department chair. Deadline: March 19, 2010.

For ISEEEES funding contact: Jeffrey Pennington, UC Berkeley, 260 Stephens Hall # 2304, Berkeley CA 94720-2304; Tel: 510-643-6736; jpennington@berkeley.edu