



Center for Slavic and East European Studies

Newsletter

Spring 1998
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Newsletter of the Center for Slavic and East European Studies

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We welcome your comments and
suggestions.

Notes from the Chair

The spring semester has begun, and the Center is preparing an unusually rich and varied selection of events! We look forward to seeing many of you in the weeks and months to follow.

We know that veterans of our Annual Teachers Outreach Conference are waiting to hear more about this year's program. The dates are April 4 and 5. As in years past, we are planning to provide an overall "update" on our region, while at the same time focusing on a specific issue or set of issues. This year the conference is entitled "The Influence of the West on The Post-Communist World." The focus of the conference is on the role or influence of Western institutions, individuals, and thought upon the internal developments of post-Communist countries in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. We have lined up several experts to join our Berkeley faculty to discuss their experiences and/or research on specific aspects of this subject. Within this newsletter, you will find an outline of the program along with information on how to register.

In addition to the Teachers Outreach Conference, the Center joins with the Center for German and European Studies to cosponsor a conference on "NATO: Perspectives and Prospects," to be held at the Alumni House on March 9 and 10. The final program for this conference is to be sent to our Associates of the Slavic Center (ASC) and to others who request it by telephoning the Center.

We are pleased to announce that our Annual Colin Miller Memorial Lecture will feature Tim McDaniel, professor of sociology at the University of California, San Diego. Professor McDaniel is the author of an influential book on Russia—*The Agony of the Russian Idea*—which has received wide acclaim. He has just returned from four months as director of the U.C. Program in Moscow. Professor McDaniel's lecture, "Ideals, Values, and Social Change in Modern Russia," will provide an excellent opportunity to learn more about current and possible future developments in Russia as well as the continuing importance of the country's historical legacies. The lecture is at the Alumni House on Tuesday, February 24, at 4:00 p.m. The twenty-second Annual Berkeley–Stanford Conference will be held at Stanford University on March 13, 1998. The Center for Russian and East European Studies at Stanford is putting together an exciting and meaningful program on religion and spirituality in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, again pursuing in detail an important issue facing our area of study.

Other forthcoming Center conferences include a two-day event on April 25 and 26 entitled "Spectacles of Death in Modern Russia," organized by Professor Olga Matich and the graduate students of the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures. On the afternoon of May 7, we shall cosponsor a mini-conference on "Stalin's Forgotten Zion: Birobidzhan and the Making of a Soviet Jewish Homeland." This event is timed with an exhibit on the topic to be

continued on next page

shown at the Judah Magnes Museum in Berkeley.

To end the semester, the Graduate Training and Research Program on the Contemporary Caucasus, functioning within the Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies, will present its annual conference on May 16, 1998, dealing with critical issues facing the Caucasus today as related to global economics and energy supplies.

Complementing the above events, we continue our series of bag lunch talks and seminars by visiting scholars and lecturers. This series is open to the public and attracts a wide circle of non-campus participants as well as faculty and students.

In addition, the Center is involved in several important ventures which have specific research and training objectives that bring together campus faculty, students, and visiting scholars in meaningful dialogue. Among these is the effort funded by the Institute of International Studies and the Ford Foundation to examine the effects of changing geographies on area studies. The Center, along with other area programs on campus, was awarded one of the grants to organize a working seminar for graduate students and faculty on the topic of "Traveling Theories: Theoretical Explorations of Contemporary Russia and Eastern Europe." The seminar is directed by a committee (Gil Eyal, Marc Garcelon, Alexei Yurchak, and myself), headed by Michael Burawoy. The first two meetings of the seminar have been extremely rewarding. Another important research project, funded by the Carnegie Foundation, is also underway this year. An in-depth study of "Russia on the Eve of the Twenty-First Century" combines the work of several Berkeley and non-Berkeley scholars. The project continues for two years and will result in a volume of essays by scholars from U.C.

Berkeley, other U.S. campuses, and Russia. We expect the results of the project to be of value to policy-makers and scholars alike.

These undertakings are only part of the active and rich program of the Center for Slavic and East European Studies, together with the Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies. In response to the increasingly close interaction and coordination of the Center and the Berkeley Program, we have decided to revamp our newsletter beginning in the fall of this calendar year. You have probably noticed that the newsletter has become a more substantive publication, with articles and reviews written by visitors and by our graduate students, as well as various news items. We have had a positive reaction to this format. We also hope to expand sections, specifically adding a regular contribution from BPS and from our Outreach Program. As a result, next year the newsletter will be biannual rather than quarterly to afford our editors more time to compile it. Calendar items will continue to be covered by our updates, mailed monthly to ASC members and to campus, to help guarantee timeliness.

As usual, I would like to end with a note of gratitude to our faithful ASC members who, better than most, know of the high activity level of the Center. Their encouragement and support is very much appreciated.

Victoria E. Bonnell
Chair, Center for Slavic and East European Studies
Professor, Department of Sociology



Welcome to Our Spring Semester Visitors!

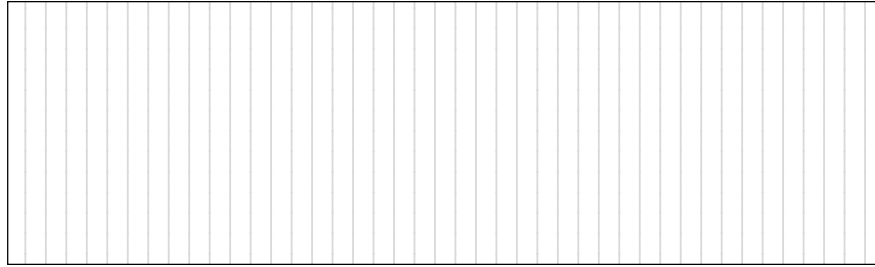
Bruno Dallago, visiting professor at the Department of Economics, comes to Berkeley from the University of Trento in Italy where he serves as associate professor of economic policy and appointed professor of comparative economic systems. Professor Dallago is teaching Economic Systems (Econ 161) this semester.

Daniel Orlovsky, visiting professor at the Department of History, comes to Berkeley from Southern Methodist University where he serves as professor of history, George A. Bouhe Research Fellow in Russian Studies, and chair of the Department of History. Professor Orlovsky is teaching Modern Russian History (Hist 171C) and leading a graduate seminar on Russia (Hist 280B:4) this semester.

Yuri Blagov, visiting professor with International and Area Studies, comes to Berkeley from St. Petersburg University, where he serves as associate professor and associate dean of instruction with the School of Management. Professor Blagov is teaching Business and Society in Modern Russia (PEIS 140) this semester.

Lydia Vianu, visiting Fulbright scholar with the Department of Comparative Literature, comes to Berkeley from Bucharest University where she is an associate professor with the Department of English. She is teaching a course this semester on censorship in Romania, "Lie or Die: Literature and Politics" (Comp Lit 170:2).





Narkomfin Communal House, Sovremennaia Arkhitektura, 1929.

An Archaeology of Socialism Ethnoarchaeological Research at a Constructivist Housing Complex in Moscow

Victor Buchli

Victor Buchli is a Research Fellow at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge University. An Archaeology of Socialism will be published as a book by Berg Publishers/New York University Press. Currently, he is expanding this research into the new emerging suburban communities of the former Soviet Union. Any comments can be sent to him at <vab11@cus.cam.ac.uk>.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the passing of that epoch, an archaeological perspective on that period begins to hold a certain attraction. Socialism, the alternative to capitalism, has not yet begun to be studied in the same way Western European and North American capitalism has been. That there might be an interest in studying Soviet socialism on its own seems straight forward. However, like studies of capitalism have shown, such investigations promise valuable perspectives not only on the culture they examine, but also on the discipline of historical archaeology and modern material culture studies themselves. Here I will examine briefly a particular Soviet site in Moscow, a Constructivist housing complex: the Narkomfin Communal House built by the Soviet regime in 1929. Through this example, I would like to illustrate how it might be useful to examine socialism from an archaeological perspective to both better understand an immensely important historical period as well as to better come to terms with understandings of material culture central to the discipline of archaeology as well as a number of others.

An important reason for doing this is that the highly empirical and materialist discipline of archeology is to a great deal predicated on Marxist understandings of material culture and the materiality of social relations to such a degree that the two are very hard to disentangle. Just after the revolution, Lenin himself signed the decree transforming the Imperial Archaeological Commission in St. Petersburg into the Russian Academy of the History of Material Culture. As the name suggests, material culture—or more precisely, the world as it is understood through the lens of material culture—became

the primary preoccupation. Material culture in the classical Marxist sense was understood primarily to be the embodiment of the social and economic relations upon which it was created. In this sense, an object would come to synecdochically represent particular social and economic conditions. For example, the individual kitchen of the prerevolutionary segregated nuclear household and all its associated artifacts served as a synecdoche for the oppression of women under capitalism. Similarly, for Karl Marx and Lewis Henry Morgan, iron and communal prehistoric dwellings came to be a synecdoche for the “upper status of Barbarism” and all the technical, social, and economic formations it entailed.

Within this social climate predicated by Marxist understandings of material culture, archaeology and architecture found themselves engaged in very similar enterprises: namely creating the social and material conditions for the realization of communism. While archaeologists engaged with prehistory to divine the material forms of egalitarian communism in the distant past, architects working with the same set of assumptions were investigating similar forms in the creation of a new architecture based on similarly egalitarian economic and social relations. This Marxian/Morganian equation of material culture with specific kinds of social formations was prevalent in radicalized archaeological circles particularly during the Cultural Revolution. This conceptualization persisted in Party understandings throughout the Soviet period (despite Soviet archaeology’s reworking of these concepts in later years).

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Thus, both archaeology and architecture sought to realize the material conditions, both past and future, with which to realize socialism. In this case, both were utopian endeavors that configured and employed material culture to realize similar social goals within obverse realms of material culture—the material remains of the distant past and the possible material world of the near future.

Considering these united endeavors, the Narkomfin Communal House becomes an interesting object of study. Its designers, the atelier of Moisei Ginzburg, were attempting to realize egalitarian communism through the edifying effects of architectural forms. Built as a prototype in 1929 for all subsequent housing in the Russian Republic, this building and others to be like it were to facilitate communist social relations through this synecdochic understanding of material culture. Social, economic, family, and gender relations would be entirely reconfigured through the effects of material forms. As the slogan of the times went—“*bytje opredelaet soznanie*” (the daily life of existence determines consciousness). Architects, planners, and designers strove to create the material conditions whereby Soviet citizens could realize Karl Marx’s famous dictum: “The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political, and intellectual processes of life.”

The cluttered, inwardly focused bourgeois home, the hearth of the nuclear family, would be exploded into a unified socialist space where divisions between classes, genders, and the realms of public and private would dissolve. The walls that contained the nuclear family would be rent asunder. Individual kitchens would be eliminated and their activities taken over by communal dining rooms staffed by professionals. Thus women’s domestic oppression would be eliminated along with the inequality of the sexes. Similarly, children would be raised in communal crèches, also staffed by state employees, leaving Soviet citizens, particularly women, free to participate in the construction of socialist society.

This explosion of the hearth outwards would also be facilitated both visually and metaphorically by the opening up of walls by large expanses of glass, the removal of internal partitions, smooth volumes of color, and rationalized, minimal furnishings. Gone would be the ornate domestic interiors of the prerevolutionary order with their wallpaper, paneling, upholstered fabrics, and elaborately carved furniture. Thus the material culture, believed to embody and signify synecdochically the divisions between genders, classes, and the private and public realms would be eliminated.

Social and domestic life would be effectively merged and a socialist Arcadia achieved. The Soviet state could realize the vision of Karl Marx, where “nobody has one exclusive sphere of activity, but each can be accomplished in any branch he wishes. Society regulates the general production and thus makes it possible for me to do one thing today and another tomorrow, to hunt in the morning, fish in the afternoon, rear

cattle in the evening, criticize after dinner, just as I have a mind, without ever becoming hunter, fisherman, shepherd, or critic.” Boundaries between spheres of gender and class; city and countryside; nature and technology would be obviated in an integrated and unified socialist landscape where social life and nature would be indistinguishably intertwined.

This vision of the socialist future harkened back to the prevailing view of certain prehistoric periods informed by the linear evolutionism of Lewis Henry Morgan. It was a vision characteristic of a European Modernism longing for a prehistoric Arcadia; an invocation, as Robert Rykwert has argued, of the primitive hut and its attendant social formations devoid of the divisions and contradictions of contemporary industrializing society. This longing for the primitive hut was the common goal of both architects and archaeologists in the eighteenth century, before these disciplines were so effectively professionalized and divided from each other in the nineteenth

The cluttered, inwardly focused bourgeois home, the hearth of the nuclear family, would be exploded into a unified socialist space where divisions between classes, genders, and the realms of public and private would dissolve. The walls that contained the nuclear family would be rent asunder.

century. It can be argued that in the early years of the Soviet state these two disciplines came very close together again in the creation of the first communist state, closer possibly than they had been since the common work of architects and archaeologists inspired by the discovery of the ruins of Pompeii in the eighteenth century.

What informed archeology and architecture and joined them in a common project was the prevailing Marxian logic that the material world was to directly represent social and economic formations. Soon, however, cracks began to appear in this logic. As the Cultural Revolution of the First Five Year Plan progressed, it became rapidly obvious that even though there had been a social revolution that had created radically new economic relationships, the material base was still the same. That is, paradoxically and contrary to established Marxian wisdom, society was socialist, but the buildings, clothes, cities, and material artifacts of daily life were the results of capitalist social and economic formations. Just as social and economic forces had to be overcome in the realization of socialism, so too the material world. The result was a frenzy of creative activity in the arts, design, architecture, and city planning whereby the material conditions of socialism

were feverishly debated, established, and deployed. The Narkomfin Communal House was one of the more sophisticated results of this endeavor.

Just when the material cultural conditions believed to ensure the realization of socialism were being created, however, a new social struggle was set in movement. The Bolshevik elite—older, typically urban and the product of the prerevolutionary intelligentsia—was challenged by a new Stalinist elite— younger, typically rural, and the product of Soviet education and progressive social policies. The competition was not merely political, but involved two competing understandings of what exactly socialism entailed and competing visions of the socialist good life.

As in any situation where an established group is confronted by *arrivistes*, the competition over power was often cast as the competition over social and cultural capital—who has it, who doesn't, and what it is precisely. The Bolshevik elite found itself defending its social position and cultural ideals against a new group empowered by a revolution that was fought in its name. By virtue of their non-elite origins, this up-and-coming elite could claim its affiliation with “the people,” the legitimate beneficiaries of the revolution. This ascendant group rejected the decidedly radical, disruptive, and austere vision of the material world promoted by members of the Bolshevik intelligentsia. These new men and women aspired instead to the old material order: they did not want it reconfigured according to the austere values of their prerevolutionary predecessors. The revolution, in the eyes of these individuals, was fought precisely to bring the material wealth of the prerevolutionary order to the masses, and to them in particular, the first sons and daughters of the revolution.

The prerevolutionary Bolshevik intelligentsia decried the material aspirations of these new elites as vulgar, petit-bourgeois, and reactionary. They believed that the level of “culture” of the Soviet people had to be “raised” to aspire to the austere material vision of the Bolshevik elite. As Stalinism and the new elites it created were consolidated at the end of the twenties and early thirties, these increasingly patronizing attitudes were more and more resented.

The resentment expressed by an ascendant elite with different material aspirations, along with the paradox of a Marxist society inhabiting a decidedly capitalist material world, required a radical reordering of the conceptualization of that material world in order to obviate these tensions. The result, at least in terms of material culture, was the reworking of prevailing Marxian understandings to accommodate social tensions and prevailing material conditions.

The earlier Marxian understanding of material culture, which I will describe as denotative, was characterized by the belief that an artifact objectively signified and embodied a specific social and economic relation. This belief was replaced by one that I would like to describe as contextual. That is, material

culture began to function in such a way that it no longer directly signified and promoted a specific social and economic formation. Material culture was emptied of all such referents and rendered neutral. What became significant was not what material culture *was*, but rather how it was *used*. The material world was no longer determining of individual consciousness or social and economic formations. Instead, an individual's use of an object signified its socialist nature. To quote Lazar Kaganovich speaking at the Central Committee's June Plenum of 1931: “At the present time it is difficult to discern those forms of daily life that will result at the final achievement of socialism and fully developed communism. In fact it would be entirely unMarxian to determine now what the concrete forms of future communist daily life might be. Marx and Engels did not preoccupy themselves with any directives concerning the concrete forms of future communist daily life, on the contrary they warned against such attempts. They understood the proletariat will assume power, and pragmatically, step by step, in its own time, the socialist restructuring of daily life will progress towards those concrete forms and realize them.”

This reconfiguration of the material world, shifting the locus of meaning from the object itself to the context of its use, obviated the contradictions of Soviet society in the late 1920s and early 1930s. The problem of the concordance of Soviet society with the material base it had inherited was dissolved: anything could be socialist simply by virtue of its use. In this way, the denotative understandings of material culture of the Bolshevik intelligentsia, so irritating to ascendant Stalinist elites, were rendered ineffective, since it was the manipulation of material culture by these ascendant elites itself that determined their socialist nature. As these new elites were in fact the triumphant working and peasant classes in whose name the revolution was fought, it was their use of the material world that ensured the continuance and construction of socialism and not any particular quality of the material world per se.

Thus in the course of two to three years a radical shift in the understanding of the social and material significance of material culture ensued. The austere modernist visions of the prerevolutionary Bolshevik intelligentsia disappeared as exuberant prerevolutionary and classically inspired forms resurged. Where once austere rationalist forms inspired by the Modernist movement in architecture prevailed, ornate, classically derived forms proliferated. As these forms and other related aspects of prerevolutionary material culture were manipulated by new Stalinist elites, they could no longer signify the previous capitalist order or inspire the continuation of capitalist social and economic relations. By virtue of their use by a new generation of Stalinist elites, they became de facto socialist. Thus Kaganovich's speech to the 1931 June Plenum permitted a complete reversal. What once was reviled as petit-bourgeois, reactionary, and anti-Soviet could come to embody socialism itself by virtue of its manipulation by Stalinist elites.

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An examination of the Narkomfin Communal House demonstrates how these new understandings were played out in the manipulation of material culture and architectural space. The original spaces, as mentioned earlier, were designed to explode the domestic realm outwards into the realm of an emergent socialist social order devoid of the contradictions and differentiations of capitalist life. This formulation of material culture and its effects involved the very ambitious marshaling of resources, economic and social, with which to realize socialism. Such ambitious restructurings of the material world are expensive, requiring the extensive dedication of resources towards their realization. As a consequence, they could only be performed by an entity as powerful as the state and not by individuals. The proposed Stalinist reformulation of the material world, which emphasized individual agency, was no less ambitious in the scope of its effects: the consolidation of the nuclear family, the differentiation between the domestic and public and socialist realm, and the enforcement of unequal gender distinctions. These two opposing understandings of the material world clashed when the carefully designed Narkomfin Communal house was finally inhabited.

A study of a selection of households from the site demonstrates the intent of the designers to change daily life by manipulating form. The households were originally configured in varying ways to effect the most radical communalization of social, economic, and gender relations through the compelling materiality of their forms. The tenants who later occupied these households, however, successfully subverted the intentions of the designers. Given license by a Stalinist understanding of material culture that denied the social significance of the designers' "objective" forms and which stressed individual agency as determinate, they manipulated the space around them, effectively reconfiguring the social significance of these units. More simply put, rather than allowing a radical new material form to reshape their daily lives, they reshaped their surroundings to suit their own notion of daily life. Using paint, fabric, embroidery, the arrangement of furniture, and—where resources permitted—parquet, tenants (often women exploiting their domestic skills) reconfigured the material culture that surrounded them and by doing so reconfigured its social effects.

One of the easiest things to do first was to paint the walls. This was often done exploiting techniques of *trompe l'oeil* (or *alfreinaia rabota*) to simulate prerevolutionary paneled walls of fabric, wallpaper, and wood. Thus where once an open space existed, open out to the world of socialism, new wall treatments created the illusion of enclosed and discrete paneled "rooms," closed off from the larger world. The designs were often original and invariably unofficial. They were executed by individual craftsmen who passed on designs and techniques through informal networks and apprentices. The designs would be very elaborate and at times impressive: silver and gold paint would be used to create a glimmering effect that denied the original spatiality of the austere Constructivist volumes.

With a few strokes of paint the entire spatial dynamic and its social affects could be reversed. The explosion of the nuclear family into the socialist realm without was redirected towards inwardly focused space that denied the socialization of family life and the equality of gender relations. The rooms closed in on themselves becoming darker, segmented, and elaborately decorated—and were then scrupulously maintained by women adhering to the renewed patriarchal division of domestic labor.

Similarly, the uniform, linoleum-like floors, which denied the segmentation of space as well as eased the burden of feminine domestic labor, were often covered over by fine parquet floors at the inhabitant's own expense. This new flooring not only contributed to the recreation of prerevolutionary spaces, but also, like the *trompe l'oeil* on the walls, served to further segment space from diffuse, uniform surfaces towards inwardly focused and segmented spaces that suggested separate "living rooms," "kitchens," and "bedrooms." This segmentation was further facilitated by the strategic insertion of doors, curtain partitions, and panels. In the Narkomfin's so-called F-units, the insertion of doors or curtain partitions would create separate living rooms, kitchens, and bedrooms, while in K-units the entire outwardly focused spatiality of the open plan would be

What once was reviled as petit-bourgeois, reactionary, and anti-Soviet could come to embody socialism itself by virtue of its manipulation by Stalinist elites.

negated by two thin-wood partitions (measuring just 1.5 x 4.5 and 1.5 x 2.3 meters each) boarding up the second floor mezzanine. This was often done when K-units became overcrowded because of an expanding extended family or as a consequence of the division of the unit into a communal apartment. One highly original response to divorce was to split the large central room of the K-unit in half horizontally, creating two separate spaces on top of each other.

Another way in which the inhabitants created segmented spaces was by arranging the furniture. Interior furnishings were arranged about the central table around which the family ate, worked, and even slept at night on beds and couches. This focus inwards on the table with its large, silken lampshade further emphasized the centrality of the nuclear family and the segregation of the domestic sphere from the world of socialist construction outside. Added to this were the arrangements of decorative figurines and the creation of embroideries that further facilitated the focus inwards and the segmentation of space within. These artifacts, earlier reviled as petit-bourgeois, unhygienic collectors of dust that distracted

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Twenty-Fourth Annual Outreach Conference For Teachers
THE INFLUENCE OF THE WEST ON THE POST-COMMUNIST WORLD

Center for Slavic and East European Studies
Alumni House, U.C. Berkeley April 4 and 5, 1998

This conference will explore several realms in which Western governments, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), multilateral organizations, businesses, mass media, the entertainment industry, and tourists—intentionally or unintentionally—have influenced the course of post-Communist development in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. The goal is to assess the extent to which Western efforts and influence have made a difference in shaping the course of post-Communism.

Distinguished scholars and practitioners will address the following questions: Is NATO expansion a mistake? Is East-West economic integration facilitating the economic and political transitions? Are the Dayton Accords proving successful in building democracy in Bosnia? How have NGOs attempted to transform the educational systems and scientific communities in post-Communist countries, and to what effect? How has Western popular culture affected societies in the post-Communist world?

The conference is designed to be of special interest to primary, secondary, and post-secondary school teachers who wish to introduce their students to the topic. All teachers are entitled to a reduced registration fee of \$25 (\$50 for the general public). Teachers who bring a colleague from their profession, who has never attended one of our teachers outreach conferences, will be asked to pay only half-price for each registration (our

“introduction” special). Materials will be provided for teaching purposes, including bibliographies. In addition, teachers will be given a briefing on using the World Wide Web as a resource for finding material on former Communist countries and related international subjects.

The program includes one and a half days of talks and a wine and cheese reception on Saturday evening. Speakers at the conference will be in attendance throughout the weekend and will be available to answer questions after the lectures. Sunday afternoon will include a special “Q&A” session, featuring all the conference participants.

For further information, call the Center at (510) 642-3230 or Outreach Coordinator, Mirjana Stevanovic at (510) 642-5245. Advance registration is recommended; registration payment will be accepted at the door. The registration fee includes teaching materials; two lunches; and the Saturday reception.

Registration fee: \$50 for general public; \$25 for teachers; \$25 total for two teachers providing one has never attended our annual teachers conference before. Registration is required.

This conference is made possible by a grant from the U.S. Department of Education to the Center for Slavic and East European Studies at U.C. Berkeley.

Saturday, April 4

9:00 a.m. Registration

9:30 Welcoming Remarks: **Victoria E. Bonnell**, professor of sociology and chair, Center for Slavic and East European Studies, U.C. Berkeley

9:45 **Ellen Comisso**, professor of political science, U.C. San Diego. “East-West Economic Integration in the 1990s”

10:45 Coffee Break

11:00 **Bruno Dallago**, professor of economic policy, Department of Sociology, and professor of comparative economic systems, Department of Economics, University of Trento, Italy. “European Union Enlargement to the East: Perspectives and Problems”

12:00 p.m. Lunch

12:30 Demonstration for teachers: resources on the Internet

1:30 **Alexei Yurchak**, visiting lecturer in anthropology, U.C. Berkeley. “Russian Youth Culture and the West”

2:30 Coffee Break

2:45 **Martha Loerke**, Director of Regional Scholarship Programs, Open Society Institute (Soros Foundation). “Support for Education Reform: Some Examples from the Soros Foundation’s Network”

3:45 Coffee Break

4:00 **Andrew Kuchins**, Associate Director, Center for International Security and Arms Control, Stanford University; formerly a program officer with the MacArthur Foundation. “The Impact of Western NGOs on Post-Communist Societies: The MacArthur Foundation in

Russia” (*title to be confirmed*)

5:00 Questions and Response Time

5:30 Reception

Sunday, April 5

10:00 a.m. **George W. Breslauer**, professor of political science and chair, Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies, U.C. Berkeley. “Is NATO Expansion a Mistake?”

11:00 Coffee Break

11:15 **Obrad Kesic**, Project Coordinator of the Democratic Transitions Program at IREX. “An Assessment of Dayton as a Framework for Building Peace in the Balkans”

12:15 p.m. Question and Answer Session

1:15 Lunch

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Calendar note

There are occasional last-minute changes of events that occur after the Newsletter has been distributed.

For current information on Center events, please call (510) 642-3230. When no one is available to help you, you may listen to a recorded listing of events that is updated every Friday afternoon.

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California Slavic Colloquium, the annual convention where graduate students in Slavic from Berkeley, UCLA, Stanford, and USC, present their research papers on various aspects of Russian and Slavic literature, culture, and linguistics. This year the colloquium will take place at Berkeley from February 28 through March 1. Sessions start at 10:00 a.m. in 160 Wheeler Hall. Contact the Slavic department, (510) 642-2979 or e-mail <zhenya@socrates.berkeley.edu>.

Wednesday, March 4. Brown Bag Lunch. Bruno Dallago, visiting professor of economics. "The Economic Consequences of Nationalism: the Case of the Former Yugoslavia." In 442 Stephens Hall, 12:00 noon. Sponsored by CSEES.

Wednesday, March 4. Bernard Moses Memorial Lecture. Eugene A. Hammel, professor emeritus of demography and anthropology. "Sex and Death on the Edge of Europe: Slavonian Demography, 1683-1900." In the Toll Room, Alumni House, 4:10 pm. Sponsored by Graduate Division, UC Berkeley. Free. Contact Grad Division, (510) 642-5472, for more information about this event.

Friday, March 6. Ernest Bloch Lectures. Izaly Zemtsovsky, Visiting Bloch Professor. "Joel Engel (1868-1927)." All Bloch lectures will be held in 125 Morrison Hall at 4:30 pm. Sponsored by Department of Music. Free. Contact Music, (510) 642-4864, for information.

Thursday, March 5. Public Lecture. Gerard Libaridian, former Senior Advisor to the President of the Republic of Armenia. "The Current Crisis in Armenia." Location TBA, 7:00 pm. Sponsored by BPS.

Monday, March 9. Conference. "NATO Expansion: Pros and Cons." In the Toll Room, Alumni House, exact schedule TBA. Sponsored by CSEES and the Center for German and European Studies.

Tuesday, March 10. Slide Lecture. Aleksandr Leskov, head of the Department of Archaeology and Ancient Art, Museum of Oriental Art, Moscow. "Scythian Gold in the North Caucasus." In 20 Barrows Hall, 4:00 pm. Sponsored by CSEES and the Indo-European Language and Culture Working Group. *In Russian* with translation.

Wednesday, March 11. Noon Concert. Slavonic Traveling Band with Gypsy Dancers. In Hertz Hall, 12:15-1:00 pm. Sponsored by the Department of Music. Free. Contact Music, (510) 642-4864, for more information about this event.

Thursday - Sunday, March 12-15. Conference. "The Stalin Period: New Ideas, New Conversations." In Riverside. Sponsored by the Center for Ideas and Society, UC Riverside. Free admission, but registration is required for the Thursday event. Contact CIS, (909) 787-3987, for more information.

Friday, March 13. Annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference. "Religion and Spirituality in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union." In the Oak Room, Student Union, Stanford University, exact schedule TBA. Sponsored by CSEES and the Center for Russian and East European Studies at Stanford University.

Friday, March 13. Ernest Bloch Lectures. Izaly Zemtsovsky, Visiting Bloch Professor. "Zusman Kisel'gof (1878-1939)." See 3/6 lecture for details.

Wednesday, March 18. Brown Bag Lunch. Oleg Grinevsky, Stanford University. "Comparing Soviet and Russian Decision-Making in Afghanistan and Chechnya." In 442 Stephens Hall, 12:00 noon. Sponsored by BPS.

Thursday, March 19. Seminar. Liliana Ursu, poet, cultural host on Romanian National Radio, and currently visiting Fulbright fellow at Pennsylvania State University. "Poet Between Worlds." In 263 Dwinelle Hall, 11:00 am-12:30 pm. Sponsored by CSEES.

Saturday, March 28. Dance performance. Georgian State Dance Company. In Zellerbach Hall, 8:00 pm. Sponsored by Cal Performances. \$14, \$20, \$26. Contact Cal Performances, (510) 642-9988, for more information.

Monday, March 30. Public Lecture. Marek Zvelebil, professor, Department of Archaeology and Prehistory, University of Sheffield. Topic and location TBA, 12:00 noon. Sponsored by CSEES and the Indo-European Language and Culture Working Group.

Wednesday, April 1. Brown Bag Lunch. Andrzej Szahaj, professor with the Institute of Philosophy, Nicolaus Copernicus University in Torun, Poland. "The Debate Between Liberals and Communitarians and the Problem of Democracy and Pluralism in Poland." In 442 Stephens Hall, 12:00 noon. Sponsored by CSEES.

Friday, April 3. Ernest Bloch Lectures. Izaly Zemtsovsky, Visiting Bloch Professor. "Moshe Beregovsky (1893-1961)." See 3/6 lecture for details.

Saturday - Sunday, April 4-5. Annual Teachers Outreach Conference. "The Influence of the West on the Post-Communist World." Alumni House, 9:00 am-5:30 pm, 10:00 am-1:15 pm. Registration is required, \$50. Sponsored by CSEES. See page 7 for announcement and schedule.

Sunday, April 5. Concert. Russian National Orchestra. In Zellerbach Hall, 3:00 pm. Sponsored by Cal Performances. \$20, \$32, \$42. Contact Cal Performances, (510) 642-9988, for more information about this event.

Who is Afraid of His Nationality?

“Point Five” and Russia’s New Internal Passport

Sven Gunnar Simonsen

Sven Gunnar Simonsen is a doctoral candidate at the International Peace Research Institute in Oslo (PRIO). He is currently a visiting scholar at U.C. Berkeley’s Center for Slavic and East European Studies.

The rigid classification of individuals along ethnic lines, introduced in the Soviet Union under Stalin, remains a major factor in Russian politics. Most recently, the introduction of a new internal passport has accentuated the debate over the right versus the obligation to state one’s nationality.

The issuing of the new passport, which will serve as the country’s main identity document and should not be confused with a foreign travel passport, began early last October. The first recipients, a group of teenagers, were presented their copies by President Boris Yeltsin personally.

Ever since 1990, there have been plans to introduce a Russian identification document. With the breakdown of the USSR in 1991, of course, the necessity of replacing the 1974 Soviet passport became more obvious. Still, it took six more years before the document was on the table. And even after such a long process, the negative reactions to the end product appear to have taken the regime by surprise.

The most visible difference between the old passport and the new one is that the former’s hammer-and-sickle has been replaced with the two-headed eagle—the state symbol of the Russian Empire, and also of today’s Russian Federation. In terms of colors, the old “Communist red” has given way to a slightly darker red. Inside, the features are listed only in Russian; in the USSR, several other languages were used, in the corresponding republics.

The change that has proved most controversial, however, is the elimination of the column denoting the individual’s nationality (*natsionalnost*—the Soviet/Russian term for ethnicity). This column has been known as “point five,” since it followed surname, name, patronymic, and date/place of birth on a wide range of official documents in the USSR—including the passport.

Reactions to the elimination of point five have come from a number of different actors in Russian politics. In justifying their position, all actors have claimed the noblest of motives. An examination of these reactions may serve to demonstrate how Soviet policies continue to shape the way nationalities issues are dealt with in Russia.

The Choices the Soviets Made

The internal passport was introduced in the Soviet Union in 1932. The inclusion of point five from an early stage served the multiple, partly contradictory, and ever-changing purposes of Stalin’s and the Soviet state’s nationality policies.

On the one hand, early Soviet nationality policies aimed at stimulating minority group identities. And a large number of minority cultures (many of them themselves products of state policies aimed at merging smaller groups) did indeed flourish; for instance, some thirty-eight peoples had their cultures linguistically codified, having written languages developed for the first time.

On the other hand, the compulsory identification required by point five very soon began to serve as a tool in the repression of ethnic groups. During World War II, entire peoples were deported; each individual identified as, for example, Chechen or Ingush on the basis of his or her point five. The ethnic Russians living next door were left alone by the secret police. Getting the most attention in the West was the anti-Semitism that penetrated the Soviet system; with “*evrei*” (Jew) written in the nationality column, one became the object of written and unwritten rules limiting Jewish representation in a number of professions and institutions.

When the passport was introduced, each person was permitted to choose his or her nationality. For the future, however, nationality was treated as being passed on through the blood: when new citizens were given their first passport at the age of sixteen, they automatically inherited the nationality of their parents. With parents of different nationalities, the youngster could choose to identify either with the mother’s or the father’s nationality.

Whereas children in mixed marriages probably frequently opted for the denomination of the parent who belonged to what was perceived as the most privileged group—above all the ethnic Russians—one can safely assume that the nationality regulations served to uphold ethnic diversity in the RSFSR and the USSR.

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In many comments on the 1997 passport—in particular with regard to the legality of the elimination of point five—the point of departure has been the declarations in the 1993 Constitution. These, however, do not bring one very far in terms of clarification. Indeed, it is tempting to see the relevant article, Article 26, as itself an expression of the Janus face of point five. Seemingly accepting nationality as being potentially both an asset and a liability, Article 26 reads as follows:

Everyone shall have the *right to* determine and state his national identity. No one can be *forced to* determine and state his national identity. Everyone shall have the right to use his native language, freely choose the language of communication, education, training and creative work. [emphases added]

Responses in the Republics

The strongest negative reactions to the new passport have come from the authorities of some of the federal republics (Russia today is made up of eighty-nine federal subjects; the highest status is enjoyed by the twenty-one republics, which are all ethnically defined.) The loudest voices have been those of the “usual suspects” when it comes to self-assertiveness, among these, the republics of the Volga region and the North Caucasus.



The Soviet internal passport

In particular, Tatarstan has led the way. In mid-October, deputies to the republic’s State Council adopted a resolution suspending the issuing of the new Russian passport. In the council’s opinion, the lack of a line for “nationality” was “the biggest provocation in the history of Russia” and was aimed at destroying accord between nationalities in the country. In the council, some deputies spoke of a “genocide” being unleashed, and proposed that a separate Tatarstani law on citizenship be adopted and a republican passport be introduced.

Later, Tatarstan’s president Mintimer Shaimiyev expressed his support for the suspension, and stated that the passport, by not mentioning the nationality of the bearer, was at variance with the Constitution. And in mid-November, the Tatarstani parliament called for the introduction of a two-page insert to the new passport, mentioning—with the owner’s consent—his ethnic origin in the official languages of the Russian republics. The republic’s state emblem would also be printed on these pages.

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Similar reactions have been observed in Bashkortostan, a republic which borders on Tatarstan. Nationalist rallies have been held and mock passports have been burnt, protesting the absence of point five. The Bashkortostani State Assembly in early November passed a resolution to halt the distribution of the new passport. That same month, the parliament of Chuvashia, yet another Volga republic, ordered a suspension in the issuing of new passports.

In the North Caucasus, the head of the Dagestan People’s Assembly promised an “outburst of nationalist sentiments in the republics” against the elimination of point five. In Ingushetia, President Ruslan Aushev said that “[we] in Ingushetia will try to see to it that nationality is indicated in the passport.” The republican parliament in Kabardino-Balkaria concluded that it was “too soon to dispense with the ‘nationality’ line, because our citizens haven’t outgrown it yet.” (Whether the parliament itself considers point five to be an archaism is not clear.) Negative reactions have also been noted from the north Caucasian republic of Adygeya and from Birobidzhan, the far eastern Jewish autonomous *oblast*.

There are clearly several valid explanations as to the republics’ negative reactions to the new passport. Certainly, sincere concerns about the possibility of Russian assimilation of one’s minority group exist. With ethnic Russians numbering some 82 percent of the population, it can safely be assumed that the main demographic trend in Russia, should the official classification disappear, would be towards steady assimilation of the smaller peoples.

As for state policies, the murderous deportations of entire peoples are not that many decades behind. Although such events are very unlikely to be repeated under the current regime and any regime likely to succeed it, ethnically defined subjects may find many reasons to mistrust the authorities in Moscow. In particular, of course, the war in Chechnya has shown to what lengths the Yeltsin regime has been willing to go to preserve its own order in the federation.

One might expect that past injustices inflicted on specific ethnic groups might cause people to wish *not* to be identified as belonging to these groups. The reason why this line of reasoning is not the dominant one in the public reactions to the passport in the republics is probably that the worst threat one can realistically fear from Moscow today is the facilitation of peaceful assimilation of smaller peoples. In this context, the removal of point five would not be seen as a sign of good will.

On the other side of the controversy, Russian nationalists speak loudly of how ethnic Russians continue to suffer under the “affirmative action” that was introduced in the Soviet years, for the good of at least some ethnic groups. The increased ethnification of politics in many federation subjects during and after the breakdown of the Soviet Union has intensified these feelings.

At the same time, it cannot be denied that there is an element of power play in the debates that are going on. As has been seen in many other FSU states—they are all grappling with the questions of citizenship—“where you stand depends on where you sit”; if an ethnic elite has come to power, they will be in favor of maintaining ethnic identification, whereas if they are to a greater or smaller extent denied representation on basis of their ethnicity, they will most probably favor the abolishment of such identification. The exception in the former situation would be the radical case where the elite wished to implement a policy of forced assimilation.

The risks involved in pursuing titular nationalist policies in the cases of Russia’s ethnically defined subjects, however, become evident when we consider the demographic composition of these subjects. In nine of the twenty-one republics, more than half of the population is in fact ethnic Russian. Even in several of the republics with nationalistic elites, Russians are the largest single group; in Bashkortostan, they make up 39 percent, whereas the Bashkirs make up a mere 22 percent. In Tatarstan, the Tatars counted 49 percent, but even here, the Russians make up as much as 43 percent.

Considerations in the Center

The reactions in Moscow to the new passport serve to highlight the wide ideological differences between mainstream Russian political actors. The debate over the new passport has brought about the most peculiar alliances, and the most opportunistic lines of reasoning.

As far as categorical support of the abolishment of point five is concerned, we find this in three of the parties represented in the State Duma: Grigoriy Yavlinskiy’s Yabloko, Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin’s Our Home is Russia (NDR), and Vladimir Zhirinovskiy’s so-called Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR). These parties each have their distinct reasons for supporting the regime on this issue.

Chernomyrdin’s party is a highly heterogeneous and ideologically fluid entity. NDR is, above all, characterized by its unconditional support of the regime’s policies. That being so, the party’s position on most questions, and its justification of the position, can be expected to coincide with that of the regime. Yabloko is the most ideologically coherent party of the three. Yavlinskiy, while having a clear populist touch, has time and again defended liberal causes at a cost, not least in relation to the war in Chechnya. He can safely be trusted to base his conclusion on point five on liberal values.

Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, on the other hand, reached a similar position from a completely different point of departure. From his erratic rantings over the last seven years or so, one of the points that has remained on Zhirinovskiy’s political program has been the abolishment of the current Russian federal system, and re-establishment of the tsarist system of *gubernii*—governorships—indeed within the borders of the tsarist state.



With Zhirinovskiy’s countless imperialist, racist, and Russian supremacist remarks in mind, we can safely conclude that the LDPR leader is once again trying to appeal to the guts of the ethnic Russian *lumpen*.

Just as different actors have spoken in favor of the abolishment of point five for very different reasons, opponents of its abolishment have clearly diverged in motives. Duma speaker Gennadiy Seleznev, representing the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (KPRF), headed by Gennadiy Zyuganov, justified keeping point five by referring to the constitutional establishment of “each citizen’s right” to state his nationality, and downplayed the corresponding right *not* to do so. Thus, Seleznev proposed that passport-holders should have the freedom to decide whether they should fill out the space for nationality or not. “Who does not want this to be mentioned? Who is afraid of his nationality?” Seleznev asked rhetorically.

As far as the Communists’ support for upholding point five, this should not come as any surprise. Above all, point five is part of the heritage of the “golden years” of the USSR, and the KPRF is a party characterized by a strong nostalgia. Furthermore, the KPRF under Zyuganov’s leadership has represented a confused mixture of Soviet internationalism, Russian nationalism, and pre-Soviet Russian imperialism. In light of this—although one may sincerely feel that the constitutionally defined right to state one’s nationality is as justified as the right *not* to do so—there may be some reason not to accept the party’s arguments in the passport case at face value.

The Regime: Searching for the Essence of Russia

Judging by recent press reports, the bureaucrats in the presidential administration and the Interior Ministry who prepared the new passport were caught by surprise by the scope and intensity of the reactions to the elimination of point five. The reports indicate that those responsible concluded without much ado that Article 26 left them no other option than to leave out “nationality.”

Probably the main conclusion that can be drawn with regard to the Yeltsin regime’s position on nationality issues is that it

New Library Service for Spring 1998

Allan Urbanic is the Librarian for Slavic Collections at U.C. Berkeley. He can be reached by telephone at (510) 643-6649 and by e-mail at <aurbanic@library.berkeley.edu>.

As the second semester opens, patrons of the library will notice a few changes in some of the services that the library provides.

The Library Home Page

The library home web page has a new look. The change in design is intended to display more important library information closer to the surface. For example, items like a direct link to Pathfinder, the library's new web catalog, to a new web version of Melvyl, and to the old text versions of these catalogs are immediately available from the home page. Library hours, instructional services, maps of the libraries, and other information designed for quick access also are immediately visible.

In the right column of the home page you will find two boxes with "Go to" buttons. By clicking on the arrow at the right of each box an alphabetical list of web pages will appear. The list in the top box is to the home page for each branch library or main library subject area. The lower box provides a list of electronic reference tools along with links to pages describing electronic resources by discipline. Once you highlight the material you wish to view, click on the "Go to" button, and the new page will open in your browser.

Library Home Page
<http://www.lib.berkeley.edu>

Slavic & East European Collections Home Page
<http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/Collections/Slavic/>

Information Center Open Longer Hours

Beginning this spring semester, the Information Center on the first floor of the Main library will remain open until 9:00 p.m., Monday through Thursday. Friday hours are 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m., and on Saturday the room is open and staffed from 1:00 to 5:00 p.m.

In conjunction with the Information Center, on the second floor of the Doe library is the Reference Annex. This collection contains a number of important Slavic items for which there was insufficient space in the Information Center. Records for materials shelved in the Reference Annex are designated by the note "Shelved in Reference Annex" after the call number. We ask that patrons do not move the volumes from these two

reference locations to other parts of the Doe/Moffitt Complex. Copiers are made available in both locations.

Materials still located in the Humanities and Area Studies Reading Room (formerly the General Reference Service Room) can be paged from the Information Center desk. Because the room is closed to staff during construction, pages from the room will take up to 72 hours to complete.

The Doe library is in the midst of Phase III of its seismic reconstruction. Hours may change due to construction schedules and certain services may be disrupted. Please consult signs in the main library for construction related changes to library services.

Pathfinder and the Web Version of Melvyl

Though introduced last semester, Pathfinder, the web version of Berkeley's on-line catalog, and the new web version of Melvyl are worth visiting if you have not yet tried them. Though the searching features of each differ slightly, both provide very flexible searching and the ability to retrieve or limit your search by many parts of the bibliographic record. Saving and e-mailing the results of your searches have been made easier as well.

How often have you wished you could search by a publisher's name? Now you can in Pathfinder's full feature search window. Wouldn't it be nice if after you found the perfect book on your subject, you could simply click on a subject heading and get more titles like the first or click on the author's name and retrieve more works by the same person? This can now be done within the long display of any Pathfinder record.

However, the real potential of a web-based catalog is the ability to link its records to remote electronic resources, something which the former text-based catalogs could not do. Items like the *Slavic Review*, *ABSEES On-line*, and *RAS On-line* are already linked allowing one to move directly from the catalog record to the journal or database from right within Pathfinder. In the future, for example, links to CD-ROM databases on the library network, now only available from library terminals, will be accessible from any campus network connection.

NRLF Records for Non-Berkeley Materials Now in GLADIS

The U.C. Berkeley library now manages the Northern Regional Library Facility, frequently referred to by staff and patrons alike as "storage." One of the results of this change in

management has been the selection of GLADIS as the inventory system for NRLF.

Records for stored materials for the other U.C. northern campuses (Davis, San Francisco, and Santa Cruz) have now been loaded into GLADIS. These items will be identified by holding locations for these campuses. All items not marked as "restricted" can be ordered from any circulation desk at Berkeley campus libraries. Restricted items still require that one use the material in the library that owns it.

Many of the records that have been added have limited bibliographic information. The next phase of this project is to upgrade this material and, when possible, merge it with full records already in the GLADIS database. Future plans also include adding storage information for all Berkeley materials in NRLF and the development of a paging module so that items can be ordered from the NRLF directly through the GLADIS catalog.

New Acquisitions Sponsored by the Pacific Coast Slavic and East European Library Consortium

PACSLAV attempts to combine its resources to acquire materials for its members which can be shared. Several projects for acquisition have recently occurred.

Stanford University and the University of Washington are cooperating in acquiring "pamiatnye knizhki" on microfilm from the Russian National library in St. Petersburg.

The U.C. Berkeley library has acquired and is in the process of cataloging a large group of microfiche representing Russian women writers of the nineteenth century. This project, too, is in cooperation with the Russian National library in St. Petersburg. To view some of the authors already cataloged, use following command in GLADIS: find se Russian women writers microfiche collection. Over one hundred individual and collected works were acquired during the first phase of this program.

The U.C. Berkeley library (with the support of CSEES) was able to purchase several women's serials on microfiche. They are: *Avrora* (1875-1878), *Modnyi kur'er* (1899-1916), *Novyi Russkii bazar* (1867-1898), *Zhenskiia raboty* (1872-1874), and *Zhenskii viestnik* (1866-1868).

To keep abreast of the purchases and developments of PACSLAV, consult their web page at <<http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/Collections/Slavic/Pacslav/>>.

As information available in a CD-ROM format continues to grow, I am trying to create a Slavic Studies work station in the Main library. Currently the only item available is the Slovenian National Bibliography, but as soon as certain technical matters can be worked out, several new titles will be made available on this machine. These are the *Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv literatury i iskusstva*, *Putevoditeli*, the Czech National Bibliography, and the Russian National Bibliography. I will send out an announcement as soon as this new service becomes available.

On-Going Library Services

Classroom instruction in the use of the library catalogs is provided by the Teaching Library and is available throughout the semester. Schedules and locations can be found on the library home page under Instructions and Tours, or point your browser to <<http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/TeachingLib/InstructionTours.html>>.

Internet workshops are also available during the spring semester; see <<http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/TeachingLib/NetWorkshops.html>>.

Allan Urbanic is available for class presentations and also for individual consultations. He can be reached at the numbers given above, or drop in during scheduled office hours (Monday 10:00 a.m. to 12:00 p.m., Thursday 2:00 to 3:00 p.m.) held in 346 Doe Library.

Ann Mitchell is available for consultations concerning the Polish collections during her office hours which are Monday through Thursday from 10:00 to 11:30 a.m. She can also be reached by phone at (510) 643-3144 or through e-mail at <amitchel@library.berkeley.edu>.

Elena Balashova, the Curatorial Assistant for Slavic Collections, is available by appointment. You can contact her at (510) 643-6649 or through e-mail at <ebalasho@library.berkeley.edu>.

Associates of the Slavic Center

The Center acknowledges with sincere appreciation the following individuals who have contributed to the annual giving program, the Associates of the Slavic Center (or have been enrolled due to their particular generosity toward Cal to support some aspect of Slavic & East European Studies) between October 1, 1997 and January 30, 1998. Financial support from the Associates is vital to our program of research, training, and extracurricular activities. We would like to thank all members of ASC for their generous assistance.

*signifies gift of continuing membership

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For those of you who are not yet members, we encourage you to join. We believe you will enjoy the stimulating programs; even if you cannot participate as often as you might wish, your continuing contribution critically supports the Center's mission and goals.

Members (\$50 to \$100). Members of ASC receive monthly "Updates" and special mailings to notify them of events and special activities, such as cultural performances and major conferences. In this way, notification of even last-minute items is direct.

Sponsors (\$100-up). ASC Sponsors also receive a uniquely designed, handmade tote bag which promotes Slavic and East European Studies at Berkeley. They also receive invitations to special informal afternoon and evening talks on campus featuring guest speakers from the faculty as well as visiting scholars.

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Center Circle (\$1,000-up). In addition to enjoying the above-mentioned benefits, donors within the Center Circle will also become Robert Gordon Sproul Associates of the University. As such, they are invited to luncheons before the major football games. They also have use of the Faculty Club and twenty other worldwide faculty clubs. The names of donors of \$1,000 or more appear in the Annual Report of Private Giving.

It is a policy of the University of California and the Berkeley Foundation that a portion of the gifts and/or income therefrom is used to defray the costs of raising and administering the funds. Donations are tax-deductible to the extent allowed by law.

Send your check, made payable to the Regents of the University of California, to:

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Faculty and Students News

Faculty News

John Connelly, assistant professor of history, published “Students, Workers, and Social Change: The Limits of Czech Stalinism” in the Summer issue (56:2) of *Slavic Review*.

Anne Nesbet, assistant professor of Slavic languages and literatures, received a Hellman Family Faculty Award during the 1997 competition to conduct research on “The Dialectical Image.”

Yuri Slezkine, associate professor of history, received a 1997–98 Individual Advanced Research grant to spend four months in Russia working on “The House of Government, 1928–1938.”

Gregory Freeze, who taught Russian at Berkeley in the fall semester 1989, is the editor of a new volume *Russia: A History* (Oxford University Press, 1997), covering the time from Kievian Rus’ to 1995. The chapter on 1890–1914 is by history professor **Reginald Zelnik**. Other Berkeley-connected contributors are Berkeley Ph.D. **Gary Marker** (covering 1740–1801) and current visiting Professor **Daniel Orlovsky** (on 1914–1921).

Student News

Matthew Bencke, Ph.D. candidate in political science, recently published a book entitled *The Politics of Space: a History of U.S.–Soviet Competition and Cooperation in Space* (Boulder, CO: WestView Press, 1997).

Robin Brooks, Ph.D. candidate in political science, was

awarded an IREX Bulgarian Studies Seminar grant for the summer of 1997.

Greg Castillo, Ph.D. candidate in architecture, received a fellowship last semester from the National Research Council.

Brian Kassof, Ph.D. candidate in history, received a 1997–98 IREX Individual Advanced Research grant to spend nine months in Russia working on his dissertation, “The Knowledge Front: Soviet Book Publishing and Soviet Culture, 1925–1939.”

Marian Mabel, Ph.D. candidate in environmental science, policy, and management, received a 1997–98 ACTR/ACCELS graduate fellowship in order to study Russian language in Khabarovsk.

Ethan Pollock, Ph.D. candidate in history, received a 1997–98 IREX Individual Advanced Research grant to spend nine months in Russia working on his dissertation, “The Politics of Knowledge: Party Ideology and Soviet Science, 1945–1953.”

Sarah Schull, Ph.D. candidate in Slavic languages and literatures, received a ACTR/ACCELS award under the U.S. Research Scholar Program for 1997–98 in order to work on “The Linguistic Expression of Motion in Czech and Russian” in St. Petersburg.

Ilya Vinkovetsky, Ph.D. candidate in history, presented “Patristic Traditions and Enlightenment Tactics” at a conference entitled Ioann Veniaminov in Alaska and Siberia and his Contribution to Arctic Social Science last semester.

New Russian Labor History Volume

We would like to announce the publication of an important new book in the Russian history field with close ties to Berkeley. *Rabochie i intelligentsiia Rossii v epokhu reform i revoliutsii, 1861-fevral’ 1917* by BLITZ (The Russia–Baltic Information Center in St. Petersburg) brings together the most recent works of labor history specialists—Russian, American, British, German, Azeri, and French. The 639–page volume is based on the proceedings of an IREX supported five-day conference held in St. Petersburg in June 1995 (with the help of our own history department and CSEES). The work focuses on the interaction between Russia’s industrial

workers and the members of the Russian intelligentsia—professionals, politicians, and the educated public in general—with whom they interacted over a fifty-year period. It is edited by Dr. Sergei I. Potolov of the Petersburg branch of the Academy of Science’s Institute of Russian History. The eight-person editorial board includes four Russians and four Americans, among them history professor **Reginald Zelnik** and Berkeley Ph.D. **Mark Steinberg**. Four of the papers are by our own Ph.D.s (**Deborah Pearl, Steinberg, Gerald Surh, Tony Swift**), one by our own faculty (**Zelnik**). Because of Berkeley’s role in the proceedings, copies are available to anyone with Berkeley affiliation for the reduced price of thirty

dollars including tax.

Send orders with check made out to “BLITZ” or with credit card information to:

Russian–Baltic Information Center
907 Mission Ave.
San Rafael, CA 94901

or credit card order:

by phone at (415) 453-3579, ask for Edward Nute; by fax at (415) 453-0343; or by e-mail to <enute@igc.apc.org>

Any profit above the costs of production and distribution will be used to subsidize further efforts at international scholarly collaboration.

Berkeley Participants in the AAASS 1997 Convention

Professor Ronelle Alexander (Slavic languages and literatures) presented “Dialectology and Bulgarian Prosody: the Tip of the Iceberg” at a panel on current issues in Bulgarian linguistics. She also served as a discussant at a panel on orality, *literaturnost*, and *skaz*.

Peter Blitstein, Ph.D. candidate in history, presented “Elder Brothers and Younger Nations: The Political Dynamics of Postwar Stalinist Historiography” at a panel on Moscow’s dialogues with the Soviet Nations, 1927-1955.

Professor George Breslauer (political science) served as chair of the panel on democratization in post-Communist states. He also served as a participant at a panel on the situation six years after the dissolution of the U.S.S.R.

Assistant Professor M. Steven Fish (political science) presented “What Does the Post-Communist Experience in Russia Tell Us about the Relationship Between Capitalism and Democracy?” at a panel on the industrialization of democracy and capitalism in post-Communist states. He also served as a discussant at a panel on democratization in post-Communist states.

Professor David Frick (Slavic languages and literatures) presented “On the Ruthenianness of the Lord of Dobromil: Jan Szczesny Herbut in Defense of the ‘Narod Ruski’” at a panel on writing Polish/writing Ukrainian.

Tomasz Grabowski, Ph.D. candidate in political science, presented “Breaking the Old Intelligentsia Ethos: The Roots and Fragility of Polish Liberalism” at a panel on the twilight of the Polish intelligentsia.

Professor Gregory Grossman (economics) served as chair of the panel entitled “West Wind Blows East.”

Professor Joan Grossman (Slavic languages and literatures) presented “Looking Beyond: The Poet-Mystic at an Exhibition” at a panel on reflection, refraction, and spectacle in Russian literature and art.

Laura Henry, Ph.D. candidate in political science, presented “After the Wave: Environmental Movements in the Post-Communist Setting” at a panel on environmental activism and policy in Russia and the N.I.S.

Page Herrlinger, recent Ph.D. in history, presented “In Search of Salvation, Not Revolution: The Experience of Worker-Sectarians in Pre-Revolutionary Russia” at a panel on urban religion in Russia at the end of the empire.

Professor Simon Karlinsky (Slavic languages and literatures) served as a discussant at a panel on the French connection and Russian culture, 1890–1921.

Dr. Alma Kunanbaeva, visiting scholar with Slavic languages

and literatures, presented “Chingiz Aitmatov and Central Asian Oral Traditions” at a panel on Chingiz Aitmatov in the Central Asian context.

W. Arthur McKee, Ph.D. candidate in history, presented “The Bacchae of 1905: Attacks on Vodka Shops and Revolutionary ‘Intoxication’” at a panel on popular violence in early twentieth-century Russia.

Assistant Professor Anne Nesbet, (Slavic languages and literatures) presented “In Borrowed Balloons: ‘The Wizard of Oz’ and the History of Soviet Aviation” at a panel on Soviet culture as child’s play. She also served as chair of the panel on reflection, refraction, and spectacle in Russian literature and art.

Associate Professor Eric Naiman (Slavic languages and literatures) presented “Frenching the Text: Puns and Genre in ‘Lolita’ and ‘Pnin’ Frenching” at a panel on Vladimir Nabokov. He also served as chair of the panel on orientalism and empire.

William Nickell, Ph.D. candidate in Slavic languages and literatures, presented “Tolstoy in 1928: In the Mirror of the Revolution” at a panel on the four epochs of development in Tolstoy and Dostoevsky. He also served as chair of the panel on the Soviet canon of pre-Revolutionary literature.

Jan Plamper, Ph.D. candidate in history, served as a discussant at a panel on “gulag” as a metaphor for the Soviet era.

Assistant Professor Harsha Ram (Slavic languages and literatures) presented a “Gribov’ev in Orenburg: A Case Study in Orientalism and Empire” at a panel on orientalism and empire. He also served as a discussant at a panel on the Soviet canon of pre-revolutionary literature.

David Schneer, Ph.D. candidate in history, presented “Response and Responsibility: Who is to Blame for a Pogrom?” at a panel on popular violence in early twentieth-century Russia.

Valerie Sperling, Ph.D. candidate in political science, presented “The ‘New’ Sexism? Images of Women in Russia During the Transition” at a panel on social issues and societal change in post-Communist Russia.

Hope Subak-Sharpe, Ph.D. candidate in Slavic languages and literatures, served as a participant at a panel on Czech linguistics and teaching methodology.

Professor Richard Taruskin (music) served as a discussant at a panel on the roots of symbolism in Russian opera.

Dr. Allan Urbanic, Slavic Collections librarian, served as a discussant at a panel on the impact of electronic resources on Slavic studies.

Ilya Vinkovetsky, Ph.D. candidate in history, presented “Recent Visions of Eurasianism in Russia” at a panel on national identity in recent Russian historiography.

Glen Worthey, Ph.D. candidate in Slavic languages and literatures, presented “Pavlik Morozov from Turgenev to Einstein” at a panel on Soviet culture as child’s play.

Dr. Alexei Yurchak, visiting lecturer in anthropology, presented “Soviet Cynical Reason: Official Authoritative Discourse and Non-official Cultural Practices” at a panel on pragmatic turn in social sciences and Russian studies.

Professor Reginald Zelnik (history) served as a discussant at a panel on the text and context of the Russian worker’s movement, 1900-1917.

Constructivist Housing, continued from page 6

women from the task of socialist construction, became the embodiment of the Stalinist home, reinforcing unequal and segregated gender roles.

It is important to note that what is being described is not the Bolshevik revolutionaries’ failure and misunderstanding of how the material world was configured. It is not simply a case of the Communist Party not getting it right the first time around, though this was often the understanding of Soviet thinkers at that time—hence the attempt to reassert Bolshevik reforms later on under Khrushchev and to lament its failures in the post-Soviet period. Rather, no specific understanding was correct or more accurate. Instead, different enabling understandings of the material world were deployed to realize highly contingent social goals at different times. The Bolshevik elite attempted to rationalize and contain social action on the basis of a particular synecdochic understanding of the material world that was objectivist and denotative. This was a particularly effective and enabling strategy with which to assert the goals of a particular social group. It was a useful strategy for the Bolshevik’s goal of the unitary and radical reconfiguration of the social and material world: revolutionary communism. Similarly, to counter the hegemonic tendency of one group, an ascendant and competing group, the Stalinist elite, asserted an understanding of the configuration of the material world that was contextual, non-objectivist, and not synecdochic. It privileged individual actions as determining and socially legitimate, thereby very creatively and effectively subverting the authority of Bolshevik elites.

An understanding of the differences between these two competing elites’ strategies describes a particular struggle in the history of Soviet material culture, but it also provides a new opportunity to examine recent debates about the study of material culture itself. In particular, it is interesting to note that poststructuralist understandings of material culture have attempted to define a critical stance in many ways similar to that of the Stalinist elite. Researchers of material culture have sought an understanding of their subject that promotes greater social justice—one that seems to be more democratic and less oppressive. To accomplish this, they have tried to construct a contextualist understanding of material culture in which it is seen as something subject to individual agency and interpretation. This has similarities with the more multivocal

attempts enacted under Stalinism, which also sought to enable individual agents to interpret and reconfigure the material world in defiance of an elite. In order to break the hegemonic authority of elite Bolshevik culture and to counter its “objectivizing” or “scientific” enterprises, which were by definition exclusive, limiting, authoritarian, and often perceived as oppressive, the new Stalinist elite appealed to a more flexible, broadly based, inclusive and more multivocal authority—namely, to a strategy of contextualism.

Critics of poststructuralism, by contrast, have valorized an enabling strategy of material culture similar to the objectivist strategy of the Bolshevik elite. Poststructuralists, they argue, have instituted an abject relativism whereby “everything goes.” Thus, disempowered groups are inhibited from forming “objective,” “fixed” identities with which to more immediately and effectively assert power and fight oppression.

The Soviet example reveals, however, that both contextualism and objectivism are simultaneously true and false. They both adequately describe how material culture can be configured and what its social effects are, but they say nothing about what material culture itself is or how it is to be theorized. As the clash between the Bolshevik and Stalinist elite reveals, objectivism and contextualism are enabling strategies that use material culture to attain specific social goals. Moreover, they are highly contingent strategies—sometimes they work, sometimes they don’t. The Stalinist elite, for example, did not understand material culture more accurately than their counterparts, but rather they deployed it in such a way as to expedite most effectively a particular social goal.

Rather than trying to think of a theory of material culture that explains all situations, then, it might be useful to think of different material cultures. One could even imagine a situation where there is no material culture, that is where materiality does not necessarily “matter” (with apologies to Judith Butler), does not enable or signify or make materially significant. Such material cultures then could be viewed as enabling strategies differentially configured to achieve varying social goals. Neither moral nor accurate, the understandings of the material world can then be seen as highly contingent attempts to cope more effectively with the material and social conditions at hand—nothing more and nothing less.

Fellowship and Other Opportunities

Slavic Center Travel Grants. Limited travel support for faculty and Center-affiliated graduate students, up to \$300, are made to those presenting a paper at a meeting of a recognized scholarly organization. Awards are made on a first-come, first-served basis, and priority is given to those who did not receive Slavic Center funding during the last AY. Deadline: on-going. Send request with budget to Barbara Voytek, U.C. Berkeley, CSEES, 361 Stephens Hall # 2304, Berkeley CA 94720-2304.

Kennan Institute Short-Term Grants are available to Russian, Post-Soviet, and East European Studies scholars who need to use the library, archival, and other specialized resources of the Washington, D.C. area, for up to one month. Provides an \$80 per diem. Deadlines: March 1, 1998; June 1, 1998; September 1, 1998. Contact: Fellowships/Grants, Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, 370 L'Enfant Promenade SW Ste 704, SI MRC 930, Washington DC 20024; Tel: (202) 287-3400; ngill@sivm.si.edu.

Foreign Language & Area Studies (FLAS) Summer Language Grants, paying fees plus a \$2,400 stipend, are awarded for intensive language training (at least 120 class hours) for a period of one to two months. Deadline: March 2, 1998. Contact: Graduate Fellowship Office, U.C. Berkeley, 318 Sproul Hall, 94720; Tel: (510) 642-0672.

The **Mangasar M. Mangasarian Fellowship** provides scholarships to U.C. Berkeley graduate students who are of Armenian descent with at least a 3.0 GPA. Students must be registered for the spring semester and have demonstrated financial need (as determined by the 97-98 FAFSA). Deadline: February 25, 1998. Contact: Graduate Fellowship Office, U.C. Berkeley, 318 Sproul Hall, 94720; Tel: (510) 642-0672.

U.C. Berkeley Chancellor's Dissertation-Year Fellowships provide a stipend of \$11,000 plus fees to outstanding students in the humanities and social sciences. Applicants must be advanced to candidacy by the time of the *CSEES Newsletter* / 18

award and expect to finish their dissertations during the fellowship year. Graduate Division requests nominations from departments, so if you would like to be considered for this award, contact your advisor well before the deadline. Deadline: March 4, 1998. Contact: Graduate Fellowship Office, U.C. Berkeley, 318 Sproul Hall, 94720; Tel: (510) 642-0672.

U.C. Mentored Research Awards, awarding a \$10,000 stipend plus fees, give continuing underrepresented women and minority graduate students the opportunity to do research that they would not be able to do otherwise and to develop and strengthen their working relationships with faculty advisers. Eligible applicants are U.S. citizens or permanent residents. Note: eligibility criteria for fellowship programs for underrepresented women and minorities are subject to change pursuant to changes in law and University policy. Graduate Division requests nominations from departments, so if you would like to be considered for an award, contact your advisor well in advance of the deadline. Deadline: March 4, 1998. Contact: Graduate Fellowship Office, U.C. Berkeley, 318 Sproul Hall, 94720; Tel: (510) 642-0672.

U.C. Dissertation-Year Fellowships, awarding a \$12,500 stipend plus fees, support and encourage underrepresented women and minority students to complete the dissertation requirements for the Ph.D. degree and to enhance their qualifications as candidates for faculty teaching and research. Recipients must be U.S. citizens or permanent residents and may not work during the grant period. Recipients must also conduct two workshops at other U.C. campuses in which they discuss their fields of study. Note: eligibility criteria for fellowship programs for underrepresented women and minorities are subject to change pursuant to changes in law and University policy. Graduate Division requests nominations from departments, so if you would like to be considered for an award, contact your advisor well in

advance of the deadline. Deadline: March 4, 1998. Contact: Graduate Fellowship Office, U.C. Berkeley, 318 Sproul Hall, 94720; Tel: (510) 642-0672.

The **Hertelendy Graduate Fellowship in Hungarian Studies** is intended to support enrolled graduate students working in the general field of Hungarian studies and/or U.S.–Hungarian or European (including E.U.)–Hungarian relations, including all areas of history, language, culture, arts, society, politics, and institutions of Hungary. Graduates of any nationality and citizenship are eligible to apply, provided only that they reside in the United States at the time of application and plan to embark on a career in the United States. Deadline: March 15, 1998. Contact: Barbara Voytek, U.C. Berkeley, Center for Slavic and East European Studies, 361 Stephens Hall # 2304, Berkeley, CA 94720-2304; Tel: (510) 643-6736; bvoytek@uclink.berkeley.edu.

The **1998 Summer Research Laboratory on Russia and Eastern Europe** provides associateships during the period of June 15 through August 7, 1998. The program provides an opportunity for dissertation-stage graduate students and scholars (including faculty) to benefit from the resources of the University of Illinois library, the advice of the Slavic and East European library staff, the community of colleagues to discuss current research. A limited number of housing awards will be given for free housing at a campus dormitory. Deadline: April 1, 1998. Contact: Russian and East European Center, University of Illinois, 104 International Studies Bldg, 910 S Fifth St, Champaign IL 61820; Tel: (217) 333-1244; Fax: (217) 333-1582; reec@uiuc.edu.

Institute of International Studies. Each of the following IIS Fellowships are awarded to U.C. Berkeley-registered graduate students. Deadline for all IIS fellowships is April 4, 1998. Contact: Fellowship Coordinator, IIS, U.C. Berkeley, 215 Moses Hall # 2309, Berkeley CA 94720-2309; sally@globetrotter.berkeley.edu; <http://globe>

trotter.berkeley.edu/fellowship.

IIS-MacArthur & Mellon Dissertation Fellowships on the Politics of Cultural Identity are for students pursuing research and training on the political mobilization of cultural identities; the implications for democratic norms and political conflict; when and how institutions can be designed to shape such conflicts; and the role of international actors in encouraging and restraining violent forms of identity politics. The fellowships award an annual stipend of \$12,000 to be used for maintenance, research-related travel, and tuition/fees. Applicants must be formally advanced to candidacy by September 1, 1998.

IIS-MacArthur Multilateralism Dissertation Fellowships are for students pursuing research on topics pertaining to multilateralism. The annual stipend of \$12,000 can be used for maintenance, research-related travel, and tuition/fees. During the term of the award, the total income from all sources, excluding awards for travel and tuition, cannot exceed \$14,500. Applicants must be formally advanced to candidacy by September 1, 1998. *Students in academic disciplines that have not traditionally focused on international relations or security issues are encouraged to apply.*

IIS-MacArthur Multilateralism Pre-Dissertation Fellowships are for students pursuing research on topics pertaining to multilateralism. The annual stipend of \$10,000 can be used for maintenance, research-related travel, and tuition/fees. During the term of the award, the total income from all sources, excluding awards for travel and tuition, cannot exceed \$14,500.

IIS-MacArthur Pre-Dissertation Fellowships on the Politics of Cultural Identity are for students pursuing research and training on the political mobilization of cultural identities, the implications for democratic norms and political conflict, when and how institutions can be designed to shape such conflicts, and the role of international actors in encouraging and restraining violent forms of identity politics. The fellowships award an annual stipend of \$10,000 to be used for maintenance, research-related travel, and tuition/fees.

IIS-Mellon Dissertation Fellowships on the Moral Economy of Islam are for students pursuing research and training on the moral economy of Islam. Applicants must be advanced to candidacy (or the equivalent) by September 1, 1998.

The **IIS-Reinhard Bendix Memorial Research Fellowship** is awarded to a student who shows promise of advancing scholarship in the field of political and social theory or in historic studies of society and politics. Applicants should be advanced to candidacy (or the equivalent) by September 1, 1998.

The **IIS-Allan Sharlin Memorial Award** is awarded to a student who shows promise of advancing scholarship in the field of historical sociology, historical demography, or social history. Applicants must be advanced to candidacy by September 1, 1998.

The **IIS-John L. Simpson Memorial Research Fellowship in International & Comparative Studies** is awarded to a student conducting research in comparative studies (analyzing similarities and differences among societies and states with respect to social, cultural, political, economic structures and policies), or international studies (analyzing relations among states, economies, and societies including patterns of these relationships in global and transnational systems). Applicants should be advanced to candidacy (or the equivalent) by September 1, 1998.

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would rather keep away from them altogether. In late November, the president himself dealt briefly with the passport issue in a meeting with his prime minister and the speakers of the two Federal Assembly chambers—the “Big Four” forum. Faced with opposition from both speakers—Gennadiy Seleznev and the Federation Council speaker Igor Stroyev—Boris Yeltsin easily opted for a slight revision of the passport design. After that meeting, Seleznev reported that the disputes may be settled with special supplementary sheets, where ethnic regions could include the nationality line.

As a matter of fact, such inserts could probably be added without much formal hassle, since the statute on the passport allows for “inserted elements” for certain purposes. In that sense, the ethnic republics can be placated, without the regime having to change the original design.

While the use of inserts will satisfy the nationalist forces in various republics, it will preserve all the problematic aspects of *having to* list one’s nationality. It is very likely that once a citizen of, for example, Tatarstan has had an insert added to his passport, he will feel pressure to state his nationality there.

The local elite will decide on the standard for their republic, and the Soviet system, with all its implications, will be maintained mostly unchanged.

Furthermore, the opponents of the new passport may not be content even if inserts are employed: the question of the passport cover has yet to be resolved. The two-headed eagle was the state symbol of imperial Russia, and may therefore be seen by some minority groups as a symbol of oppression. But the eagle has also long since served as the state symbol of post-Soviet Russia. Should the pressure on the regime to change this build up further, one could envisage a strange public process of soul-searching about the new Russian statehood.

The search for the essence of Russia is an age-old pursuit; the diversity of the population of the state has been a pressing issue for centuries. In the Soviet Union, this diversity was codified for the first time. Today, as the introductory words of the 1993 Constitution demonstrate, it remains a key trait of the new state:

“We, the multinational people of the Russian Federation...”

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