



Center for Slavic and East European Studies

Newsletter

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Newsletter of the Center for Slavic and East European Studies

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Please send suggestions, corrections,
or inquiries to the *Newsletter* editors
at the address above. We welcome
your comments and suggestions.

Notes from the Chair

This summer, I traveled with my husband and twelve-year-old daughter to Eastern Europe and Russia. We began our journey in Budapest, moved on to Prague and then Moscow. Of all the places we visited, Moscow held the most surprises. The city sparkled with newly renovated historic buildings and churches, streets were freshly paved and clear of garbage and debris, the flow of traffic was better managed, cafes and restaurants have greatly increased in number and variety, underground shopping malls were doing a brisk business, and on warm summer evenings the city's boulevards filled with well-dressed Muscovites picnicking on the grass. For the first time in my memory, Moscow had an appearance, atmosphere, and public life comparable to the other great East European cities.

Nearly everyone we encountered in Moscow, including government officials, intellectuals, and service sector workers, observed that the cost of living was exceedingly high and some groups were faring poorly under the new conditions. And yet, overall, they told us that their experience and objective indicators pointed to increased stability and normalization. Travelers to some of Russia's regional capitals reported similar improvements in the urban infrastructure affecting everyday life.

The massive financial and political crisis of the past week seems to have fundamentally changed the situation in Russia. With the approval of the \$23 billion stabilization loan from the IMF, this particular catastrophe was not widely anticipated. Indeed, most people were unprepared for the sudden assault on their standard of living, not to speak of the unsettling effect of political turmoil among the leadership.

One aspect of the current situation deserves notice: both the recent events in Russia and the repercussions of these events worldwide attest to the profound significance of globalization and the interconnectedness of domestic and foreign developments. A recent confluence of circumstances has had particularly adverse effects on Russia. The crisis in Asia depressed commodity prices and hurt Russia's export earnings and revenues, and most important, the confidence of foreign investors in emerging markets, including Russia's, was undermined by the collapse of Asian currencies and equity markets. Russia is now deeply integrated into the global economy, albeit not with entirely anticipated or welcome consequences. During the coming year, we hope to explore these issues and their implications for post-Communist countries of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

The Center is hosting many visitors in 1998-99 whose presence will enable us to deepen our knowledge of the region. With the Center's support, Gayane Hagopian will be teaching a course on Ancient Armenian both semesters, and Alma Kunanbaeva will be teaching Kazakh language each semester and will team-teach a survey course on Central Asia in the spring. Stephan Astourian comes to Cal as the William Saroyan Visiting Professor

in Armenian Studies and will be teaching two courses in the fall and one in the spring. Leila Aliyeva will visit BPS this fall as the Visiting Caucasus Scholar. Pauline Gianoplus will be here for the year as the postdoctoral fellow with the Sawyer Seminar, “Entrepreneurs, Entrepreneurialism, and Democracy in Communist and Post-Communist Societies,” our joint project with the Center for Chinese Studies. Other scholars who will be visiting campus in the fall include Joseph Brada, Vladimir Degoev, Issa Guliev, Sergei Minyaev, and Firuza Ozdoeva.

As usual, the Center will sponsor many brown bag talks and lectures over the coming academic year. The annual Colin Miller Memorial Lecture will take place on Monday, November 9. This year’s topic, “Culture, Journalism, and Entrepreneurship,” will feature two distinguished figures in the world of new Russian print media: Masha Lipman, deputy editor-in-chief of *Itogi* (the premier Russian political weekly, linked to *Newsweek*) and Irina Prokhorova, chief editor and founder of *Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie* (the most influential scholarly journal devoted to literature and culture) and its supplement *Neprikosnovennyi Zapas* (a cross between the *New Yorker* and the *New York Review of Books*).

The Berkeley–Stanford Conference will be hosted by Berkeley this year and will take place on Friday, March 12. The topic will be the new elites (political, economic, and cultural) of post-Communist societies. Our annual Teachers Outreach Conference will be held on Saturday and Sunday, April 10 and 11 on a topic still to be determined. The annual Caucasus conference, “State Building and the Reconstruction of Shattered Societies” is

scheduled for Saturday, April 24. Finally, “Russia on the Eve of the Twenty-first Century,” a conference that culminates a two-year project funded by the Carnegie Foundation, will take place on Friday, May 14. Please mark your calendars with these preliminary dates, and we will bring you more information on these conferences in our monthly updates as the dates draw nearer.

With this issue of the CSEES Newsletter, we expand our focus to include additional information about our graduate training program, the Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies (BPS). The newsletter will now be published twice during the academic year, at the beginning of each semester, and will continue to bring you interesting articles, book reviews, and news. Monthly updates, published during the academic year and mailed to campus addresses and to our Associates of the Slavic Center, will keep you posted about events, funding deadlines, and other timely news. Our scope for the newsletter is broader, but our coverage will remain in-depth and informative.

I look forward to seeing you at our annual fall reception on Thursday, October 8 at 4:00 p.m. in the Alumni House. Our fall reception is made possible in part by the generous contributions of our Associates of the Slavic Center, whose loyal support and dedication we value so much.

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

Notes from BPS

After a productive year at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University, I return to Berkeley with batteries fully charged. Marc Garcelon has done a marvelous job as my replacement, and I am very grateful to him for leaving the Program in such good shape. Marc will be staying at Berkeley until the spring, at which point he will take up his new position as assistant professor of sociology at Middlebury College in Vermont. We will miss him, and we wish him and his family the best of luck in their new home.

The Program's chair, George Breslauer, will also be leaving us for the coming academic year. He will be on sabbatical in Paris, working on a book on Yeltsin's leadership and enjoying French cuisine. We wish him and his family a happy and productive year.

The coming academic year should be an exciting one at the Program. We will continue to award graduate fellowships, bring visiting speakers to campus, sponsor joint graduate student/faculty workshops, organize conferences, and publish additions to our working paper series.

A particular focus of our efforts, however, will be a research project funded by the Carnegie Corporation that investigates the sources of stability and instability in the new Russia. Our plan is to hold regular seminars over the course of the year to address particular themes. We will also organize a conference in May at which the members of the research team will present papers for discussion and comments. The members of the research team are Victoria Bonnell, George Breslauer, Steve Fish, Michael Burawoy, Yuri Slezkine, and myself from Berkeley; and Barry Ickes, Robert Sharlet, Veljko Vujacic, Victor Zaslavsky, and Kimberly Zisk from other institutions. Papers will be published in a volume edited by Victoria Bonnell and George Breslauer.

Activities under our Caucasus and Caspian Littoral initiative will also continue this year. We will host Leila Aliyeva, a prominent specialist on Azeri foreign policy, as our annual visiting scholar in the fall. We are also cosponsoring the appointment of Sergei Arutiunov, an anthropologist from the Institute of Ethnology and

Anthropology in Moscow, as a visiting professor of anthropology in the spring. Professor Arutiunov will be teaching a course entitled "Peoples and Cultures of the Caucasus" in the anthropology department. We will also benefit from the presence of Stephan Astourian, who will be the William Saroyan Professor of Armenian Studies this year. Through the history department, Professor Astourian will be teaching two courses entitled "The Caucasus in the Modern Era" and "Armenian History: From Ethnogenesis to the Dark Ages (circa A.D. 1500)" in the fall, and he will be teaching a third course entitled "Armenian History: From Premodern Empires to the Present" in the spring. We will be sponsoring two language courses, offered both semesters through the Near Eastern studies department: Armenian taught by Gayane Hagopian and Kazakh taught by Alma Kunanbaeva. Harsha Ram in the Slavic department and Professor Kunanbaeva will be offering a survey course on Central Asia in the spring. Finally, we would like to welcome visiting Fulbright scholar Vladimir Degoev, professor and chair of the Department of Russian History and Caucasian Studies at North Ossetian State University in Vladikavkaz, Russia, who will be researching "The Caucasus in the International and Geopolitical System of the Sixteenth through Twentieth Centuries: The Origins of the Regional Threats to Global Security" at the history department this fall. The research theme for our Caucasus project this year is "State Building and the Reconstruction of Shattered Societies," which will be the subject of our annual conference in April.

I am happy to be back in Berkeley and am looking forward to working once again with the wonderful administrative staff, graduate students, and faculty associated with the Program and the Slavic Center. And I would especially like to thank Lexie Wood and Sasha Radovich for doing such an excellent job during my absence.

Edward W. Walker
Executive Director
Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies

Fall 1998 Courses

Selected Faculty Course Offerings and Selected Area-Related Courses

Anthropology 24:4	A Short Walk Through the Past: Virtual Reality in Archaeology	R. Tringham
Anthropology 128:2	Multimedia Authoring for Archaeology	R. Tringham
Anthropology 230:1	Multimedia Authoring in Archaeology	R. Tringham
Comparative Literature 1B:4	Transgressions	A. Hruska
Comparative Literature 200	System and Excess: Towards an Ontology of Fiction	N. Ruttenburg
Comparative Literature 223	The Novel in the Age of Democratic Revolution	N. Ruttenberg
Demography C193 (crosslisted as Anthro/Socio C193)		E. Hammel
	Application of Computing Techniques in Technical Report and Grant Writing in the Social Sciences	
Dramatic Arts 151A	Theater History	M. Gordon
History 101:1	Armenian History: From Ethnogenesis to the Dark Ages (circa A.D. 1500)	S. Astourian
History 103B:2	The Caucasus in the Modern Era	S. Astourian
History 103B:8	Remaking the Revolution: The Soviet Union, 1928–1939	B. Kassof
History 171A	Russia to Peter the Great	N. Riasanovsky
History 171B	Imperial Russia	R. Zelnik
History 175A	A History of Poland-Lithuania	D. Frick
History 280B	Graduate Proseminar on Late Imperial Russia	R. Zelnik
Near Eastern Std 298:3	Ancient History of Armenia & the Armenian Language	G. Hagopian
Near Eastern Std 298:4	Study Group on the Kazakh Language	A. Kunanbaeva
Political Science 002	Introduction to Comparative Politics	A. Janos
Political Science 120A	International Relations	S. Weber
Political Science 137A	Revolutionary Movements: "Fascism" and Social Science	A. J. Gregor
Political Science 137C	Transitions to Democracy	M. S. Fish
Political Science 200	Major Themes in Comparative Analysis	K. Jowitt
Political Science 210:1	Interpretations of Fascism	A. J. Gregor
Political Science 214	Scientific Socialism: Career of a Concept From Marx to Bhaskar	P. Thomas
Political Science 241B	Designing and Conducting Research on Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Foreign Relations	M. S. Fish
Political Science 285D:1	Revisiting the Cold War	D. Clemens
Slavic 5A:1	Reading and Composition	Staff
Slavic 5B:1	Reading and Composition	Staff
Slavic 39G:1	Lower Division Seminar	H. McLean
Slavic 45:1	19th Century Russian Literature	H. Ram
Slavic 132:1 (Eng 125C)	Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, and the English Novel	L. Knapp
Slavic 134A:1	Gogol	A. Nesbet
Slavic 147:1	Slavic Folklore	R. Alexander
Slavic 181:1	Readings in Russian Literature	O. Matich
Slavic 190:1	Russian Culture Taught in Russian: Country, Identity, and Language	I. Paperno
Slavic 210:1	Old Church Slavic	J. Nichols
Slavic 214:1	Medieval Orthodox Slavic Texts	A. Timberlake
Slavic 233:1	West Slavic Linguistics	A. Timberlake
Slavic 246B:1	Russian Literature (1920s–present)	O. Matich
Slavic 280:1	Linguistics Seminar: Lithuanian	A. Timberlake
Slavic 281:1	Proseminar on the Aims and Methods of Literary Scholarship	I. Paperno
Slavic 287:1	Classical Russian Poetry	H. Ram
Sociology 101A	Sociological Theory	G. Eyal
Sociology 190:3	The New Class	G. Eyal

In addition to the courses listed above, language instruction in Bulgarian, Czech, Hungarian, Russian, and Serbian/Croatian are offered at the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures.

Eastern Jews and the Ethic of German Professionalism: The Making of the German Rabbi in the Breslau Theological Seminary

Lisa Swartout

Lisa Swartout is a Ph.D. student in the Department of History, studying nineteenth century German social history with an emphasis on religion and ethnicity.

With emancipation in 1812 and the opening up of most professions, Jews in German lands secured new possibilities for social and economic progress. Despite periodic outbreaks of anti-Semitism, Jews' position in German society improved steadily. Economically, many Jews had become solid members of the middle class. Socially, they often moved in the same circles as Christians. Assimilation, however, requires both accommodating to the new and distancing from the old. The other side to the story of Jewish emancipation is the disassociation from, even rejection of, the Jewish culture of the East.

For German Jews, more than the Jews of any other Western nation, the *Ostjuden* were a continuing preoccupation. The physical proximity of Eastern ghettos deepened the concern of Jewish and Christian Germans about a possible "invasion" by Eastern Jews. In the eyes of educated Germans, the Eastern Jews, mired in poverty, appeared hopelessly backward and superstitious. The fact that most German Jews had their roots in Polish Germany and Russia only exacerbated the psychological defense of distancing. The fear of many Western Jews that they might be identified with their ancestors or their Eastern brethren led some to assert more defiantly, "We are not like them."

One area of German Jewish life in which this changing attitude to the East can be seen is in education. Historically, Jews from the East had provided the cantors, rabbis, and teachers for German communities. Because of their migrations throughout Europe between 1600–1800, Polish Jews also dominated the teaching profession in Jewish schools. They provided most of the personnel in German Jewish elementary and middle schools—and they continued to serve in this capacity up until World War I.

When Prussian Jews received citizenship in 1812, synagogues were required by law to provide religious instruction to encourage moral life and submission to authority. Yet, for the first forty-two years after the proclamation of this law, Germany had no indigenous institutions for the training of the required educational personnel. Instead, German Jewish communities often imported rabbis educated in the Eastern Yeshiva schools staffed by Polish Jews. In the middle of the nineteenth century, however, German Jews were calling for rabbis trained in Germany.

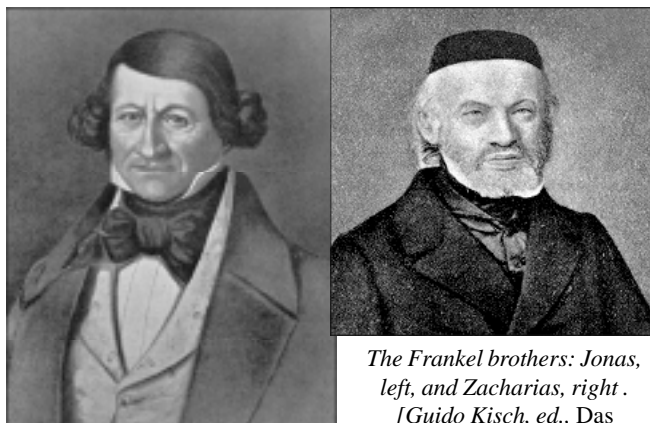
In order to fill this need, new institutions were founded to provide training for teachers and rabbis in Germany. While embracing some aspects of the Talmudic and rabbinical traditions of the East, these new seminaries tried to bring Jewish education in line with what they believed was a superior tradition of German education. They wanted to create leaders for Jewish communities in the German academic mold and to mesh the Judaic tradition with the language of modern German scholarship. The first of these institutions was the Jewish Theological Seminary (JTS) in Breslau. An examination of this institution reveals the changing German Jewish attitude to the East.

It is not surprising that the first modern Jewish seminary in Germany would find its home in Breslau. In 1871—with a population of 208,000—Breslau was the third largest city in Germany, and it had a large Jewish population, which fluctuated between 4 and 8 percent of the total for most of the nineteenth century. The possibilities for mobility and lack of an established patriciate in the city, in addition to its importance as a regional exchange center, probably attracted many Jews. The Breslau Jewish community was not only one of the largest Jewish communities in Europe, it was also was an intellectual hotbed of Jewish thinkers, scientists, and scholars. Many prominent Jewish figures lived in Breslau: the socialist Ferdinand Lassalle, the botanist Ferdinand Cohn, the historian Heinrich Graetz, the left liberal parliamentary leader Eduard Lasker, as well as many others. These Jews mixed freely with the Christian community; indeed, only Frankfurt exceeded Breslau in the numerous and tight links between Christians and Jews. And Breslau never had the type of enclosed ghetto like in Berlin or Warsaw in which walls and gates surrounded the Jewish community.

With the help of this vibrant community, the seminary opened in 1854, mostly through the efforts of two brothers, Zacharias and Jonas Frankel. Jonas, a wealthy businessman, left most of his inheritance for the creation of the seminary, and Zacharias served as the seminary's first director. The seminary also profited from donations that came not only from the Breslau Jewish community, but also from throughout and even outside of Germany. The seminarians also brought in a small income by teaching at

an elementary school which made up part of the seminary. In this way, the tradition of Jewish sacrifice, even in very poor families, for the education of their sons combined with Western large-scale philanthropy.

Zacharias founded the institute with the intention of bringing the study of Judaism in line with modern scholarship. He aimed to integrate ancient Jewish study and traditional ways of life with contemporary European society by exploring its historical roots. The program issued at the founding of the seminary called for the union of Jewish and general scholarship. Through this mixing of the old and the new, JTS believed it would bring Judaism into the modern world. The seminary emphasized its “enlightening” mission: “when people of West Europe already strolled in the bright daylight of the Enlightenment, the Jews lay in the darkness of the middle ages.”¹ With the new rights and citizenship, Jews had new responsibilities, in part the responsibility of being members of the German nation.



The Frankel brothers: Jonas, left, and Zacharias, right. [Guido Kisch, ed., *Das Breslauer Seminar (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1963)*].

The Seminary Curriculum

German Jews had played a role in the creation of the German university of the nineteenth century and in the scholarly community of arts, letters, and science. The purpose of the JTS was to incorporate the study of Judaism into this larger community. Thus, seminary instructors employed German scholarly methods, and all students of the JTS concurrently received a degree from Breslau university. Students enrolled in a seven-year course of study, which included a secular degree from the university, required by the German state for all practicing rabbis. Both faculty and students were expected to publish in German scholarly journals. The graduates of the seminary, then, were to resemble German professionals of any other type—lawyers, doctors, or teachers.

Following German philological methods—using language study and geography to understand ancient texts—the school taught Bible in the original language, Biblical exegesis, Hebrew, Aramaic, Talmud, religion and

ethics, history of Jewish literature, religious pedagogy, philosophy of religion, ethics, and homiletics. According to the program issued at the founding of the seminary, students received “a well-rounded education, the same as they would acquire in gymnasium and universities, except that it centers around the academic discipline of Jewish theology.”² Learning these methods, they believed, aided the understanding of Jewish texts; competence in oriental languages, history, and Greek philosophy facilitated comprehension of Biblical texts and *Midrash*—the commentary of the early Jews on Biblical texts written in the first ten centuries CE.

The training of Jewish community leaders in the German fashion proved an issue of great weight because of the importance of *Bildung* (cultivation) to nineteenth century Germans, both Jewish and Christian. *Bildung* involved the development of character through the study of the humanities. The ideology of *Bildung* combined the bourgeois virtues of self-reliance and self-discipline with the classical ideals of German humanism. The *Gebildete* (cultured) person was a well-rounded, socially poised, virtuous individual. *Bildung* took on a central role in the lives of many educated Germans and for some even became a form of religion. The *Gebildete* saw each other as members of an “aristocracy of education,” in which social background played little if any role. Instead, each individual’s talent determined his success in life. *Bildung* as a path to upward mobility made it attractive to the middle class, both Christian and Jewish. The success of many Germany Jews in entering German intellectual life in this period—the philosopher Moses Mendelsohn, poet Heinrich Heine, and writer Ludwig Börne represent only a few of the most prominent—underscored the tremendous possibilities that education offered.

Faith in the power of *Bildung* was often coupled with a rejection of the Talmudic tradition of Jewish education that had been kept alive in Eastern Europe. While this tradition had produced flowering cultural centers in Prague, Frankfurt, and Berlin, many Germans not only rejected this tradition, but also saw it as the root cause of backwardness. They believed that culture and religion—as opposed to poverty and political powerlessness—had caused the backwardness of Eastern Jews.

At the JTS, German *Bildung* was explicitly juxtaposed to Polish “Talmudic barbarism.” The JTS’s founders objected to the Eastern Yeshiva practice which called for isolation as an explicit mandate of religious scripture and tradition, necessary to conserve the essence and spirit of Judaism. Instead they argued that study of Jewish texts should incorporate Western methodology. Some German Jews also rejected traditional Talmudic discourse as dogmatic, claiming that it sacrificed the search for spiritual truth to battles over the wording and interpretation of scripture. They objected particularly to the *Pilpul* dialectical method of analysis, which called for posing presumed contradictions and then resolving them.

According to Mordechai Breuer, an authority on Jewish intellectual life, this method involved “hypothetical and generally far-fetched argument” in which “the formal logic and inventiveness of the pupil, as well as the educational aim of sharpening his intellect, were more important...than the search for truth.”⁷³ Heinrich Grätz, professor at the seminary, believed that these methods left a deep imprint on the character of Eastern Jews. He wrote that “the non-Jewish world...experienced to its disadvantage the superiority of the Talmudical spirit of the Polish Jews...[with their] twisting, distorting, ingenious quibbling and a foregone antipathy to what did not lie within their field of vision.”⁷⁴

Hasidism, a form of religious mysticism which had originated in Polish Jewish communities, offended many German Jews as well. They disliked its emotional style as much as the logical argumentation of the Talmudic tradition. The expressive intensity of the Hasidic religious service, which could include outbursts of sobbing, screaming, and violent body movements, differed dramatically from the German Protestant norm of solemn, quiet religious observance. The rejection of the forms of religious practice in the East was so strong that Israel Lewy, director of the seminary in the 1880s, disapproved when his successor traveled to Russia to gain additional blessings from several rabbinical authorities, because Lewy perceived this as beneath Breslau’s dignity.

The Student Body

While the JTS had abandoned many traditional Jewish forms of instructional practice from Eastern Europe, it continued to draw many of its students from that region. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, most rabbis and teachers in Germany came from Polish lands. After the establishment of JTS, a large number of students continued to come from Polish Germany, Galicia, and Russia, and as before, they would end up serving in German communities.

The seminary published lists of the geographic origins of its students. It is difficult, however, to determine from these lists the types of students who attended the seminary. One American graduate of the seminary noted that the majority of students were not Germans, but were mainly from Russia, Poland, Hungary, Galicia, and the Balkan states—this despite the fact that 60 percent were German citizens. This comment brings up an important and interesting question: to what extent were those born in the Eastern lands of Austria and Germany considered “German” by Westerners?

As a result of the partitions of 1772, 1793, and 1795, Prussia incorporated a large expanse of Polish lands. Jews from Posen (part of Polish Prussia) did not receive the same rights as Jews from other parts of Poland until 1847. Many of the strongest anti-Semitic polemics of the 1870s were directed against these Jews. The Berlin professor Heinrich von Treitschke’s attacks of 1879 focused on Posen

Jews. In his *History of Germany*, he claimed that, “there was nothing German about these people, with their stinking caftans and their obligatory lovelocks, except their detestable mongrel speech.”⁷⁵ Gordon Mork writes that in the second half of the nineteenth century, especially between 1843–1880, a great number of Jews from Polish Prussia left their homeland and moved to cities, especially Berlin and Breslau. As Jews within the German border, “their staunch proclamations that they were as much German-born as anyone from another part of Prussia were met with some skepticism.”⁷⁶ At the very least, the Jews of Polish Prussia were not perceived by German Jews as like themselves.

According to JTS’s fiftieth anniversary publication, which gives breakdowns of the origins of the 452 students who studied at the seminary between 1854–1904, most of the seminary’s students came from eastern Germany (43 percent) or Eastern Europe (35 percent). A low number of students came from western Germany (18 percent), especially in comparison to the large size of the Jewish communities in cities like Cologne, Munich, Hamburg, and Frankfurt—cities with wealthy Jewish communities where families stressed higher education for their children. Jews from Moravia, Bohemia, Galicia, and Russia were among the poorer European Jews; they number 24 percent of the seminary’s students.

The students also represented a wide variety of socioeconomic backgrounds. Although we have no direct evidence, we can learn something about the social status of these students by looking at the professions of their fathers. The information on some 452 seminarians available to the institute is given below:⁷

- 102 more or less religiously oriented professions
(forty-one rabbis, thirty-nine teachers)
- 180 sons of merchants, traders, small shop owners
- The others (270) are unknown.

The first mystery is what accounts for the 38 percent of fathers with unknown professions. The JTS publication provides no explanation for this missing information. It is possible that these fathers had no profession, which would clearly place them at a lower socioeconomic level. Some could very well be members of the pejoratively termed *Betteljuden*, itinerant and peddling “beggar Jews.” The JTS also had no category for the other end of the spectrum, the category of professionals like lawyers, teachers, civil servants, or doctors. Comprising 7 percent of the total Jewish population in 1895, they would have been the most likely to send their children on to receive a higher education. In addition, the number of sons of religious professionals seems relatively small (22 percent), especially in comparison to the numbers of Protestant theology students who followed their fathers in the ministry. This was probably because a position within the religious community served as a path to mobility for poorer sections of the Jewish population. Once families

became established, other careers opened up in trade or the free professions.

Another indicator of a lower socioeconomic status of the students was that most of them came from either rural areas or small cities. Hugo Weczerka, in his study of the origins of the seminary students notes that with the exception of Breslau itself, the site of the seminary, large cities supplied only a tiny fraction of the students.

Despite the origin of many of the seminary students in the East, they did not return there to work. Of the 183 rabbis and teachers who graduated from the school, most found work in the West: Germany, America, or other Western European countries. While 61 percent of students were born in Germany, 69 percent ended up serving as teachers or rabbis there. Of the twenty-one students who were born in Russia, only three returned. Most likely, a similarly small number would have returned to Galicia after their studies, especially because most of the Galician Jewish community was Orthodox. Further west, the situation becomes more striking: while 9 percent found work in non-German Western Europe and America, only 3 percent were born there.

What we find in the JTS, then, is an emphasis on German methods and the creation of a German Jewish identity in a student body that had a significant minority from Polish Russia, Galicia, and Russia. These Eastern students, products of German academic institutions, would then fill rabbinical and teaching posts in Germany, posts previously occupied by those trained in the East.

The Legacy of the JTS

Armed with their education in institutions like the JTS, young Jewish men from Germany and Eastern Europe helped to spread German culture to the Jewish communities where they served as rabbis.

Rabbis held a position of social prominence; the prohibition against entering into each others' jurisdiction without invitation attests to the importance of rabbis within their community. They were involved in all areas of life. They strove to be *Seelsorger* (spiritual leaders) and provided counseling on everything from changing jobs to marriage difficulties to more general religious questions. Rabbis also helped care for the indigent. In larger cities, they managed complex charity organizations. Especially needy were the immigrants arriving from the East, whose final destination point was often rabbis' offices. By the second half of the nineteenth century, communities were also demanding rabbis who could give eloquent sermons. Along with these formal and informal duties, rabbis strove to be scholars: they studied and wrote in the fields of history, philosophy, exegesis, and *Midrash*.

Training both rabbis and teachers to be scholars remained a central goal of JTS. The faculty had several well-known professors, including the classicist Jacob Bernays and the historian Heinrich Graetz, who wrote a



The Jewish Theological Seminary in Breslau, as it appeared in 1904.

monumental seven-volume history of the Jewish people while teaching at the seminary. But the influence of the seminary extended beyond scholarly production into the organization of other similar institutes, both inside Germany and in other lands. Graduates served as instructors in Jewish seminaries around the world: in Budapest, Vienna, Berlin, Florence, and New York. They also taught at teachers' institutes in Berlin, Hanover, and Münster. Seminary graduates served as some of the founding members of important Jewish defense and self-help organizations. These organizations defended the rights of the Jew as German citizens and continued the JTS emphasis on the integration of Jewish culture and scholarship in Germany.

In 1854, at the time of the Breslau seminary's founding, hope still reigned that Jews might eventually win complete acceptance in German society. Pride in membership in the middle class mostly predominated over criticism of its mores. Faith in the power of *Bildung* to improve lives prevailed—thus the importance and significance of the Jewish Theological Seminary. From the perspective of its supporters, the JTS conserved the spirit of the Jewish heritage while bringing it within the circles of German academic life and infused it with vitality. The JTS trained rabbis and teachers in the German methods of history, philosophy, and language in the hope of ending the perceived domination of Polish "Talmudic barbarism" in German Jewish communities.

The image of *Ostjuden* for Western Jews did not remain static, however. Steven Ascheim has shown how ideas about *Ostjuden* functioned like an inverted mirror: German Jews saw in their Eastern cousins the opposite of themselves. Zionism, heightened anti-Semitism, and the *fin-de-siècle* pessimism of German Jews led in turn to an increasing idealization of the *Ostjuden*. After the face-to-face encounter with the *Ostjuden* on the Eastern front in World War I and with the destruction of Old Germany and the creation of the Weimar Republic, Jewish critics of the smug hypocritical bourgeoisie used the Eastern Jew as a

symbolic weapon. Now instead of dirty, superstitious and indigent, he became the symbol of the authentic, natural, passionate Mensch.

¹ *Programm zur Eröffnung des jüdisch-theologischen Seminars zu Breslau Franckel'sche Stiftung den 16. August 1854* (Breslau: W. G. Korn, 1854), 3.

² *Ibid.*, 42.

³ Michael A. Meyer, ed., *German-Jewish History in Modern Times*, vol. 1, *Tradition and Enlightenment* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 214.

⁴ Steven E. Ascheim, *Brothers and Strangers: the East European Jew in German and German Jewish Consciousness 1800–1923* (Madison WI: Wisconsin University Press, 1982), 15.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 59.

⁶ Gordon Mork, "German Nationalism and Jewish Assimilation," *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* (New York: Leo Baeck Institute, 1975).

⁷ Marcus Brann, *Geschichte des Jüdisch-theologischen Seminars (Fraenckel'sche Stiftung) in Breslau. Festschrift zum fünfzigjährigen Jubiläum der Anstalt* (Breslau: Druck von T. Schatzky, gmbh, 1904), 136.



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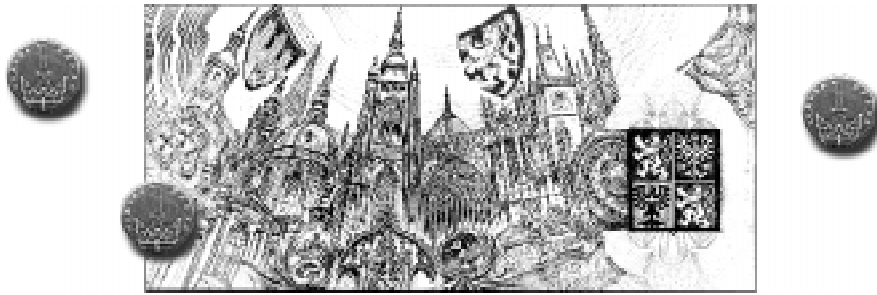
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Market Failure and Corruption in The Czech Republic

Andrew Schwartz

*Andrew Schwartz, Ph.D. candidate in political science, will be filing his dissertation entitled “The Best-Laid Plan: The Unexpected Evolution of Privatization in the Czech Republic.” The following is an updated version of an article published in December in Transition.**

The circumstances behind the December 1997 resignation of Czech Prime Minister, Václav Klaus, illustrated the perils of unbridled markets to economic freedom and political democracy. Klaus’s troubles were a variant of the ills buffeting the East Asian economies.

The immediate provocations for Klaus’s resignation were the discovery of a five million dollar Swiss bank account linked to officials in Klaus’s party and a suspicious payment to the party from a successful bidder in a privatization case.

The deeper causes for Klaus’s resignation lie in a free market system in which nearly everyone in government is assumed to be on the take, in which the stock market is rigged, and in which bribery is considered legitimate business. The Communist-era motto, “He who doesn’t steal, steals from his family,” seems applicable under Czech capitalism.

The Western press instead attributed Klaus’s troubles to the inevitable misfortunes of an “economic slump.” At first glance, this sounds like a good reason why Klaus’s political fortunes skidded.

In 1997, The Czech Republic saw its currency collapse over 20% against the dollar, its trade deficit and government budget deficit balloon, and its economic growth slow to a crawl. Even the remarkably low Czech unemployment rate rose over 25%, though to a still mild 4.9%. More recently, first quarter 1998 Czech GNP was a disastrous minus 0.9%.

Nonetheless, the “economic slump” was not the fundamental reason behind the political upheaval in the Czech Republic. Rather, it was the excuse. The real culprit was the unregulated free market.

The unregulated free market came to the Czech Republic and the other former Communist countries in the

guise of rapid privatization, the main market reform strategy of the early 1990s. The idea was to privatize before threatened former Communist enterprise managers, bureaucrats and trade unions could set up defences against the development of free markets. Rapid privatization was behind Klaus’s political fall.

Led by Klaus, the Czech reformers religiously pursued rapid privatization. Prior to 1989, the Czech state owned 97% of total economic assets. From 1992 to 1994, the Czech Republic transferred over 70% of national assets from the state to non-state owners. Today, the state share is under 20%; and, by the turn of the century that share may well be under 10%.

Rapid privatization and especially the Czech voucher program—which offered citizens chances to purchase shares in large companies at nominal prices—met with popular enthusiasm. Within two years, nearly every Czech was a shareholder; indeed, the Czechs were the largest per capita shareholders of any country in the world, including the United States.

Rapid privatization seemed to underpin the country’s dramatic economic recovery from Communism. Entry into the European Union seemed a matter only of when, not if. Klaus was overheard to say, “The question is not whether the Czech Republic is ready to join the European Union, but whether the European Union is ready to join the Czech Republic.”

Illusions began to crumble in early 1996. Then, the Czech public learned that the organizations designed to invest the public vouchers were instead systematically

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**Schwartz, Andrew. “Market Failure and Corruption in The Czech Republic,” Transition (World Bank) 8, no. 6 (December 1997): 4–5.*

Itineraries of the Afterlife: Handling the Relics of Lenin and Nicholas II

William Nickell

William Nickell received his Ph.D. in Slavic languages and literatures in May 1998 for his dissertation entitled “Tolstoy in the Public Domain: His Death as a National Narrative.” He delivered the following paper at the conference “Spectacles of Death in Modern Russia,” held on April 25, 1998 at Berkeley, which he organized with Professor Olga Matich of the Slavic department. This paper was written prior to the burial of the Romanov family’s remains in the Peter and Paul Cathedral in St. Petersburg on July 17, 1998, but references to the future or possible burial of the Tsar remain in this publication for the preservation of the text.

...Red Square. Soon it will be 11:00, the hour of the opening of the Mausoleum of Vladimir Il’ich Lenin.

The square becomes more stern and orderly during these last stirring minutes. The sun, rising behind St. Basil’s Cathedral, floods it with bright light, it caresses the black-red stone of the Mausoleum, plays upon the bayonets of the guards, illuminates the blue spruce, pours gold over the spires and the edges of the ruby stars of the Kremlin towers. Only the Kremlin walls are in the shade, and it seems as if nature is doing this intentionally, as if turning them into a funereal border to the red slabs of the burial vault of the leader.

The square is empty. Only the young children from a nearby kindergarten, holding hands and moving in pairs past the smiling policemen, and flocks of doves, living symbols of peace, are moving across the quieted square.

And further, near GUM, cars and buses rush past, and pedestrians hurry about...

How glad Vladimir Il’ich would be if he were to see Red Square on such a typical day. Glad for the five-pointed stars on the Kremlin towers, replacing the two-headed eagle, for the rosy-cheeked children, who know no need or want, for the automobiles, crowding out the foreign Rolls-Royces and Fords, and carrying native Russian names—Volga, Moskvich, Pobeda...

From the side of the Historical Museum a slow, ceremonial procession steps onto the square. Tens, hundreds, thousands of people. There’s no end to them in sight. In their hands they carry flowers and banners, entwined with funereal ribbons. The people are going to the Mausoleum, to the leader...¹

This passage from the beginning of Aleksei Abramov’s 1963 book on the Lenin Mausoleum describes a spectacle of commemoration, a moment of sublimated

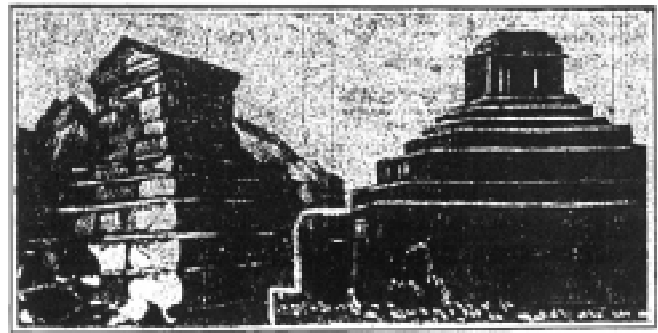
Soviet order in which the scions of the Revolution put on their best display of reverent devotion to their immortal leader. This ritual was observed daily and was performed, as Abramov attests, under the surveillant authority of Lenin himself, who could watch approvingly as his revolutionary dreams became Soviet reality. Today, however, the vehicular hegemony of the Soviet auto, the blissful play of the sun upon the bayonets of the Mausoleum guards, and alas, even the endless line of those waiting anxiously to pay their respects to the father of Bolshevism, are no longer part of the Moscow landscape. The Mausoleum is in the center of a different world now: the guards, who formerly ritually assumed their positions at “Post No. 1,” have been reassigned and if the eternal Lenin still overlooks his preserve, he sees the once-vanquished Rolls Royce and Ford coursing cavalierly over the city streets, and imperious New Russians cavorting at the hedonist pleasure house that was once the Soviet GUM. A revolution has taken place, and Lenin has slept through it all, undisturbed in his chamber of eternal repose.

Calls to remove his body, however, have revealed the volatility of the symbolic focal point in which he rests, as defenders of the Mausoleum have made incendiary retaliations against his symbolic counterpart, Nicholas II; bombs have exploded at the site of the Romanov execution in Yekaterinburg and at the statue to Nicholas recently erected outside of Moscow. While the argument over what to do with the remains of both figures has been punctuated by these excesses, the symbolic center represented by the Mausoleum has also been reshaped not by bombs, but by words and ideas. The symbolic vocabulary of the dead is being used to restructure and relocalize power, as Russia reorients itself in relation to the two antipodes of the Russian revolutions of 1917. The posthumous paths of Lenin and Nicholas, one conspicuously preserved and displayed, the other secretly effaced and concealed, have crossed in the post-Soviet period, as the relics of Lenin are desacralized and the once-desecrated remains of Nicholas are hallowed. These paths have converged, however, in the most recent discussions of how the two bodies, and the

historical conflict which they represent, should be laid to rest.

In the early Christian period the remains of saints were moved from cemeteries to churches so that the Church might incorporate within its walls the focal points of popular religion; with these translations came a new way of handling the dead, who now re-entered the public regularly congregated, where their remains were lavished with loving devotion.² The Bolshevik Revolution likewise offered up its own changes to the way that the dead were to be handled: the first Russian crematoria appeared in the 1920s, and new funeral rituals were set forth to replace Orthodox rites. Cremation was intended to democratize the community of the dead and conformed to a certain Taylorist design upon the Soviet body. This practice failed, however, to become popular with the people. There were exemplary cremations—Bogdanov and Skvortsov-Stepanov offered themselves up to the first Moscow crematorium, and the ashes of martyrs of the Revolution had been buried in the Kremlin wall—but there was deep-seated resistance to this democratic ideal even among those who were defining it.³ From the beginning, the Bolsheviks constructed categories of “very special dead,” building their pantheon first in the Kremlin wall, then adding the row of graves for departed leaders, and finally building the sepulchre of remembrance for Lenin.

The practices by which these heroes of the revolution were honored were in many respects anachronistic to the new Soviet age. The martyrs immured in the Kremlin wall were to imbue the structure with that same cultic significance that the relics of saints had once given the Church. The public display of Lenin’s mummified body was a still more striking example of this recidivism; when he died, comrades from the provinces supposedly urged that he not be cremated, but buried “like a Russian,” a request that was over-fulfilled by the building of the Mausoleum—initially announced as a measure to allow those “from the provinces” time to travel to Moscow to pay their respects to the body. This endeavor evolved into an extravagant appropriation of pre-Revolutionary tradition, though the Soviets quickly distinguished their own practice with certain innovations. The displayed relics of Orthodox saints were typically heavily shrouded, save for the miraculously (though hardly immaculately) preserved hands. Lenin’s body, however, was set forth like a crown jewel in a raised glass case, with hands and face fully revealed and illuminated by bright lights. Saints’ bodies were uncorrupted, but he was “unchanged,” by intervention that was physical, rather than metaphysical. His body was handled, like those of the saints, with utmost care and reverence, though by high priests of a different stripe, in a materialist holy of holies known as the Research Laboratory for the Study of Biological Structures. The laboratory achieved its own mystical aura: here Soviet science was perfecting the means of immortality. The architecture of the Mausoleum, with its imposing verticality



Гробница Кира. Мавзолей Ленина.
Illustration comparing the structure of Kir's tomb, left, with that of the 1924 wooden mausoleum, right. From Komsomolskaia pravda (July 21, 1929).

and ascending cubes designed to represent eternity, itself alludes to this occult intention.

The resonance of this project with pre-Christian cults has been noted. The tomb of Tutankhamen had been discovered in 1922 and had drawn attention to practices of embalming. The pyramid structure of the mausoleum indeed resonates with this precedent, though at the time it was criticized for its similarity to the Persian tomb of Kir.⁴ When the wooden structure of 1924 was replaced in 1929 by the current stone building, the pyramid model was still more elaborately recreated; much ado was made of the pan-Soviet labors by which the huge slabs of stone were gathered from each republic in the union and brought to the capital. The design of the building was fundamentally the same as the temporary structure it replaced; when complaints were again raised about the mystical nature of this design, they were answered by arguments that the mausoleum had already become familiar to workers throughout the world over the course of its five-year existence.

This latter argument makes explicit what became increasingly clear over the course of the next sixty years—that the mausoleum was itself a symbol, a metonym for its contents, which were themselves a metonym for Soviet power. Abramov made these symbolic layers manifest, referring to the Mausoleum as the “heart of the land,” and the memorial chamber as the “heart of the mausoleum.”⁵ His anthropomorphic language points out a striking irony, however, for Lenin’s own heart was removed from his body, along with his other internal organs and his brain, at the time of his first embalming. Though a report appeared recently suggesting that Lenin could be easily cloned because his soft tissue has been preserved, those who initially mummified his body were concerned not with preserving the whole Lenin, but instead only his exterior. The real Lenin was not needed so much as was his image; he, like his mausoleum, was a spectacle of Soviet power, an empty vessel that could be filled with different meanings.

Stalin himself was particularly adept at exploiting the immortal Lenin for his own purposes. He made Lenin into an ideological father and political mentor and made

the Mausoleum into his own imperial tribunal (a 1940 political dictionary in fact defined the Mausoleum, in part, as Stalin's tribunal).⁶ When Stalin departed this world, he in fact moved right into his "father's" Mausoleum. It was only through rehabilitation of his eviscerated body that Lenin could finally put a halt to this Stalinist appropriation. When the motion was raised during the Twenty-second Party Congress to remove Stalin's body from the Mausoleum, Dora Lazurkin told the Congress that she had taken counsel with "Il'ich," who had stood before her as if alive, and had told her that it was unpleasant for him to lie next to Stalin, who had caused the Party such great harm. This necromancy was quite remarkable to the world at the time, but it was repeated at the 1989 Party Congress, when it was first suggested that Lenin himself should be removed and buried because Red Square, the scene of military parades and constant commotion, was hardly a place for eternal rest.

Similar consideration for the spirit of the deceased has been raised throughout the process of identification and reburial of the remains of Nicholas and his family. Metropolitan Alexei argued that burial in Ekaterinburg would prolong "into eternity" the exile of the royal family from the capital. Another Church official pointed to the spiritual need for the bones to be returned to the soil where they were found, into which the rest of the remains have been absorbed, and the transport of the remains to Moscow for testing was likewise opposed as a desecration.⁷ Even the testing has been criticized on these grounds, though the Church has supported it because of the importance of authenticating the remains for the purposes of a possible canonization of the royal family (that would lead, of course, to ritual veneration of the bones). There are also more terrestrial concerns at play: as the scientists engage in the Fedorovian task of collecting and identifying the Romanov bones, they are enjoined to give closure to a national narrative which has some rather inglorious popular variants, including rumors that the Romanovs were the victims of a ritual murder by a Jewish conspiracy, and that Nicholas was beheaded, and that the deposed "head of state" was subsequently put on display in the Kremlin.

Though the Mausoleum was intended as a sort of temple of completeness, it has its own narratives of fragmentation. While Lenin's caretakers have done much to minimize the work of reassemblage of his body, scientists at a Moscow research institute have worked at cross-purposes, cutting his brain into 31,000 slices. There have also been many rumors over the years that Lenin's body has required significant cosmetic repairs; when it was evacuated to the east during World War II, for instance, the embalming process was said to have undergone some deleterious lapses. As the shroud of secrecy surrounding the embalming laboratory has been lifted in recent years, workers from the lab have come forth to describe certain shortcomings in their work. While once the preservation of Lenin's body was portrayed as a holy rite of Soviet science, it has increasingly been revealed as a more Frankensteinian

misadventure. Late last year *Itogi* carried a story on the rumor of a "double" of Lenin's body, which was accompanied by pictures from the laboratory revealing the indignities of the embalming process, including the "bath" which Lenin is given at regular intervals. A scientist from the lab has confessed that the embalming process used was in fact from the pre-Soviet period and that it only hastened the process of internal decay of the body.

The symbolic language of the Mausoleum has itself been in a process of decomposition for some time as well. A series of imitations, primarily of stalwart Communist cohorts such as Georgi Dimitrov, Mao Tse-tung, and Ho Chi Minh, mitigated somewhat the distinction that had once been only Lenin's. When Ferdinand Marcos was laid to rest in his own mausoleum, his preserved corpse seemed to represent not an enduring political ideology, but rather the decadent side of the cult of power. Many Russians understood this long before the first signs of decay in the official image of Lenin began to show in the late Soviet period, and there is indeed a long tradition of cultivated scorn for the ritual veneration of Lenin. For those who have come to feel this disregard more recently, the vast shared experience standing in the long queue to view Lenin's body has become a symbol of the endless and often pointless waiting that characterized the Soviet years. (Lev Rubinshtein has wryly described this experience as standing in "Line No. 1.")⁸ The mausoleum stands for time wasted not only in empty rituals, but also in building a society in which Lenin would "always live." The irony of this experience is evoked in the continued



*Lenin's mausoleum as post-Soviet coiffure.
From Argumenty i fakty [5, 902, (1998): 16].
Photo: Sergej Shakhidzhanyan.*

resonance of the image of the mausoleum, now as an evocative trope of self-parody, now as a glib flash of post-Soviet kitsch. Lenin's body has become a post-Soviet curio—whether it be in performance art (as in the mock communion recently covered in the *New York Times*), or in

the thoroughly '90s political theater of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's Liberal Democratic Party, who offered to buy Lenin's body and take it on a national tour.

The investiture through which the Mausoleum was given its great symbolic acreage is now being revoked through this "transvestiture"—the "redressing," so to speak—of the historical balance which was so evocatively turned awry in this monument to the Soviet sublime. While it was designed to eternally maintain the noble bearing of its preserve, a series of reversals have already suggested that such eternity is but an ephemeral swell of public emotion—emotion that can be carefully cultivated, assiduously contrived, and suddenly inverted, according to the vagaries of the political moment. The fate of Stalin's body comes most immediately to mind: laid ceremonially to rest next to Lenin in the Mausoleum in 1953, he was, at the height of Khrushchev's anti-Stalin campaign, secretly removed in 1961 and quite unceremoniously dumped into a simple grave near the Kremlin wall. Stalin himself had been the principal author of a long prehistory to this act, sanctioning the programmatic denunciations and executions of "treasonous enemies" who had once been national heroes. The Bolshevik claim to power was itself staked upon such inversions, from the execution of the Tsar to the unearthing of saints' relics and the compensatory "canonizations" of saints of the Communist cause.

Such re-evaluation has also defined the post-Soviet period. The *sine qua non* of this tendency has been the embracing of those relics of the pre-Soviet past that had been relegated most ignominiously to the proverbial ash heap of history—the Church and the monarchy. At times this has involved simple, though monumental reversals: the rebuilding of the Church of Christ the Savior in Moscow has been the most spectacular example. A somewhat smaller chapel, built upon the site where the Romanovs were executed, illustrates the resilient connection between orthodoxy and autocracy, which will be reaffirmed by the coming Orthodox funeral for the Tsar and his family. That Boris Yeltsin should preside over these reconstructions, when as governor of the Sverdlovsk region in 1977 he himself ordered the destruction of the house in which the executions took place, characterizes the sort of symbolic reorientation that has overtaken post-Soviet Russia. He has since described this act, intended to prevent the house from becoming a site of anti-Soviet pilgrimages, as "senseless."

Much, in fact, appears senseless in the context of such dramatic reversals. The flesh of Nicholas was burned with acid immediately after his execution so that his features would not be recognizable should his body be found, while after Lenin's death a committee of scientists was called in to determine how they could preserve his flesh so that his features would be recognizable for all. Now the purported remains of Nicholas have become the most thoroughly examined human remains in history, while Lenin's body, itself the most elaborately embalmed body in recorded history, is being considered for consignment to the ravages of the earth. There is a sense, in the current

discussions, that Russians want to somehow end these "senseless" reversals. They have not, for instance, followed the lead of Bulgaria, which in 1990 secretly removed the remains of Georgi Dimitrov from his mausoleum, where they had been preserved for more than forty years, and had them cremated.⁹ The Russians do not seem likely to dispatch Lenin by fire, like a modern day false Dimitri, back toward the land of dust whence he came, nor is the



Lenin's embalmed body as it is displayed

Church in a particular rush to add Nicholas to the canon of Russian saints. (Reports say that they will wait until public opinion sorts itself out.)

The hesitation to rush toward such actions, the binary nature of which have been argued (by Lotman and Uspensky) to be characteristic of Russian culture, has been said to stem from the lack of a clearly defined ideological alternative. A government commission organized to define a new national idea recently reported that it had been unable to reach any conclusions. Removing Lenin's Mausoleum would symbolically bury not only the past, but also the future it represented, cutting short a historical narrative for which there is no apparent substitute. (Voznesenskii mourns this loss in his poem "Nostalgia for the Future.") While burying Lenin would allow Russians to write "The History of an Eternity," as did a Bulgarian newspaper chronicling Dimitrov's recently concluded "afterlife," the metaphorical suggestion that Russia had a future only in the past offers a rather bleak perspective in the context of this teleological dead-end. The suggestion to place the Tsar's relics in the Cathedral of Christ the Savior in Moscow offered another model, in which relics of the past would consecrate a symbol of the new Russia, but both the Cathedral and the monarchy are symbols of a past to which it hardly seems possible to return in the late twentieth century.¹⁰

Though one columnist whimsically suggested that Lenin should be sent off to Petersburg and the Tsar placed in the Mausoleum, it is quite likely that both Lenin and the Romanovs will end up in their respective family burial

plots. The decision has already been made to bury the Romanov remains in their family crypt, and many are calling for the burial of Lenin between his mother's and sister's graves, as he is reported to have wished. This distribution of bodies seems to emphasize not the shifting of loci of symbolic power, but instead the normalization of the practice of burial of the dead. Yeltsin continually refers to this practice as "Christian," and at one point rather absurdly referred to the preservation and display of Lenin as a "Judaic" practice. His confusion regarding these religious categories confirms that he is in fact not concerned with theological issues, but rather wishes to describe a stable, historical process of handling the dead—one that imbeds these bodies in their proper historical context. Dispensing the remains in this way would represent not just another redesign of the political landscape, but rather a change in the principles of political landscaping. In these circumstances Lenin would represent a less spectacular historical fissure, and Nicholas a continuum that was interrupted less violently.

Many still suspect that Yeltsin will resort to removal of the mausoleum by fiat if necessary, but he has avoided dealing so incautiously with this volatile issue, which he has proposed to decide by national referendum. He likewise backed off from personally deciding the fate of the Romanov remains, though he at one point said that he would take this responsibility; a government commission, including members of the Orthodox Church, was given the task. These efforts stand in contrast to the behind-the-scenes procedures which shaped the previous episodes in our story: the execution and burial of Nicholas, the embalming of Lenin, the burial of Stalin, and the destruction of the Ipat'ev house. What is changing, then, is not only the symbolic relevance the relics of the deceased have for post-Soviet Russia, but also the practice by which those in power organize the semiotic language to which they defer.

It has been argued that the Mausoleum should be preserved as a monument of culture—an evocative representation of the unrealized ideals of Communism. Others have also defended the body as an artifact not of Soviet ideology, but rather of Soviet science; according to its caretakers, it might survive for centuries if it continues to undergo its treatments. The rhetoric of recent studies of post-Soviet Russia—with titles like "Lenin's Tomb," "Burying Lenin," "The Suicide of the Soviet Union"—confirms, however, that Lenin's body is an incarnation of a formerly glorious, but now sad, period in Russian history. Nicholas's bones likewise evocatively represent the demise of the preceding period. While other current tropes—The Reincarnation of Russia, The Resurrection of Russia—suggest a more hopeful perspective, it is clear that neither Nicholas nor Lenin offer the symbolic relics which are to rise from this historical grave. According to former Petersburg mayor Anatolii Sobchak's plans for the translation of the Romanov remains, their bodies would be transported back to Petersburg along the same route by

which they left, an itinerary that symbolizes not resurrection, but instead a repatriation bringing closure to a narrative of the past.

But though it may be that neither set of remains will have a prominent place in the topography of the Russian future, there is some teleological resonance in the calls for their reburial. If they are distributed according to an order less distorted by the political caprice and ideological seizures of the twentieth century, they can represent a healthier body politic and can be fit into a larger historical narrative. The scope and sense of that narrative may be uncertain at present, but it is at least less eschatological than the recently concluded Soviet one. This concern forms the language of the discussion of the remains, both in Parliament and on the street. A Moscow citizen interviewed recently near the Mausoleum said, "Grandfather Lenin can watch our every move from there. As long as he remains unburied, his soul will seek revenge. How else can you explain the mess our country is in?"¹¹ Calls to preserve Lenin also fit into this design: a Communist resolution set forth in Parliament argued that "In a civilized society, it is accepted that historic memorials should be preserved and the burial sites of its leading figures not touched. National shrines should be honored."¹² Those arguing over both sets of remains have consistently accused their adversaries of being "barbaric" and have trumpeted the need for "civility" toward the dead. Expressions of national embarrassment over the gruesome treatment of the Tsar and ghoulish excesses of the Mausoleum suggest that the disputed remains are conspicuous symbols not only of the overarching ambitions that once divided them so dramatically, but also of grievous cultural lapses. As a new cult of power is fashioned out of desire for civility and normalcy, the symbols of a tremendous rupture in Russian history are being translated into a new political landscape, one in which they might make less of a spectacle of the excesses that they provoked.

¹ A. Abramov, *Mavzolei Lenina*, (Moscow: 1963), 5–6.

² See Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 3–6.

³ On crematoria, see Richard Stites, *Revolutionary Dreams: Utopian Vision and Experimental Life in the Russian Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 113–4.

⁴ Lef Zelinskii, "Trebuem publikatsiiu proekta mavzoleia Lenina," *Komsomolskaia pravda* 7(1925).

⁵ Abramov, 6.

⁶ Aleksandrov, et. al., *Politicheskii slovar'* (Moscow, 1940), 324.

⁷ Some have discerned political agendas behind these arguments—the desire to keep the bones in Ekaterinburg, where they would become a popular shrine.

⁸ He alludes to the designation of the honor guard at Lenin's tomb as "Post No. 1."

⁹ The handling of Dimitrov in fact provides a point of contrast to what has been going on in Russia. The Mausoleum in Sofia was subverted much more quickly and openly than has been the case in Moscow: demonstrators dared to mount the tribunal (from which the Communist party elite observed the requisite political holidays) and made the building a center for their anti-government protests, which included a spirited campaign for the removal of Dimitrov's body. When the body was removed in secret in July of 1990, the demonstrators themselves were not even told until after the fact. This attempt to diffuse the political repercussions of the act did not prove

entirely successful, however, as several days later 150,000 people marched in the streets to honor Dimitrov.

¹⁰ Burial of the Tsar here would not signify the construction of a new pantheon (succeeding the tsarist crypt in the Peter & Paul Fortress and the Kremlin walls), but rather the finishing of an architectural project. The plan was reportedly stalled because the Cathedral hadn't held royal remains in its original form, but it was also unclear that the Romanovs would ultimately be canonized.

¹¹ Pavel Afonin, quoted in Nanette van der Laan, "Communists Battle to Keep Lenin in Red Square Tomb," *Electronic Telegraph* (Friday, March 21, 1997).

¹² *Ibid.*

Czech economy, continued from page 10

stealing from their own investors. The Czech Ministry of Finance recently enumerated fifteen stealing techniques in a widely distributed report. A common one: the investment fund managers sell company shares in the portfolio at absurdly cheap prices to dummy companies. The dummy companies sell the shares on the market. The dummy companies deposit the ensuing profits into overseas bank accounts. The fund investors—the trusting public—are left with nothing.

But that was the least of it. The Czech public learned in 1997 that dishonest operators systematically squeezed the assets from many of the country's best companies, its municipalities, and its banks, both private- and state-owned. The locals coined a charming euphemism for the criminals—tunnelers. The tunnelers achieved their wealth primarily through the corrupt collusion, or at the very best, the benign neglect of the state.

The evidence against Klaus and his party seemed to confirm once and for all that rapid privatization was not the mass distribution of national wealth, but the private appropriation of national wealth. Is it, then, any wonder that moral people called for his political head? Is it any wonder, that decent Czechs feel betrayed, even humiliated? Many Czechs came to believe, according to a local saying, that "the fish stinks from the head." This popular feeling did change recent Czech voting habits. Drawing on popular fears of the left, Klaus rallied to lose only narrowly to the Miloš Zeman and the Czech Social Democrats in the June 1998 elections.

The political and economic turmoil in the Czech Republic illustrated that private property does not make a market, any more than elections define a democracy. A fair and efficient state is necessary to regulate the market reform process. Unbridled markets lead irresistibly to unimaginable thievery. Elsewhere, the lack of attention to building a functional state administration has distorted markets and democracies throughout the former Communist world, including Russia.

Where will the Czech Republic go from here?

Certainly, the country is at a crossroads. A new generation of leaders is talking seriously about capital market regulation, bank regulation, and modern accounting and auditing standards. Behind the surface gloom of deficits, currency crises, and capital flight, long-term venture capital is seeping into the economy. One fine day, the large banks will be fully privatized to honest and experienced foreigners, who will pass on skills to the locals. Most importantly, the easy money already has been stolen, and the first generation of market reformers is fading from the scene. In their absence, I am hopeful that the next generation of Czech leaders will develop a capitalist state, the *sine qua non* of the modern world.

Outreach Program

Summer Institute for Teachers

A summer institute for teachers was held on campus July 13 through 17, 1998 and was attended by forty teachers from Northern California. Entitled "**History through Literature: Literary Heroes and Villains in the Ancient and Medieval World**," the institute was sponsored by the Office of Resources for International and Area Studies (ORIAS) and six area studies centers, including the Slavic Center.

The week-long institute looked at heroes and villains in early literature in the context of teaching world history, with a special emphasis on the middle school core curriculum. Early stories from many areas were used to define literary and cultural archetypes and compare and contrast common values and social issues in the ancient and medieval world.

Ronelle Alexander, professor of Slavic languages and literatures, represented our center, speaking on "South Slavic Oral Epic: A Bridge Between Christian and Muslim." Professor Alexander covered oral epics in the Balkans, comparing and contrasting Muslim and Orthodox/Christian epics, discussing how they were the same and where they differed. She also discussed the oral tradition, explaining how epics were told and discussing the archetypes that were common to differing peoples.

In all, the institute was a huge success, and we look forward to cooperating with ORIAS and our fellow area studies centers in the future.

Speaker's Bureau Program

As part of our community outreach services, the Center offers a **Speaker's Bureau Program**. Drawing from a talented pool of Center-affiliated graduate students, the Speaker's Bureau Program works with community groups, schoolteachers, and business groups to provide them with a knowledgeable speaker on a topic relating to Russian, Soviet, and/or East European affairs. In the past, Slavic Center graduate students have spoken on a variety of political, social, cultural, and historical topics to several community groups and K-12 classes throughout the Bay Area.

Interested groups or teachers may contact the Slavic Center at (510) 642-3230 for more program details or to arrange for a speaker.

Ph.D.s Awarded during AY 1997–98

Evgenii Bershtein, filed his dissertation “Western Models of Sexuality in Russian Modernism” with the Slavic languages and literatures department in May 1998.

Lisa De Nell Cook filed her dissertation “Three Essays on Internal and External Credit Markets in Post-Soviet and Tsarist Russia” with the economics department in December 1997.

Shawn Kate Elliott filed her dissertation “The Aesthetics of Russian Folk Religion and The Brothers Karamazov” with the comparative literature department in December 1997.

David Engerman filed his dissertation “America, Russia, and the Romance of Economic Development” with the history department in May 1998.

Lynne Allison Haney filed her dissertation “Inventing the Needy: Policies, Practices, and the Gender of Welfare in Hungary, 1948–1996” with the sociology department in December 1997.

Lisa Eileen Husmann filed her dissertation “Falling Lands, Rising Nations: Environmental-Nationalism in China and Central Asia” with the geography department in December 1997.

William Arthur McKee filed his dissertation “Taming the Green Serpent: Alcoholism, Autocracy, and Russian Society, 1881–1914” with the history department in December 1997.

Grace Anne Morsberger filed her dissertation “The Russian Woman Writer in the Salon: Issues of Gender and Literary Space” with the Slavic languages and literatures department in December 1997.

William Nickell filed his dissertation “Tolstoy in the Public Domain: His Death as a National Narrative” with the Slavic languages and literatures department in May 1998.

John Wyatt Randolph filed his dissertation “The Bakunins: Family, Nobility, and Social Thought in Imperial Russia, 1780–1840” with the history department in December 1997.

Jeffrey John Rossman filed his dissertation “Worker Resistance under Stalin: Class and Gender in the Textile Mills of the Ivanovo Industrial Region, 1928–1932” with the history department in December 1997.

Valerie Jeanne Sperling filed her dissertation “Engendering Transition: The Women’s Movement in Contemporary Russia” with the political science department in December 1997.

Carol Annette Timko filed her dissertation “Weakness in Numbers: The Fragmentation of Polish Trade Unions and Problems of Interest Representation, 1989–93” with the political science department in December 1997.

At the time of printing, the official list of spring dissertations was not yet available. Our apologies to anyone we may have left out. Please inform us of any omissions so that they may be mentioned in the next newsletter.

Congratulations to you all!

Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Fellowships Awarded

Summer 1998 FLAS Recipients

- Jonathan Barnes**, Ph.D. candidate in linguistics, studied Serbian/Croatian at the Azbukum Centre for Serbian Language in Novi Sad, Serbia.
- Scott Gehlbach**, Ph.D. candidate in political science, studied Russian at CIEE in St. Petersburg, Russia.
- Genevieve Gunderson**, Ph.D. candidate in history, studied Russian at CIEE in St. Petersburg, Russia.
- Brad Gutierrez**, Ph.D. candidate in political science at U.C. San Diego, studied Hungarian at Debrecen Summer School in Debrecen, Hungary.
- Darya Kavitskaya**, Ph.D. candidate in linguistics, studied Serbian/Croatian at the Azbukum Centre in Novi Sad, Serbia.
- Gia Kim**, Ph.D. candidate in English, studied Russian on campus.
- Melissa Levy**, Ph.D. candidate in Slavic languages and literatures, studied Russian at Middlebury College in Vermont.
- Arthur Mason**, Ph.D. candidate in anthropology, studied Russian at Intel Cross Study Abroad in St. Petersburg, Russia.
- Brian McCook**, Ph.D. candidate in history, studied Polish at a program sponsored by the Kosciuszko Foundation and Jagellonian University in Krakow, Poland.
- Sean McMeekin**, Ph.D. candidate in history, studied Russian at the ACTR One-on-One Program in Moscow, Russia.

Academic Year 1998–99 FLAS Recipients

- Mieczyslaw Boduszynski**, incoming graduate student in political science, will study beginning Serbian/Croatian.
- Winson Chu**, Ph.D. candidate in history, will study advanced Polish.
- Daniel Kronenfeld**, Ph.D. candidate in political science, will study advanced Russian.
- Brian McCook**, Ph.D. candidate in history, will study intermediate Polish.
- Christine Schick**, Ph.D. candidate in Slavic Languages and Literatures, will study beginning Czech.
- Jennifer Utrata**, incoming graduate student in sociology, will study intermediate Russian.
- Deborah Yalen**, incoming graduate student in history, will study beginning Polish.

BPS Fellowships Awarded for AY 1998–99

- Peter Blitstein**, Ph.D. candidate in history, received a Dissertation Fellowship to conduct research on Soviet nationality policy from 1936 to 1953.
- Nina Bubnova**, Ph.D. candidate in public policy, received a Graduate Training Fellowship to study public resource financial management in Russia and Ukraine.
- Laura Henry**, Ph.D. candidate in political science, received a Dissertation Fellowship to conduct field research on citizen activism in post-Communist societies.
- David Hoffman**, Ph.D. candidate in political science, received a Dissertation Fellowship to conduct research on oil revenues and state-building in Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan.
- Barbara Lehbruch**, Ph.D. candidate in political science, received a Dissertation Fellowship to write her dissertation on the economic transformation of the Russian timber industry from 1992 to 1997.
- Marie Alice L'Heureux**, Ph.D. candidate in architecture, received a Dissertation Fellowship for her research on "Changing Ideals of Home: Expressions of Identity in the Built Landscape of Estonia and Russia from Revolution to Privatization."
- Ani Mukherji**, incoming graduate student in history, received a Graduate Training Fellowship. Ani is interested in studying ethnicity, citizenship, and nation in the Caucasus in late Imperial Russia and the former Soviet Union.
- Jarrod Tanny**, Ph.D. candidate in history, received a Summer 1998 Language Training Fellowship to study Georgian language in Tbilisi, Georgia. He also received a Graduate Training Fellowship for pre-dissertation study on Soviet nationality policy in Georgia during the Stalin period.

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 May 15 and August 15, 1998. Financial support from the Associates is vital to our program of research, training, and extra-curricular activities. We would like to thank all members of ASC for their generous assistance.

CENTER CIRCLE

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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 (\$10 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.

Benefactors (\$500-up). ASC Benefactors receive invitations to the dinner and evening programs associated with our annual conferences, such as the annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference in the spring.

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.

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 Student News

Tadashi Anno, Ph.D. candidate in political science, presented a paper entitled “*Nihonjinron* and *russkaia ideia*: Transformation of Japanese and Russian Nationalism in the Postwar Era and Beyond” at a conference on postwar Japan and Russia, held at Princeton University on September 8, 1997.

Tadashi also presented a paper with **Rudra Sil** (Ph.D. in political science, 1996 and currently an assistant professor at the University of Pennsylvania) entitled “Between Traditional Identities and Modern Institutions: The Emergence of ‘Syncretism’ in Japanese Labor Relations” at the conference “Competing Modernities in Twentieth-Century Japan: 1930-1960,” held in La Jolla, California on February 15, 1998.

Elzbieta Benson, Ph.D. candidate in sociology, received the American Council of Learned Societies Dissertation Fellowship in East European Studies for the 1998–99 academic year for her dissertation entitled “From Information Monopoly to Market for Information: Institutional and Organizational Transition in Poland, 1970–1997.”

Evgenii Bershtein (Ph.D. in Slavic languages and literatures, 1998) is a visiting lecturer this academic year, teaching intermediate Russian at Berkeley this fall and advanced Russian at U.C. Davis for the year.

George Breslauer, professor of political science, was recently awarded a Chancellor’s Professorship. The award was founded in 1996 by Chancellor Tien to recognize campus professors who have combined distinguished achievement of the highest level in research, teaching, and service. The three-year appointment—beginning July 1, 1998—comes with an annual stipend of twenty thousand dollars for research-related expenses, which Professor Breslauer will use to fund his current research projects on contemporary Russian politics. Professor Breslauer is on sabbatical leave this academic year.

Robin Brooks, Ph.D. candidate in political science, recently published “Assimilation and Authenticity: Ethnic Politics in Bulgaria” in *Critical Sense* [6, no. 1, (Spring 1998)].

Robin also organized a panel discussion on Kosovo in April 1998 on campus. It was attended by about a hundred people and included four speakers on various Kosovo-related topics.

John Connelly, assistant professor of history, published “Students, Workers, and Social Change: the Limits of Czech Stalinism” in *Slavic Review* [56, no. 2, (1997): 307-335].

Jay Dautcher, Ph.D. candidate in anthropology, received a Dissertation Fellowship from the Sawyer Seminar, “Entrepreneurs, Entrepreneurialism, and Democracy in Communist and Post-Communist Societies,” funded by a Mellon Foundation grant to the Slavic Center and the Center for Chinese Studies. Jay is researching Uighur entrepreneurs’ response to the marketization of China’s economy, particularly along the China–Central Asia trade routes which pass through Xinjiang’s Ili River Valley region.

Adrienne Edgar, Ph.D. candidate in history, spent most of 1997 in Russia and Turkmenistan under the auspices of an IREX grant, doing research for her dissertation on Turkmenistan. She published “Nationality Policy and National Identity: The Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic, 1924–1929” in the *Journal of Central Asian Studies* [1, no. 2, (Spring/Summer 1997): 2–20].

For the 1998–99 academic year, Adrienne has been awarded an SSRC Dissertation Write-up Fellowship and a MacArthur Politics of Cultural Identity Fellowship from Berkeley’s Institute of International Studies.

David Engerman (Ph.D. in history, 1998) is a visiting lecturer in the history department this academic year, teaching two courses on the United States in the fall and two in the spring on the Soviet Union/Russia.

Gil Eyal, assistant professor of sociology, recently co-authored *Making Capitalism Without Capitalists* (London: Verso Books, 1998) with Ivan Szelenyi and Eleanor Townsley.

Steve Fish, associate professor of political science, received a grant from the National Council for Soviet and East European Research in June for a project on “Neosultanism in the Post-Soviet World.”

David Frick, professor of Slavic languages and literatures, received a 1998 Short-Term Travel Grant from IREX. He spent June and July in Cracow and Warsaw, gathering materials for a book entitled *Vilnius, 1640*, which will examine contacts across religious, ethnic, and linguistic groups in early modern Vilnius, Lithuania.

Andrew Janos, professor of political science, published *Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia: Ethnic Conflict and the Dissolution of Multinational States* last year (Berkeley: U.C. Berkeley, IAS Publications, Exploratory Essays, No. 3, 1997).

Liza Knapp, associate professor of Slavic languages and literatures, recently edited “*The Idiot*”: A Critical

Companion (Evanston IL: Northwestern University Press, 1998). She also authored a chapter entitled “Myshkin Through a Murky Glass, Guessingly.”

Raymond June, Ph.D. candidate in the Graduate School of Education, will be presenting a paper entitled “Authoritative Knowledge in the Post-Socialist State: Discourses of Expertise in the Czech Republic” at the American Anthropological Association annual meeting in Philadelphia, December 1998.

Czeslaw Milosz, Nobel laureate and professor emeritus of Slavic languages and literatures, contributed to the recent Townsend Center publication *Fictions and Histories* (Berkeley: U.C. Berkeley, Doreen B. Townsend Center Occasional Papers, no. 11, 1998), which included contributions by Ivan Klima and **Martina Moravcova**, a former Fulbright scholar at the Slavic Center.

Susan Morrissey (Ph.D. in history, 1993) has accepted a tenure-track job at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies in London, England. She begins this September as a lecturer in modern and contemporary Russian history (the equivalent of a U.S. assistant professorship).

Johanna Nichols, professor of Slavic languages and literatures, published a chapter entitled “Chechen Phonology” in *Phonologies of Asia and Africa* (A.S. Kaye, ed., Winona Lake IN: Eisenbrauns, 1997).

Irina Paperno, professor of Slavic languages and literatures, published a book entitled *Suicide as a Cultural Institution in Dostoevsky's Russia* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1997). A Russian translation of the work has been commissioned by *Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie* as a part of their monograph series, to be published next winter.

Jeffrey Rossman (Ph.D. in history, 1997) is spending the current academic year at Harvard University as a postdoctoral fellow. For the 1999–2000 academic year, Jeff will take up his tenure-track job as assistant professor at the University of Virginia.

Yuri Slezkine, professor of history, published the chapter “Eighteenth Century Russian Scholars Confront Ethnic Diversity” in a recent book entitled *Russia's Orient: Imperial Borderlands and Peoples, 1700–1917* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1997).

Alan Timberlake, professor of Slavic languages and literatures, co-authored an article entitled “Rasstavaiias’ so strukturalizmom” with **Victor Zhivov**, professor of Slavic languages and literatures, in *Voprosy jazkoznanija* [46, no. 3, (1997): 3–14].

Ruth Tringham, professor of anthropology, received a grant from the National Science Foundation in June for a project entitled “Investigating the Social Formation of Tells at Catal Hoyuk, Turkey.”

Francis Violich, professor emeritus of city planning and landscape architecture, produced a 27-panel exhibit on the architecture of Dalmatia. The exhibit, which had been on display in Wurster Hall, was sent to the Architectural Planning School at the University of Zagreb as part of an exchange with U.C. Berkeley. An opening for the exhibit was attended by the U.S. ambassador and representatives of Matica, the Croatian Homeland Foundation, in addition to being broadcast on Croatian television July 17. The television coverage was later rebroadcast to Croatian expatriate communities around the world.

Barbara Voytek, executive director of the Center, received a Research Grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research for her archaeological project, “From Hunter-Gatherer to Food-Producer: A Regional Study of Socioeconomic Transition in the Prehistoric Mediterranean.” The grant provides funding for continued excavations at the Grotta dell’Edera, Trieste, Italy.

Edward Walker, executive director of BPS, wrote an occasional paper for the Strengthening Democratic Institutions Project at Harvard University, *No Peace, No War in the Caucasus: Secessionist Conflicts in Chechnya, Abkhazia and Nagorno-Karabakh* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, Strengthening Democratic Institutions Project, 1998).

Faculty On Leave

George Breslauer, professor of political science and chair of BPS, is on sabbatical leave for the academic year. Victoria Bonnell will fill in as acting chair of BPS in his absence.

Michael Burawoy, professor of sociology, is on leave for the academic year.

John Connelly, assistant professor of history, is on leave for the fall semester.

Yuri Slezkine, professor of history, is on leave for the fall semester.

Campus Visitors

Leila Aliyeva, national coordinator for the U.N. National Human Development Report in Baku, Azerbaijan, will be here for the fall semester as the Visiting Caucasus Scholar at BPS, funded by the Ford Foundation. She is a prominent specialist in Azeri foreign policy.

Sergei Arutiunov, chairman of the department of Caucasian studies at the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, will visit Berkeley during the spring semester. He will be teaching two courses with the anthropology department, “Peoples and Cultures of the Caucasus” and “Archaeology of Northeast Siberia.”

Stephan Astourian has been appointed as the William Saroyan Visiting Professor of Armenian Studies. He will be teaching two courses in the fall and another in the spring through the history department. Professor Astourian has a Ph.D. in history from UCLA where he studied with Richard Hovannisian, the first William Saroyan Visiting Professor.

Josef Brada will be a visiting scholar at the Slavic Center for the year, conducting research on privatization, especially in the Czech Republic. Dr. Brada is a professor at the Department of Economics and director of the College of Business International Programs at Arizona State University, Tempe.

Vladimir Degoev, professor and chair of the Department of Russian History and Caucasian Studies at North Ossetian State University in Vladikavkaz, Russia, will be at the history department for the fall semester as a visiting Fulbright scholar. His research project is entitled “The Caucasus in the International and Geopolitical System of the Sixteenth through Twentieth Centuries: The Origins of the Regional Threats to Global Security.”

Pauline Gianoplus will spend the year at Berkeley as the Mellon Postdoctoral Fellow with the Sawyer Seminar on “Entrepreneurs, Entrepreneurialism, and Democracy in Communist and Post-Communist Societies.” Pauline recently received her Ph.D. in sociology from the University of Michigan for her dissertation “The Business of Identities: Remaking the Polish Bourgeoisie.”

Issa Guliev of the Ingush National Theater in Nazran, Russia will spend the fall semester as an exchange visitor at the departments of Slavic languages and literatures and linguistics. He is working with Johanna Nichols, professor of Slavic languages and literatures, on an Ingush–English dictionary project, funded by the National Science Foundation.

Gayane Hagopian will be teaching an Armenian language and culture course both semesters as a visiting professor in the department of Near Eastern studies. She is a former Fulbright scholar in the department of linguistics.

Alma Kunanbaeva, former head of the department of ethnography of Central Asian peoples of the Museum of Ethnography in St. Petersburg, will be teaching a Kazakh language course both semesters as a visiting professor in the department of Near Eastern studies. In the spring, she will team-teach, with Harsha Ram, assistant professor in the Slavic department, a second course on Central Asia through IAS teaching programs.

Serguei Miniaev, senior scientific researcher with the Institute of History of Material Culture at the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, will be at the Center for the fall semester as a visiting Fulbright scholar. Through the Archaeological Research Facility, he will be conducting a compositional and comparative analysis of Xiongnu period ceramics and metal artifacts, particularly from the Trans-Baikal, to investigate the economic structure of ancient nomadic societies.

Firuza Ozdoeva, head of the department of Ingush philology at Ingush State University in Nazran, Russia, will be visiting campus during the year to work with Professor Johanna Nichols on an Ingush–English dictionary project, funded by the National Science Foundation.

Zsuzsuanna Varga, a news reporter at *Hir3*, an evening news program at TV3 in Budapest, will be at the Graduate School of Journalism this year as a visiting Fulbright scholar.

Save the Date

Monday, September 21. Brown bag talk with **Hans Gunther**, professor of Slavic studies with the Fakultät für Linguistik und Literaturwissenschaft at the University of Bielefeld, Germany. He will be speaking at 12:00 p.m. on "Laughter, Beauty, and Fertility: The Mother Archetype in Soviet Culture" in 223 Moses Hall. Sponsored by the Slavic Center and the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures.

The following events are being planned for this academic year. Please mark your calendar now to save the dates. These dates are subject to change, so check your Monthly Updates as they come, or call the Center's main number at (510) 642-3230 for more event information as it becomes available. We hope to see you soon!

Fall Reception

See page 9 for details.

Thursday, October 8, 1998

Colin Miller Memorial Lecture

"Culture, Journalism, and Entrepreneurship"

This year we will have two speakers: Masha Lipman, Deputy Editor-in-Chief of *Itozi* (Moscow), and Irina Prokhorova, Chief Editor of *Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie* (Moscow).
4:00 p.m., at the Alumni House.

Monday, November 9, 1998

Berkeley–Stanford Conference

This year's conference will be on the topic of the new political, economic, and cultural elites of post-Communist societies. At the Alumni House.

Friday, March 12, 1999

Teacher's Outreach Conference

This year's topic is to be announced. At the Alumni House. Registration will be required.

Saturday and Sunday, April 10–11, 1999

Caucasus Conference

"State Building and the Reconstruction of Shattered Societies"

Saturday, April 24, 1999

Conference

"Russia on the Eve of the Twenty-first Century: Stability or Disorder?"

Friday, May 14, 1999

Other Events

Currently open, until October 11. Exhibition "**Ancient Gold: The Wealth of the Thracians.**" At the San Francisco Legion of Honor. Fees: \$7 general admission. For more information, contact the Legion of Honor at (415) 863-3330.

Friday, September 4 through October 30. Film festival: **Hungarian Film: Then and Now.** The Pacific Film Archive will be showing twenty-seven Hungarian films. Cosponsored by Magyar Filmunio, Budapest. Fees: \$6.00 general admission. For recording of PFA programs, call 510-642-1124. Contact the PFA directly at 510-642-5249.

Friday–Thursday, September 11–17. Film screening: **Gadjo Dilo.** In this third film of a trilogy, a *CSEES Newsletter* / 24

young Parisian in a quest for a gypsy singer travels across the snow-swept plains of Romania. At the U.C. Theater, 2036

Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley. The film shows at 2:45 pm, 5:00, 7:15, and 9:30 each day and 12:30 on Saturday and Sunday. Fees: \$6.50 general admission. For more information, contact the U.C. Theater at (510) 843-3456.

Tuesday, September 22. Film screening: **The Mirror** and **The Stalker**, two films by director Andrei Tarkovsky. At the U.C. Theater, 2036 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley. Film times: *Mirror* 2:00 pm, 7:00; *Stalker* 4:00 pm, 9:05. Fees: \$6.50 general admission. For more information, contact the U.C. Theater at (510) 843-3456.

Thursday–Saturday, October 1–3. Dance recital: **Ballet Preljocaj**. This French ballet company will perform a "savagely contemporary" version of Bronislava Nijinska's *Les Noces*. Sponsored by San Francisco Performances. At Yerba Buena Center for the Arts Theater, San Francisco, 8:00 pm each night and 2:00 pm on Saturday. Fees: \$18–28, depending on date and seats. For more information, contact SF Performances at (415) 392-2545.

Sunday, October 11. Recital: **Arcadi Volodos**, Russian pianist. Sponsored by Cal Performances. At Zellerbach Hall, U.C. Berkeley, 3:00 p.m. Fees: \$26. For more information, contact Cal Performances at (510) 642-9988.

Friday, October 16. Concert: **Pskov Academic Choir** from Pskov, Russia. This 30-member choir will be performing works by Russian classical composers as well as Russian folks songs. Sponsored by the Oakland/Nakhodka Sister City Association. At Lake Merritt United Methodist Church, 1320 Lakeshore Avenue, Oakland, 7:30 p.m. Fees: \$15 general, \$10 seniors and students with i.d. For more information or reservations, contact ONSCA at (510) 339-3492.

Thursday, October 22. Concert: **Budapest Festival Orchestra**, featuring Andras Schiff on piano and Ivan Fischer, conductor. Sponsored by Cal Performances. At Zellerbach Hall, U.C. Berkeley, 8:00 p.m. Fees: \$20/\$32/\$46. For more information, contact Cal Performances at (510) 642-9988.

Thursday–Saturday, November 5–7. Conference: "**Russia at the End of the Twentieth Century: Culture and Its Horizons in Politics and Society**." Sponsored by the Stanford Humanities Center and the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures at Stanford University. At various locations on the Stanford campus. This is a free conference, open to the public. There are many interesting speakers scheduled, and the conference is organized in the following panels:

Panel 1: Contemporary Russia and Artistic Imagination: Visual Arts and Music

Panel 2: The New Russia Defines Her Past

Panel 3: From Russia's Post-Soviet Space to Russia's Place

Panel 4: The Emergence of Society and Its Cultures

Panel 5: New and Improved: Post-Soviet Institutions, Their Meaning and Practice

For more information, contact the Slavic Department at (650) 723-4438 or check the detailed conference web site at <<http://www-leland.stanford.edu/group/Russia20/>>.

Saturday, January 9. Recital: **Lilya Zilberstein**, Russian pianist. Ms. Zilberstein will be performing classical music, including Rachmaninoff. Sponsored by San Francisco Performances. At Herbst Theater in San

Francisco, 8:00 pm. Fees: \$22/\$32. For more information, contact SF Performances at (415) 392-2545.

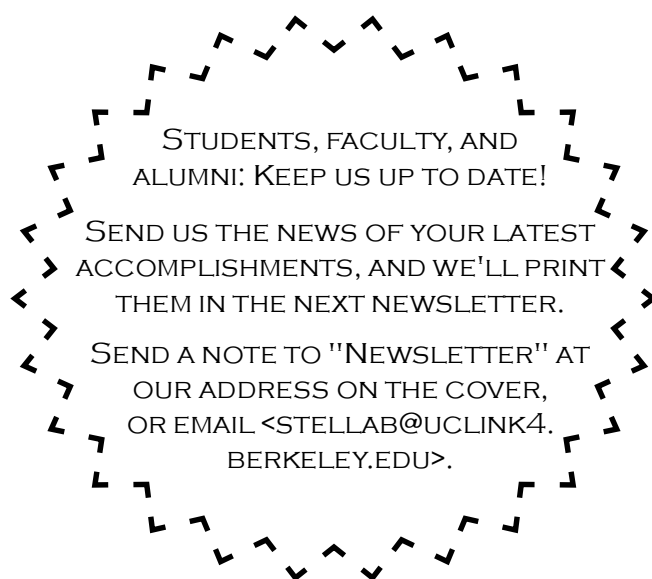
Sunday, January 24. Recital: **Itzhak Perlman**, classical violinist. Sponsored by Cal Performances. At Zellerbach Hall, U.C. Berkeley, 3:00 p.m. Fees: \$32/\$48/\$65. For more information, contact Cal Performances at (510) 642-9988.

Friday, February 19. Concert: **Chorovaya Akademia**. This fifteen-man ensemble performs Russian ecclesiastical music of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Sponsored by San Francisco Performances. At St. Ignatius Church in San Francisco, 8:00 p.m. Fees: \$22/\$26/\$30. For more information, contact SF Performances at (415) 392-2545.

Tuesday, March 9. Recital: **Yefim Bronfman**, Russian pianist. Sponsored by San Francisco Performances. At Herbst Theater in San Francisco, 8:00 pm. Fees: \$22/\$32. For more information, contact SF Performances at (415) 392-2545.

Saturday, March 13. Festival: "**Gypsy Caravan: A Celebration of Rroma Music and Dance**," featuring more than forty performers. Sponsored by Cal Performances. At Zellerbach Hall, U.C. Berkeley, 8:00 p.m. Fees: \$14/\$20/\$26. For more information, contact Cal Performances at (510) 642-9988.

Tuesday, April 6. Recital: **Dubravka Tomsic**, Slovenian pianist. Ms. Tomsic will be performing Beethoven and Brahms. Sponsored by San Francisco Performances. At Herbst Theater in San Francisco, 8:00 pm. Fees: \$22/\$32. For more information, contact SF Performances at (415) 392-2545.



Fellowship and Other Opportunities

Slavic Center Travel Grants. Limited travel support for faculty and Center-affiliated graduate students. Awards 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 in AY 97–98. Deadline: on-going. To apply send request with budget to: Barbara Voytek, CSEES, U.C. Berkeley, 361 Stephens Hall # 2304, Berkeley CA 94720-2304.

American Association of University Women

American Fellowships Dissertation Fellowships. These award \$15,000 to women in the final year of a doctoral degree program and who will finish their dissertations between July 1, 1999 and June 30, 2000. Applicants must be U.S. citizens or permanent residents. Deadline: November 1, 1998. Contact: AAUW Educational Foundation, Department 60, 2201 N Dodge St, Iowa City IA 52243-4030; Tel: 319-337-1716 ext. 60; <<http://www.aauw.org/>>.

International Fellowships award \$16,000 for full-time study or research in the U.S. to women who are not U.S. citizens or permanent residents. Deadline: January 15, 1999. Contact: AAUW Educational Foundation, Department 60, 2201 N Dodge St, Iowa City IA 52243-4030; Tel: 319-337-1716 ext. 60; <<http://www.aauw.org/>>.

Argonne National Laboratory

Nonproliferation Graduate Program Nonproliferation Internship and Foreign Practicum. Summer internship of \$2,300 per month; practicum \$2,800 per month for year. Summer internships will be held in Washington, D.C. followed by one year foreign placement in Russia, Ukraine, or Kazakhstan. Applicants must be U.S. citizens with Russian language skills. Requires one year commitment for practicum. Deadline: November 1, 1998. Contact: Diana Naples, Nonproliferation Program, Argonne National Laboratory; Tel: 630-252-1239; <NGP@anl.gov>; <<http://www.dep.anl.gov/NGP/>>.

CCWH/BDWH

The Coordinating Council for Women in History and the Berkshire Conference of Women Historians offer **Historian's Awards** and **Graduate Student Awards**. Each award gives \$500 for dissertation writing. Women graduate students in history at a U.S. institution, having completed all work up to dissertation stage, may apply. Deadline: September 15, 1998. Contact: Professor Gina Hames, Awards Committee, Department of History, Pacific Lutheran University, Tacoma WA 98447; <hamesgl@plu.edu>; <<http://www.plu.edu/~hamesgl/>>.

Ford Foundation

Minority Predoctoral and Dissertation Fellowships. Award amount tba, but AY 97–98 amounts were \$14,000
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plus tuition and fees for predoctoral awards and \$18,000 for dissertation awards. Applicants must be graduate students of specified minority groups enrolled in a doctoral program. Applicants must be U.S. citizens without any other doctoral degree and who wish to pursue a career in teaching and research. Deadline: tba in September; estimated deadline is mid-September. Contact: Fellowship Office/FF, National Research Council, 2101 Constitution Ave, Washington DC 20418; Tel: 202-334-2872; <infofell@nas.edu>; <<http://www2.nas.edu/fo/>>.

Fulbright/Hays

Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad Grants pay a monthly stipend; amounts depend on country. Period of award ranges from 6 to 12 months. Grants are intended for full-time dissertation research overseas in modern foreign language and area studies by U.S. citizens and permanent residents. For more information, see grant web site at <<http://www.usia.gov/education/fulbright50/fulb50.htm>>. Campus deadline: October 15, 1998. Contact: Graduate Fellowships Office, 318 Sproul Hall # 5900; Tel: 510-642-0672; <<http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/grad/>>.

Fulbright/IIE

Travel Grants. These awards cover airfare and are granted only for travel to Germany, Hungary, Italy, or Korea. Grants are intended to supplement an award from a non-IIE source that does not provide for travel or to supplement a student's own funds for study. Applicants must be U.S. citizens. Deadline: October 23, 1998. Contact: Institute of International Education, 809 United Nations Plaza, New York NY 10017-3580; <<http://www.iie.org/fulbright/us/>>.

Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies Academy Scholars Program Graduate Fellowships fund \$20,000–25,000 for grads and \$30,000–35,000 for postdocs. Intended for the very brightest younger scholars whose work combines disciplinary excellence in the social sciences with an in-depth grounding in a particular region, these fellowships require residency at the Weatherhead Center during the term of the award. Deadline: October 9, 1998. Contact: The Academy Scholars Program, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, 1737 Cambridge St, Cambridge MA 02138; Tel: 617-495-2137; Fax: 617-495-8292; Beth Hastie, <bhastie@cfia.harvard.edu>.

International Research and Exchanges Board

Individual Advanced Research Opportunities. Award amounts vary. One- to twelve-month grants are given to Ph.D. candidates and postdoctoral scholars to conduct research at institutions in Central and Eastern Europe, Eurasia, and Mongolia. Deadline: November 1, 1998. Contact: IREX, 1616 H St NW, Washington DC 20006; Tel: 202-628-8188; fax: 202-628-8189; <irex@irex.org>.

<<http://www.irex.org>>.

Southeastern Europe Area Studies Development Program (formerly Bulgarian Studies Seminar). Seminars are designed to improve scholars' knowledge of the region, especially language training. Awards cover airfare, tuition, and stipend. Seminars are held in Albania, Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Romania in July and seminar topics vary. Scholars from graduate students through tenured faculty are eligible to apply. Deadline: November 1, 1998. Contact: IREX, 1616 H St NW, Washington DC 20006; Tel: 202-628-8188; fax: 202-628-8189; <irex@irex.org>; <<http://www.irex.org>>.

Mabel McLeod Lewis Fellowships are for advanced doctoral candidates in the humanities to fund the completion of a scholarly dissertation project on which significant progress has already been made. Deadline: tba, possibly early December. Keep in touch with the Graduate Fellowships Office for more details. Contact: Graduate Fellowships Office, 318 Sproul Hall # 5900; Tel: 510-642-0672; <<http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/grad/>>.

Mangasar M. Mangasarian Scholarships. For Berkeley graduate students of Armenian descent, these scholarships are awarded to those with demonstrated financial need up to full cost of tuition, fees, books, and maintenance. Deadline: October 30, 1998. Contact: Graduate Fellowships Office, 318 Sproul Hall # 5900; Tel: 510-642-0672; <<http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/grad/>>.

National Science Foundation Graduate and Minority Fellowships. Awarded for study in the social sciences, among other sciences. For U.S. citizens, nationals, and permanent residents at or near the beginning of graduate study. Fellowships provide up to five years of support. Deadline: tba, possibly early November. Keep in touch with the Graduate Fellowships Office for more details. Contact: Graduate Fellowships Office, 318 Sproul Hall # 5900; Tel: 510-642-0672; <<http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/grad/>>.

Social Science Research Council (SSRC) Eastern Europe Program Dissertation Fellowships provide up to \$15,000 for one year's expenses. U.S. citizens or permanent residents may apply. Award funds study of Eastern Europe at the dissertation level in the social sciences and the humanities. Deadline: November 2, 1998. Contact: Social Science Research Council, 810 Seventh Ave, New York NY 10019; Tel: 212-377-2700; Fax: 212-377-2727; <<http://www.ssrc.org>>.

International Predissertation Fellowship Program. Fellowships provide 12 months of predissertation support. Deadline: campus deadline tba. Deadline was in December last AY. Keep in touch with the Graduate Fellowships Office for more details. Contact: Graduate Fellowships Office, 318 Sproul Hall # 5900; Tel: 510-642-0672; <<http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/grad/>>.

SSRC/ACLS International Dissertation Field Research Fellowship Program. Providing up to \$15,000

for 9–12 months, these fellowships are for full-time Ph.D. candidates in U.S. programs studying in the social sciences or humanities. Deadline: November 18, 1998. Contact: IDRF, Social Science Research Council, 810 Seventh Ave, New York NY 10019; Tel: 212-377-2700; Fax: 212-377-2727; <<http://www.ssrc.org>>. The email address for this specific program is <idrf@ssrc.org>.

Townsend Center for the Humanities Fellowships provide \$12,000 for year plus fees and are available to graduate students in the humanities who have advanced to candidacy by June 1998. Fellows are expected to participate in the Townsend Fellowship Group, meeting weekly during the AY. Deadline: tba, possibly early December. Applications will be available in early October. Contact: Townsend Center for the Humanities, 460 Stephens Hall # 2340; <<http://ls.berkeley.edu/dept/townsend>>.

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars East European Studies Short-Term Grants provide a stipend of \$80 a day, up to one month, for research in Washington, D.C. while residing there. U.S. citizens or permanent residents may apply. No office space is provided. Deadlines: December 1, 1998; March 1, 1999; June 1, 1999; September 1, 1999. Contact: East European Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center, One Woodrow Wilson Plaza, 1300 Pennsylvania Ave NW, Washington DC 20523; Tel: 202-619-4000; Fax: 202-619-4001; <haynesai@wwics.si.edu>.

East European Studies Research Scholar Competition. Intended for U.S. citizens or permanent residents to conduct 2–4 months of research in Washington, D.C. after May 1999. Grants provide office space, research assistant, and library access. Deadline: November 1, 1998. Contact: East European Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center, One Woodrow Wilson Plaza, 1300 Pennsylvania Ave NW, Washington DC 20523; Tel: 202-619-4000; Fax: 202-619-4001; <haynesai@wwics.si.edu>.

Kennan Institute Research Scholarships provide \$3,000 per month, for 4–9 months for research in Washington, D.C. on Russian, post-Soviet, and East European studies. Deadlines: December 1, 1998; March 1, 1999; June 1, 1999; September 1, 1999. Contact: Fellowships and Grants, Nancy Popson, Kennan Institute, 370 L'Enfant Promenade SW Ste 704, SI MRC 930, Washington DC 20024-2518; Tel: 202-287-3400; Fax: 202-287-3772; <ngill@sivm.si.edu>; <<http://wwics.si.edu/>>.

Kennan Institute Short-Term Grants pay a stipend of \$80 a day, up to one month. Grants fund research in Washington, D.C. on Russian, post-Soviet, and East European studies. Deadlines: December 1, 1998; March 1, 1999; June 1, 1999; September 1, 1999. Contact: Fellowships and Grants, Nancy Popson, Kennan Institute, 370 L'Enfant Promenade SW Ste 704, SI MRC 930, Washington DC 20024-2518; Tel: 202-287-3400; Fax: 202-287-3772; <ngill@sivm.si.edu>; <<http://wwics.si.edu/>>.

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