



Center for Slavic and East European Studies

Newsletter

Special Issue: Summer 2000

Vol. 17, No. 2

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**Newsletter of the Center for Slavic
and East European Studies**

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your comments and suggestions.

Notes from the Chair

The Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies has recently concluded an exceptionally busy and rewarding academic year. Apart from a full complement of programmatic events, the Institute, in particular the Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies (BPS), supported a variety of activities to promote research and graduate student training. Thanks to funding from the Carnegie Corporation, we have moved ahead with our plans to reinvigorate the BPS graduate training program. In the spring semester, students met regularly to discuss dissertation research and general problems facing Russia and the former Soviet Union. During the coming academic year, 2000–2001, we are planning a series of biweekly graduate student-faculty seminars as well as a working paper series for outstanding graduate student research.

A two-year Sawyer Seminar on Entrepreneurs, Entrepreneurship, and Democracy in Communist and Post-Communist Societies, co-sponsored by the Slavic Center and the Center for Chinese Studies and funded by the Mellon Foundation, culminated on May 19–20 with a working conference held at UC Berkeley. Twelve papers were discussed by an international group of scholars which included sociologists, anthropologists, political scientists, and economists. Among them were several former BPS graduate students. This exceptionally stimulating group, joined by discussants from Berkeley and elsewhere, broke new ground in exploring the profiles of entrepreneurs, the patterns of entrepreneurialism, and the prospects for democratization in Russia, China, and East Europe, from a cross-regional and cross-national perspective. Tom Gold, associate professor in the Department of Sociology, and I are hoping to publish an edited volume with these papers.

Our working groups continue to flourish, especially the Russian History Working Group and the newly founded Political Economy Working Group. We welcome proposals from Berkeley graduate students and faculty who are interested in establishing or participating in a working group.

In May, we received the good news that the US Department of Education has renewed Title VI funding for the Center for Slavic & East European Studies. These funds provide indispensable support for the fulfillment of our mission on the Berkeley campus and in the community, enabling us to maintain and enhance our strengths in language instruction, library collections, visiting faculty, conferences, and outreach activities. Both the Annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference (scheduled next academic year at Berkeley on Friday, March 9, 2001) and the Annual Teachers Outreach Conference (scheduled for April 28–29, 2001) benefit from Title VI funding.

Congratulations to our esteemed colleagues, John Connelly (Department of History) and Anne Nesbet (Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures and Program in Film Studies), for their promotions to Associate Professor. Similar sentiments go to Stephan Astourian who has been chosen again to be Berkeley's William Saroyan Visiting Professor in Armenian

Studies. We also would like to welcome Gérard Roland, professor of economics at the Université Libre de Bruxelles and specialist on the Soviet economic system and transition economics. Professor Roland recently accepted a position in Berkeley's Department of Economics; he will be joining us in the spring of 2001. The community of scholars in Slavic, East European, and Eurasian studies becomes more impressive with each passing year!

Our first event for AY 2000–2001, our Annual Fall Reception, will be held at the Alumni House on Wednesday, October 11. As usual, we will combine good company, good

food, and good music with some news about upcoming events. Until then, let me wish you all a lovely summer.

Victoria E. Bonnell

Chair, Center for Slavic and East European Studies and the
Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies
Professor, Department of Sociology

*You are cordially invited to our
Annual Fall Reception*

*Wednesday, October 11, 2000
4 to 6 p.m.*

*Toll Room,
Alumni House,
U.C. Berkeley
campus*



Triumph of the Opportunists: The Political Rebirth of Ex-Communists

Mieczyslaw Pawel Boduszynski

Mieczyslaw Pawel Boduszynski, Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Political Science, is spending this summer at the University of Zagreb where he is conducting research for a project entitled "Post-Tudjman Croatia: On the Road to Europe?" His graduate research focuses on the role of external forces in democratization in post-Communist Poland, Bosnia and Hercegovina, Croatia, and postwar Japan. Comments on this paper may be sent to mbod@socrates.berkeley.edu.

Magicians

One of the most interesting changes that followed the collapse of Communism in our region is also one that is frequently overlooked: the remarkable personal transformations of former Communists, especially those individuals that have assumed positions of political authority in the post-Communist period. Much of the current social scientific analysis of the post-Communist world tends to focus on large-scale variables and systemic change—on things like civil society, party systems, and levels of democratization. Very little is grounded at the individual level of analysis, emphasizing the efficacy and character of leaders. This essay is dedicated to the proposition that in the case of “reborn” Communists, analysis at the individual level is a fruitful intellectual enterprise. Why? Most importantly, because the ideological transformation and political rebirth of *ex-apparatchiks* and other officials at all levels of the Communist party hierarchy was a precondition for the rebirth of the Communist successor parties that made striking comebacks in parliamentary elections throughout the post-Communist world.¹ The new rhetoric of these parties was devised and spoken by individuals and the ability of these individuals to change their language from that of Marxism-Leninism to that of social democracy, capitalism, nationalism, or populism was a prerequisite of their own political survival and the viability of the organizations they led into the post-Communist reality. Ryszard Ulicki, a delegate to the final congress of the former Polish United Workers’ Party that produced its successor, the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic (SdRP),² has quite revealingly called these former Communists “magicians”:

The Polish United Workers’ Party did not want to pass into non-existence. The rank and file knew that someone would think of something. We needed magicians like [Aleksander] Kwasniewski, who one night, during the final PUWP Congress put the Communist Party into a hat and pulled out social democracy.³

In less than twelve hours the Polish Communists transformed themselves into precisely that which they had learned, in their lifelong ideological indoctrination, was just as dangerous as Trotskyism and fascism, at least in terms of the threat it posed to the development of a socialist society: overnight they had become social democrats.

In fact, among the countless powerful images and events that came to symbolize the end of Communism in Poland, often forgotten is the high drama that accompanied the dissolution of the PUWP on January 28, 1990. Comrades gathered at the final Party Congress sang the International Communist Hymn for the last time as the banners were retired. A disoriented Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski approached the podium, looked around anxiously, and asked, “What will happen now? Will someone come forward?” after which he surrendered the floor to a young man named Aleksander Kwasniewski, Minister of Youth and Sport in the last Communist government.⁴

The transformation of the PUWP into the SdRP is manifested in the personal transformation of Kwasniewski himself. He has come a long way in the last eleven years. Long gone are the days when he spent hours at leaden Politburo meetings. Long forgotten are the hours he spent winning the favor of boring Central Committee members. His many years of activism in Communist youth organizations and student unions are also seemingly light-years in the past. Following the dissolution of the PUWP and his ascension to the leadership of its successor organization, Kwasniewski literally remade himself. He lost weight, stopped drinking, and taught himself to speak good English. He familiarized himself with things like the European Union, NATO, and the IMF. More importantly, he learned to speak fluently the language of democracy and capitalism and even started courting the Roman Catholic Church. His efforts were not in vain: in 1995 he was elected President of Poland, defeating none other than incumbent Lech Walesa—Nobel Prize winner, Solidarity leader, slayer of Communism, and household name.⁵ Currently, he enjoys popularity ratings that hover around eighty percent and is expected to almost certainly win re-election in November.⁶

Like Kwasniewski, many other former Communists—among them Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan, Aleksander Lukashenka of Belarus, Milan Kucan of Slovenia, Slobodan Milosevic of Yugoslavia, Vladimir Meciar of Slovakia, Ion Iliescu of Romania, Boris Yeltsin of Russia, Algirdas Brazauskas of Lithuania—also transformed themselves, subsequently becoming presidents and prime ministers, once again to play a “leading role” in the govern-



Aleksander Kwasniewski

ance of their countries, in many cases now supported with electoral legitimacy.⁷ On one hand, it is not surprising that these individuals have retained or recovered political power. After all, with a number of organizational, financial, and personal resources inherited from their “previous lives,” they were best poised to do so, holding major advantages over the non-Communist opposition. In

some countries, especially in the former republics of the Soviet Union, they were the *only* political class available.

On the other hand, especially in countries like Hungary and Poland, it is *very* surprising that former Communists are back given that the “revolutions” were initiated precisely to retrench their monopoly on power.⁸ Moreover, their comeback is surprising given their complete de-legitimization and the disdain felt for them by large segments of society. Finally, with regards to the survival and comeback of their organizations, Anna Grzymala-Busse points out that comparative research on political parties has indicated that successful party adaptation after regime collapse and loss of authority is “both rare and rarely successful.”⁹

Nationalists, Populists, Capitalists, and Social Democrats

The most interesting part of the story, however, is not *that* they have returned, but rather *how* they have returned. In many respects they have common origins: they went to the same kinds of schools, the same kinds of universities, the same higher institutes of Marxism-Leninism. They were socialized in the same kinds of Communist Youth Organizations. They may even recognize each other since they belonged to the same ruling class, wore the same clothes, and spoke in the same way. However, despite common roots in the Communist party, they emerged from Communism in very different guises. Some became ardent nationalists, others populists, still others capitalists and social democrats. Take, for example, two ex-Communists from the former Yugoslavia—Milan Kucan (the current President of Slovenia) and Slobodan Milosevic (the current President of Yugoslavia). Their personal transformations evoke the

American “Where are they now?” television programs that seek out celebrities of years past:

Slobodan Milosevic

1970s–1980s: Slobodan Milosevic is a firm believer in Titoist Yugoslav Communism, a loyal member of the League of Yugoslav Communists, and an opponent of nationalism and dissidence. He rises quickly through the Communist ranks to become a factory director and later a manager of a leading Belgrade bank, and in this capacity, he travels frequently between Belgrade and New York. In a power struggle with his colleague Ivan Stambolic in the late 1980s, he begins his political metamorphosis.¹⁰

Where is Slobodan now?

2000: Slobodan Milosevic is now President of the rump Yugoslav federation, a nationalist dictator who attacks opponents and denies his people basic freedoms. He is blamed for starting three wars and has made his country the pariah of the international community, and he has been indicted by an international tribunal for crimes against humanity. Most recently, Interpol posted an award leading to his capture.

Milan Kucan

1970s–1980s: Milan Kucan completes his law studies in 1963 and rises rapidly in the Communist Party to head a Slovenian youth organization by 1968. From 1973 until 1986, he holds a series of top positions in Slovenia’s Socialist Alliance, National Assembly, and Communist Youth league. Though never a “hard-liner” on the order of Stane Dolanc, Kucan is nonetheless a supporter of the prevailing system—that is, until the late 1980s, when things begin to change.¹¹

Where is Milan now?

2000: Milan Kucan is now President of the Republic of Slovenia and a pro-European, pro-market social democrat. From the beginning of his presidency, Kucan has attempted to shake off his Communist past. From the beginning he made overtures to Western institutions and structures like the European Union and NATO. He has consistently preached and practiced parliamentary democracy and the free market. Thanks to his efforts, Slovenia is currently a front-runner in the race for European Union membership and might have been admitted to NATO in the first round were it not for objections by the United States.

The radically different paths of political rebirth of these two particular former Communists pose a dilemma for those of us who study post-Communist transformations. We would like to understand the factors that explain how and why these former Communists remade themselves as they did. Why is Kucan the West’s best friend while his former Yugoslav Communist comrade Milosevic is its worst arch-nemesis? Why did individual ex-Communists choose the

continued on page 6

Outreach Programs

“Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union: Ten Years After the Fall of the Berlin Wall” was the subject of this year’s Teachers Outreach Conference held on March 11–12, 2000. Ninety-three people attended the conference, forty-

one of whom are teachers. The program, which is printed below, featured a fine group of speakers, and lively discussions between the conference participants and the speakers followed.

Center for Slavic and East European Studies
26th Annual Teachers Outreach Conference

Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union: Ten Years After the Fall of the Berlin Wall

March 11–12, 2000 at University of California, Berkeley

PROGRAM

Welcoming Remarks: **Victoria E. Bonnell**, Professor of Sociology, and Chair, Center for Slavic and East European Studies, UC Berkeley

Jeffrey Kopstein, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Colorado at Boulder
“Victims, Perpetrators, and Democracy in East Germany”

Sharon Wolchik, Professor of Political Science, George Washington University
“The Czech Republic: Expectations and Realities”

Andrew Janos, Professor of Political Science, UC Berkeley
“Politically Correct on the Edge of Europe: Hungary Ten Years After”

Sorin Antohi, Visiting Scholar, Center for Advanced Study of the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford; Central European University, Budapest; University of Bucharest
“Romania After 1989: Undoing Communism, Crafting Robber Capitalism”

Roumen Daskalov, Visiting Professor of History, UC Berkeley; Central European University, Budapest
“Bulgaria, Ten Years After: Hopes and Disappointments”

Obrad Kesic, Director, Office of Governmental Affairs, ICN Pharmaceuticals, Inc.
“Clearing the Debris of the Cold War: Still Searching for Peace in the Former Yugoslavia”

Timothy Snyder, Academy Scholar, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University
“Poland: A Decade of Surprising Successes”

Jane Dawson, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Oregon
“Ethnic and Environmental Issues in the Baltic States”

M. Steven Fish, Associate Professor of Political Science, UC Berkeley
“Russia without the Soviet Union: Ten Years After”

This conference was made possible by a grant from the US Department of Education to the Center for Slavic and East European Studies, UC Berkeley.

Opportunists, continued from page 4

ideological paths they did in the post-Communist period? Alternatively, how were these paths predetermined or chosen for them?

Conformists

Three assumptions underlie my focus on individual leadership. The first is voluntarist and based on the notion that the former Communists had some choice of ideology and strategy as Communism (and several multinational states where it was hegemonic) crumbled in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The second suggests that they chose among a menu of ideologies according to which they thought would best ensure their political survival. The third is that they chose somewhat skillfully—after all, many of them are presidents and prime ministers and therefore depend on *some* public support. What leads me to believe that they “chose”



Milan Kucan

their new ideological orientation? A “snapshot” of these individuals ten, fifteen, or twenty years ago often suggests nothing about what they were to become. In other words, short of psychoanalysis, one often cannot detect in their public statements or behavior any hint of the nationalism, populism, social democracy, or other ideological strategies that they adopted following the collapse of Communism. Or, the hints that do exist would lead one to predict a very different outcome. This is especially true for those ex-Communists who in the post-Communist period have remade themselves more than once, as we will see below.

Nonetheless, today some of these individuals like to emphasize that they were, for instance, really *always* social democrats who wanted to bring about change and could only do so from within the Communist party. Perhaps deep down inside they were always social democrats, nationalists, or populists. These folks must certainly not be confused with the aging hard-liners. But let us not be mistaken: these people were anything but dangerous radicals within their own parties. Had they been a real threat, their respective parties would have purged them long before. Even if they took control of important organs, they could not jeopardize key interests, such as heavy industry. Mostly they held fast to the party’s rhetoric and did not dare to act independently beyond occasionally voicing their opposition to certain policies, but only when the political climate permitted them to do so. More frequently, whatever their real convictions, they simply remained silent conformists. In most cases they

were cynical careerists who joined their parties, not because they believed in them or their ideology, but because they believed in the durability of that system and knew that their ambitions could only be quenched within it. Yet, as Communism began to fail and multinational states disintegrated, people like Milosevic, a man who had preached “brotherhood and unity” among the Yugoslav nationalities and spent considerable time in New York, became an ardent nationalist and the arch-nemesis of the United States. Nursultan Nazarbayev, the president of Kazakhstan, despite having earned his credentials on the strength of his adherence to Communist principles and his unfaltering loyalty to the Soviet Union, became an advocate of Kazakhstan’s independence and even began courting the West.

Reactionaries, Revisionists, and Schizophrenics

So who really are these former Communists? What best captures their chameleon-like nature? Among the former Communist hard-liners, they are often referred to as revisionists or reactionaries. Among some of their critics, they are seen as political schizophrenics. In the eyes of their admirers, they are political magicians. All of this suggests the irony of the position in which they found themselves when the *ancien regime* found itself on the verge of collapse: in the eyes of the apparatus, they were revisionists and reactionaries, yet in the eyes of large parts of society, they were and would remain *apparatchiks* and functionaries. They were simultaneously despised by the democratic opposition and by old guard comrades in Moscow. If it takes actions rather than beliefs to recognize a reformer, then most of them were reformers only once the situation spiraled out of the control of the old guard in the late 1980s and 1990s. In countries where the end of Communism was negotiated, they were the ones willing to negotiate. It was precisely at that moment that they had their golden opportunity: to take control of a sinking ship and set it afloat with radically changed rhetoric. But it was not enough for them to merely save a dying creature. These folks were much more ambitious than that. Indeed, they wanted to assure their political survival and regain power.

Rather than being revisionists, schizophrenics, or magicians, I suggest that they are and always were quite simply political opportunists—not necessarily in the most negative sense of the word (since opportunism seems to be a quality of all politicians)—but in the sense that they read the new conditions skillfully and adapted accordingly, choosing the ideology or combination of ideologies that seemed to hold the most promise for successful political rebirth.

By “conditions,” I mean structure, culture, geopolitics, and a host of other factors that shaped their strategies. Given Serbia’s position in the former Yugoslav federation and in the larger geopolitical system, and for a variety of historical factors, nationalism was in many ways a very rational choice for Milosevic. Most Serbs, and especially the political elite, did not want the federation to dissolve

because of their vested interests in its continued existence. However, if it were to survive in any form, it could no longer be legitimized on the basis of the old ideology and system that brought it to economic ruin by the late 1980s. Milosevic thus replaced Communist rhetoric with themes that had throughout history quite consistently reverberated with many Serbs and Serbian political culture. By contrast, given Slovenia's position in this same federation and within Europe, it made perfect sense for Kucan to embrace multiparty democracy and the market economy. Slovenians had always felt themselves to be a part of Western Europe, and its people bristled at being associated with the Balkans. Long before the breakup of Yugoslavia, many Slovenes wanted to escape the constraints of a federation that held little benefit for them and formalize their cultural and emotional ties with Europe. Within the Yugoslav federation, the Slovenian economy (with one-tenth of the federation's population but one-fifth of its exports) had subsidized the severely underdeveloped southern republics through income transfers, and as in Croatia, there was a strong feeling that the Slovenians had "bought [the Serbs] guns, and now they were going to kill us with them."¹² This resentment culminated in a 1991 referendum in which 89% of voters (with a 94% turnout) voted to secede from Yugoslavia. At that time, a top Slovene official was asked if there was any concern about the fact that most of the Yugoslav federation's reserves were held in Belgrade banks. No concern at all, he said, since most of Slovenia's reserves and savings are in Austrian schillings.¹³ In other republics, the historical place of Slovenia was recognized well: Slovenes were often resented as "Austria's butlers," and a Belgrade intellectual was quoted as quite fatefully saying to a Slovene visitor: "It is easy for you Slovenes. In a few years, your children will be playing with computers, while ours will be fighting Albanians."¹⁴ All of this is why a pro-Western, pro-market, and pro-democracy stance was the obvious, if not only, choice for Kucan in seeking to return to power as President of a new, independent Slovenia. He set his eyes and political ideology on the West and never looked back, and this combined with the resources he inherited from his days as a Yugoslav Communist permitted him great success in his political rebirth. In contrast to both of the cases just presented, in places like Kazakhstan, the conditions presented mixed signals for politically ambitious former Communists. There we find Nursultan Nazarbayev as a generally pro-Western but authoritarian President who has introduced market reforms slowly and even dabbled in nationalism.

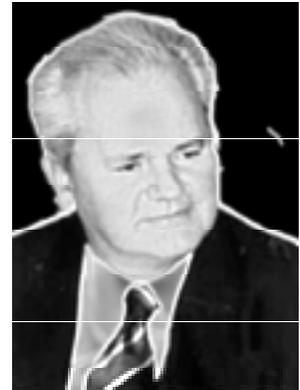
Thus, things like structure and culture not only passively shaped and constrained the transformative strategies of ex-Communists but were also actively exploited by these individuals as instruments toward their political goals.¹⁵ The transformation of the ex-Communist leaders must be understood in light of these conditions that characterized the larger Communist to post-Communist transition. The important point here, however, is that little about their past would lead us to believe that they were *inherently* national-

ists, populists, dictators, or democrats. Whether they actually believed in any ideology is less important than their remarkable (perhaps even frightening) ability to quickly change their language and adapt to the realities of the post-Communist order.

Opportunists

One certainly cannot ignore impersonal forces in explaining the kinds of leaders these ex-Communists have become. Do structure, geopolitics, and culture count? As we have seen above, of course they do. Nazarbayev is not Kwasniewski because Kazakhstan is not Poland. Are guys like Milosevic and Belarussian dictator Aleksandar Lukashenka simply a bit crazy—that is, does personal deviance play a role? Sure. Furthermore, on the surface, the institutional origins and political socialization of all of these leaders in the former Communist parties seem similar—but aren't there important differences as well? Absolutely. Lukashenka's job as a collective farm director shaped his worldview in a very different way than did Kucan's position as leader of a group of reform-minded Slovenian Communists. Finally, many of these men *were* reform Communists, and this certainly matters. That is, for some of the ex-Communists it would be distorting to say that they had no trace of any ideological leanings in their "old lives." For example, the late Franjo Tudjman of Croatia, originally a Partisan and author of Marxist-Leninist dogma, later in his career spent time in jail for nationalistic activity.¹⁶ But all of this does not change the fact that in the end they were all political opportunists, men who believed in no ideology yet could embrace any. Their greatest asset was their ability to move flawlessly between two or more worlds: from the world of Marxism-Leninism to that of nationalism or democracy or capitalism, to be at ease in all of these worlds and speak all of their languages.

The story of a certain Polish former Communist who subsequently became a leader of the PUWP's successor party illustrates the notion of political opportunism well. In Communist times, this particular individual was an articulate political sociologist, training dozens of successful doctoral candidates in the social sciences, many of whom later joined the Solidarity opposition. He was the Polish sociologist most frequently invited as a visiting professor to American universities, became a contact for many Western academics, and wrote numerous articles and books that were published in English and read in Western social science milieus. Some analyzed the Polish "party system,"



Slobodan Milosevic

while others extolled the virtues of social democracy. Yet at the same time as he was making a name for himself in the West as a prominent social scientist, back in Poland he was writing PUP propaganda and Marxist dogma for important state publications. He became the director of the Institute for the Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism and authored a book on the political economy of socialism, a mundane work of Marxist realism that became required reading for every Polish college student, regardless of field of study.

Thus, the chameleon-like activity that is a hallmark of opportunism is evident not only in the Communism to post-Communism transformation of some of these individuals, but also within their Communist careers. Some have even remade themselves in the course of their post-Communist careers. Lukashenka, for instance, has been both a Belarussian nationalist and proponent of integration with Russia (and most recently even proposed a Serbo-Belarussian federation). He switched paths when he discovered that nationalism was difficult to sell to a population that never had much of a national tradition or national consciousness.

Thus, I argue that the careers of men like Lukashenka, Kwasniewski, Nazarbayev, and Milosevic can be characterized as careers of political opportunists. In a sense they are also careers of pragmatists, and the period of transition has seemed to reward pragmatists more than it does people of principle. Aleksa Djilas' (son of the famous Milovan Djilas) candid statement about Milosevic's career in the Communist party probably holds for most of the individuals who are the subject of this essay: "He simply accepted Communism as the only way to rule and manage, rather than as a set of ideas and ideals, and showed a realpolitiker's keen appreciation of what power was and where it could be found."¹⁷

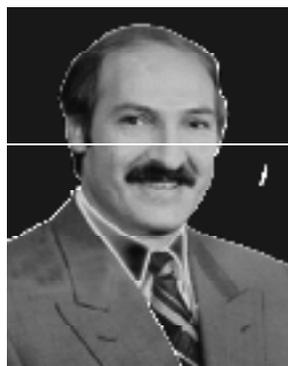


Nursultan Nazarbayev

With similar candor, a scholar at the Polish Academy of Sciences once told me that had the conditions after Communism been feudal, many of the ex-Communists would quite likely have remade themselves into feudal lords. It is no surprise, therefore, that the record shows that they can be committed Communists, nationalists, or social democrats and function in either a

single- or multi-party system.

The question that remains is whether their latest "incarnation" represents simply a passing phase designed to assure their political survival and success, after which they will retreat to old or new ideologies. The answer to this question is outside the scope of this essay. Nevertheless, let it suffice to say that men like Lukashenka and Milosevic may remake themselves yet again, but the damage they have



Aleksander Lukashenka

done to their countries will take a generation to repair. Men like Kucan and Kwasniewski probably have too much invested in the liberal democratic order they helped to create and sustain, and the danger that these men will revert to populism or nationalism is low. In fact, the day that their goals will be fully realized is the day they are recognized as "normal" social democrats rather than ex-Communists. Such a recognition would take them closer to "normality" than ever before and one giant leap further from the Communist party insiders they once were.

Notes

¹ For a recent analysis of these parties, see John T. Ishiyama, ed., *Communist Successor Parties in Post-Communist Politics* (New York: Nova Science Publishers, Inc, 1999).

² The SdRP officially dissolved itself in the summer of 1999 and was absorbed into the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD).

³ Quoted in *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 16 May 1996.

⁴ *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 31 January 1990.

⁵ On Kwasniewski see Anne Applebaum, "Ex-coms (communists return to power in Poland)," *New Republic* 213:24 (11 December 1995): 17-19.

⁶ See recent issues of the online Polish-language *Donosy*, <http://info.fuw.edu.pl/donosy/>.

⁷ Other ex-Communists, as pointed out in an article by Rediker, due to their extensive personal networks and knowledge of the bureaucracy became "consultants" for foreign firms investing in their countries. Rediker writes that his "top pick" among these "consultants" was former Hungarian Communist Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth, who was hired as a consultant by the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, "the multinational bank created to try to help Eastern European countries recover from the economic disaster caused by former Communist administrations." See Douglas A. Rediker, "Revolving Boors: Communists? No. Consultants (ex-Communist officials surface in Hungary)," *New Republic* 204:20 (20 May 1991): 11-14.

⁸ This is an observation made by Grzymala-Busse, "Czech and Slovak Communist Successor Party Transformations after 1989: Organizational Resources, Elite Capacities, and Public Commitments," in Ishiyama, op. cit., 43.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Biographical information on Milosevic is from: Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrot, *Politics, Power, and the*

Struggle for Democracy in South-East Europe (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Louis Sell, "The (un)making of Milosevic," *Wilson Quarterly* (Summer 1999); Gregory O. Hall, "The Politics of Autocracy: Serbia under Slobodan Milosevic," *East European Quarterly* (Summer 1999); John R. Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History: Twice There was a Country* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996); and Aleksa Djilas, "A Profile of Slobodan Milosevic," *Foreign Affairs* (Summer 1993).

¹¹ Biographical information on Kucan is from: Charles Bukowski, "Slovenia's Transition to Democracy: Theory and Practice," *East European Quarterly* (Spring 1999); Susan Ladika, "Slovenia: Tiny Country on EU Fast Track," *Europe* (July–August 1998); Jill Benderly and Evan Kraft, *Independent Slovenia: Origins, Movements, Prospects* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998); Lampe, op. cit.; and Dawisha and Parrott, op. cit.

¹² Quoted in Kenneth C. Danforth, "Open Markets in an Open Society," *Europe* (May 1996).

¹³ Quoted in Ladika, op. cit.

¹⁴ Quoted in Branka Magas, *The Destruction of Yugoslavia: Tracking the Break-Up, 1980–92* (New York: Verso Books, 1993).

¹⁵ The idea that structure can be a set of resources used by actors is promoted by Mahoney and Snyder who write that "structures are resources and that human agency is the capacity to appropriate and potentially transform structural resources in a self-conscious, reflexive manner." See James

Mahoney and Richard Snyder, "Rethinking Agency and Structure in the Study of Regime Change," quoted in David Hoffman, *Leadership and Agency in Post-Soviet Kazakhstan*, unpublished M.A. thesis, UC Berkeley, 1996.

¹⁶ D. Hedl, "Living in the Past: Franjo Tudjman's Croatia," *Current History* 99:635 (March 2000): 104–109.

¹⁷ Djilas, op. cit., 2.

For further reference, see:

Cohen, Lenord C. *Broken Bonds: The Disintegration of Yugoslavia*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993.

Janos, Andrew C. *Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia: Ethnic Conflict and the Dissolution of Multinational States*. Berkeley: IAS, UC Berkeley, 1997.

Maslyukov, Valentin. "A Report from Minsk." *Monthly Review*, September 1998.

Sikorski, Radek. "Belarus in Winter." *National Review*, February 1996.

Silber, Laura. "Milosevic Family Values: Slobodan Milosevic and Yugoslav Politics." *New Republic*, 30 August 1999.

Funding for Polish Studies

Seven Berkeley graduate students received funding to assist in their travel to Poland for research and language study during the current summer and next academic year. Funding for these awards has been made possible by the Francis J. Whitfield Memorial Fund and the Xenia and Zygmunt Gasiorowski Fund.

Four Ph.D. candidates from the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures who work on Polish language and literature received funding from the Francis J. Whitfield Memorial Fund. Christopher Caes is conducting research for his dissertation on Polish literature and film after the Thaw of the 1950s. Ingrid Kleepsies is studying Russian and Polish travel literature. Michelle Viise is continuing the research for her dissertation on patronage and authorship in seventeenth-century Poland-Lithuania. Boris Wolfson is expanding his research from Russian literature and theater to study Polish theater.

Three Ph.D. candidates from the Department of History who research Polish topics received funding from the Xenia and Zygmunt Gasiorowski Fund. Winson Chu is collecting dissertation material for his work on German minorities in Poland in the inter-war period (see the Summer 1999 issue of our newsletter for his paper on this topic). Christine

Kulke is writing a dissertation on Lwów (L'viv, L'vov, Lemberg) under Nazi and Soviet occupation. Lisa Swartout is working on higher education and the national questions in Breslau/Wroclaw (see the Fall 1998 issue of our newsletter for her paper on the Breslau Theological Seminary).

These seven students are a part of a larger number of promising graduate students in the two departments who conduct interesting research on diverse topics in Polish studies.

While major funding for each student's research comes from government and private foundations (see Faculty and Student News on page 22 for recent recipients), awards from the Francis J. Whitfield Memorial Fund and the Xenia and Zygmunt Gasiorowski Fund will allow the students to acquire Polish books that are essential for their study and research. For information on supporting Polish studies, please contact Professor Irina Paperno, chair of the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, at ipaperno@socrates.berkeley.edu or Dr. Barbara Voytek, executive director of the Center for Slavic and East European Studies, at (510) 643-6736.

Conferences and Symposia Cosponsored by the Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies During AY 1999–2000

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| <p>October 1, 1999
 “Crisis in the North Caucasus: Chechnya, Dagestan, and Russia’s Territorial Integrity”</p> | <p>Panel Discussion</p> | <p>April 6, 2000
 Dmitri Nabokov, Regents’ Lecturer, and Terry Quinn, author, “Dear Bunny, Dear Volodya,” a dramatic dialogue adapted by Terry Quinn from the letters of Edmund Wilson and Vladimir Nabokov</p> | <p>Performance</p> |
| <p>November 9, 1999
 William Craft Brumfield, professor of Slavic studies, Tulane University, “Retrofitting Moscow: From Modern to Medieval”</p> | <p>Annual Colin Miller Memorial Lecture</p> | <p>April 7, 2000
 “Twentieth-Century Genocides: Memory, Denial, and Accountability”</p> | <p>Symposium</p> |
| <p>November 14, 1999
 “The Armenian Diaspora: Transnational Identity and the Politics of the Homeland”</p> | <p>Conference</p> | <p>April 13, 2000
 “Living Traditions in the Post-Soviet World”</p> | <p>Symposium</p> |
| <p>February 18, 2000
 “New Work on the Russian Avant-Garde”</p> | <p>Symposium</p> | <p>May 5, 2000
 <i>Enemy of the People: Armenians Look Back at the Stalin Terror</i>
 (1999, dir. Zareh Tjeknavorian)</p> | <p>Film Screening</p> |
| <p>March 9–10, 2000
 “Higher Education in the Digital Age”</p> | <p>5th Peder Sather Symposium</p> | <p>May 12, 2000
 “Law and Justice in the Former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe”</p> | <p>Annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference</p> |
| <p>March 11–12, 2000
 “Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union: Ten Years After the Fall of the Berlin Wall”</p> | <p>Annual Teachers Outreach Conference</p> | | |

Lectures Cosponsored by the Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies During AY 1999–2000

Stephan Astourian, William Saroyan Visiting Lecturer in Armenian Studies, Department of History, UC Berkeley, “Killings in the Armenian Parliament: Coup d’Etat, Conspiracy, or Destructive Rage?”

Vasile Boari, visiting scholar, CSEES, and professor and dean, Faculty of Political Science and Public Administration, Babes-Bolyai University, Romania, “Romania Today”

Jeffrey Brooks, professor, Department of History, Johns Hopkins University, “Two Revolutions in Russian Culture: The Pop and the Modern”

His Excellency Dr. Martin Butora, Ambassador of the Slovak Republic to the United States, and **Dr. Zora Butorova**, sociologist, “Slovakia and Central Europe Ten Years After: Catching Up with the West”

Milos Calda, director of American Studies and associate professor of political science, Charles University, Prague, “The Developments in the Czech and Slovak Republics Since the Split-up of Czechoslovakia (1992–99)”

Stojan Cerovic, senior fellow, Jennings Randolph Program for International Peace, United States Institute of Peace, and editor and columnist for *Vreme*, the first independent magazine in Post-Tito Yugoslavia, “Media Politics in the Disintegration of Yugoslavia”

S. Peter Cowe, visiting associate professor, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Cultures, UC Los Angeles, “The Northern European Impact on Armenian Culture at the Turn of the Century”

Rob Cutler, fellow, Institute for European and Russian Studies, Carleton University, “What is Cooperative Energy Security, and Why Can’t They Practice It Around the Caspian?”

Catherine Dale, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Political Science, “Trapped? Political Manipulation of Internally Displaced Persons from Abkhazia, Georgia”

Roumen Daskalov, associate professor of history at the University of Sofia, Bulgaria, and the Central European University in Budapest, “Bai Ganio and the Self-Interpretation of Culture and Society in Modern Bulgaria”

Luise Druke, former head, Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Almaty, Kazakhstan, “Building National Capacities for Refugee and Human Rights Protection in Central Asia and Kazakhstan”

Alexandre Galouchkine, independent writer and scholar, Gorki Institute, Moscow, “*Josif Stalin i Literaturnoe Dvizhenie v SSSR v 1920–1930-e gg.* (Stalin and Literary Movements in the USSR in the 1920-1930’s)”

Thomas Goltz, independent journalist, “Georgia in the Year 2000: Stable Democracy or Republic on the Ropes?”

Thornike Gordadze, Ph.D. candidate, Institute of Political Studies, National Political Science Foundation, Paris, “The Weakness of Georgian Nationalism”

Raoul Granqvist, professor of English, Department of Modern Languages, Umea University, Sweden, “From Mircea Eliade to Sandra Brown: Post-Communist Publishing and Bucharest City Culture”

Gayaneh Hagopian, visiting scholar, Center for Slavic and East European Studies, “Modern Discoveries in Ancient Proverbs”

Peter Haslinger, researcher and lecturer, Department of History, University of Freiburg, “New Borders—New Identities? Nation-Building and Its Consequences along the Hungarian-Slovak Border, 1918–1938”

Peter I. Holquist, assistant professor, Department of History, Cornell University, and 1999–2000 National Fellow, Hoover Institution, “World War I, the Russian Revolution, and the Political Economy of Food Supply”

Marc Morjé Howard, visiting fellow, Georgetown University, “Free Not to Participate: The Weakness of Civil Society in Post-Communist Europe”

Vyachslav Igrunov, strategist for Yabloko and senior advisor to Yavlinsky, “Russia’s Presidential Elections: The Yeltsin Succession and What Comes Next”

Anara Kendirbaeva, National Project Manager, UNIDO/UNDP Project on the Promotion of Small and Medium Enterprises, Kazakhstan, “Small Enterprises in Kazakhstan”

Gulnar Kendirbai, visiting scholar, Middle East Institute, Columbia University, and independent scholar, Kazakhstan, “The Struggle for Land on the Kazak Steppe at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century”

Elena Koltsova, visiting scholar, DeWitt Wallace Center for Communications and Journalism, Duke University, “Changing Media in Post-Soviet Russia”

Alexander Leskov, former head of the Department of Archaeology and Ancient Art, Museum of Oriental Art, Moscow, “Gold of the Nomads: Scythian and Ancient Greek”

Peter Lippman, researcher, Advocacy Project, Washington, DC, “Ex-Yugoslavia: Prospects for Peace”

Arkadiusz Marciniak, assistant professor, Institute of Prehistory, University of Poznan, Poland, and visiting associate professor of anthropology, Stanford University, “Living Space: The Construction of Social Complexity in the European Neolithic”

Dmitri Nabokov, Spring 2000 Regents’ Lecturer, “Vladimir Nabokov: Father, Son, Millennium”

Alexander V. Obolonsky, head research associate, Institute of State and Law, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, “Post-Soviet Russian Officialdom: The Quasi-Bureaucratic Ruling Class”

Yuri Orlov, professor of physics, Cornell University, former Soviet dissident, and Honorary Chairman of the Helsinki Foundation on Human Rights, “The Upcoming Elections in Russia and their Implications for Human Rights”

David L. Ransel, professor, Department of History, and director, Russian and East European Institute, Indiana University, Bloomington, “Abortion For and Against: Three Generations of Village Women in Russia”

Igor Rotar, journalist, *Nezavisimaia gazeta*, “Islamic Radicalism in the Former Soviet Union”

Balint Rozsnyai, visiting professor, CSU Fresno, and associate professor and chair, Department of American Studies, Attila Jozsef University, Szeged, Hungary, “A Case of Post-Communist Bewilderment: Culture, Media, and Culture Politics in Hungary”

Jane Sharp, research curator, Zimmerli Art Museum, and assistant professor, Department of Art History, Rutgers University, “Modernism as Orientalism: Goncharova, Zdanevich, and the Caucasus”

Tamara Sivertseva, senior fellow, United States Institute of Peace, and senior fellow, Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, “Strategies of Survival in Kumyk Villages and Makhachkala”

Maria Tysiachniouk, Fulbright scholar, Ramapo College of New Jersey, and chair, Environmental Sociology Group at the Center for Independent Social Research in St. Petersburg, “Russian NGOs: Activities and Operating Strategies in the Soviet and Post-Soviet Eras”

Lyoma Usmanov, representative of the Government of Chechnya/Ichkeria to the United States, “Russia’s War in Chechnya: Talibanization of the Caucasus and its Wider Implications”

Maya Vassileva, Fulbright scholar, Department of Classics, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, “The Thracian Tombs of Central Bulgaria: New Evidence for Old Questions”

Lynne Viola, professor, Department of History, University of Toronto, “‘Kulak-Spetspereselentsy’: Forced Deportations of Peasants during Collectivization”

Gyorgi Vlasenko, independent Russian film director and poet, “Post-Modernism and Post-Communism: A Discussion of Three Authors (Viktor Pelevin, *Generation P*; Vladimir Sorokin, *Blue Lard*; and Viktor Erofeev, *Men*)”

Richard S. Wortman, professor, Department of History, Columbia University, “National Narratives in the Representation of Late Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Russian Monarchy”

Leszek Zasztowt, associate professor, Institute for the History of Science, Polish Academy of Sciences, and professor, Center for East European Studies, University of Warsaw, “Some Remarks on the History of Russia from an East Central European Standpoint”

His Excellency Dr. Miomir Zuzul, Ambassador of the Republic of Croatia to the United States, “Southeast Europe at the Turn of the Century”

Marek Zvelebil, professor of archaeology, Department of Archaeology and Prehistory, University of Sheffield, “Indo-European Origins and the Social Context of Early Agriculture”

Upcoming events are advertised in a recorded message at our main number, (510) 642-3230; on our Web site, <http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~csees/>; and in our Monthly Updates. Published during the academic year, Monthly Updates are mailed to campus addresses and to Associates of the Slavic Center, and additional copies may be picked up at our office.

Regenerating the Republic: The *Monitor* and Economic Reform in the Polish Enlightenment

Anna Wertz

Anna Wertz is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of History, writing her dissertation on German philosophy in the postwar period. She served as an editor of the Slavic Center Newsletter for five academic years.

When the *Monitor*, the leading publication of the Polish Enlightenment, began in 1765, the economic prosperity of the commonwealth was in sharp decline. For several centuries, the keystone of the Polish economy had been the exportation of Polish grain to Western Europe, an enterprise that remained largely in the hands of the nobility (*szlachta*). In the mid-seventeenth century, when the country faced a series of civil and external wars, the grain trade—and with it the republic’s wealth—diminished considerably. The improvements in agricultural techniques that drove the Western European economy did not reach Poland, where serfdom and the manorial, or *folwark*, system continued to be the backbone of a deteriorating agricultural economy.

The development of Polish towns and an internal market system for grain and manufactured goods had been curtailed for several centuries by legal restrictions on the activities of non-nobles. The nobility used its political monopoly to restrict burghers’ participation in the Baltic grain trade, keeping seventy percent of the trade in their own hands. From the mid-sixteenth century, Polish merchants were also barred (not altogether successfully) from conducting international trade and from traveling abroad, so that Dutch, English, and German merchants often traded directly with the nobility for their grain. Despite these limitations, the royal cities of Prussia, particularly Danzig, flourished with the grain trade and became home to artisans’ guilds and a wealthy merchant oligarchy.¹

As the Western European demand for grain dropped off, however, the nobility became more impoverished and more insular, stemming demand for the goods of artisans and merchants and worsening economic conditions in the larger cities. Even with the rapid growth of Warsaw as a political capital and a textile center in the eighteenth century and the rise of a few manufacturing centers in Wielkopolska, the number of city dwellers declined overall by around four percent. Danzig’s population of seventy thousand in 1650 had dropped to forty-six thousand by the middle of the next century.² “By 1750, the Republic’s economy was considerably weaker, and its inhabitants considerably poorer, than two centuries earlier.”³

This marked decline in wealth did not in itself motivate the nobility to consider economic reform. As Jerzy Jedlicki explains in his study of the economic mentality of the

eighteenth-century nobility: “The Polish nobleman did not see development as an autonomous value, as an objective desired because of its very nature. In ‘Sarmatian’ ideology the demands for change were always of a purely instrumental character and fitted within the framework of the *folwark* model.”⁴ Thus, until the late eighteenth century, economic discussions in the nascent press and at the Sejm (Polish parliament) and *sejmiki* (local governmental bodies) were often concerned only with minor fiscal reforms, usually related to shifting the tax burden off of the nobility and limiting state expenditures.

The deteriorating condition of the cities did become an issue of debate—though not decisive action—from the 1730s on, but here again it was a question of securing the nobility’s interest rather than reforming the economy. “Very few nobles—even those involved in the ‘enlightened municipal reforms’ of Stanislaw August’s reign—showed any understanding of, or interest in towns for their own sake. Towns existed to enhance the seigneur’s prestige, to provide a commercial focus for those who lived on or near his estates, to provide him with revenues and with supplies and services at little or no cost to himself.”⁵ Urban and economic questions did arise in the Sejm and the occasional voice of a moralist or a government official could be heard imploring the nobility to curb its desire for luxury goods to bolster the republic’s balance of trade. But in general, unwilling to surrender its political or economic control, the nobility preferred to live in “self-satisfied stagnation,” rather than relinquish its control over both the city and the countryside or temper its tradition of mutual generosity and conspicuous displays of wealth. The tenets of Sarmatism which glorified their leisured lifestyle and denigrated both manual labor and the “money grubbing” habits of merchants provided them with “immunization against any social and economic upheavals.”⁶

According to Jedlicki, a major shift in the economic thinking of Poland’s educated and elite circles did not emerge until the 1780s when a group of reformers—most prominently, Hugo Kollataj, Stanislaw Staszic, Ferdynand Nax, Piotr Switkowski, and Jacek Jezierski—challenged the economic complacency of the nobility and its Sarmatian ideology. These reformers, influenced by Enlightenment notions of progress and impressed by industrial and

agricultural developments in other parts of Europe, substituted the Sarmatist vision of Poland's superiority and uniqueness for a comparative vision of the country's economic inferiority in relation to the rest of Europe. In an attempt to model Poland's economy after England and the Netherlands, they turned their attention away from the *folwark* system to the development of industry, cities, and internal markets that would allow the republic some independence from agriculture and international trade. Instead of advocating free trade, which had allowed the nobility to exchange grain for foreign-made luxury goods, they advocated high tariffs to protect indigenous handicrafts and native manufactures. Calling on initiative and intervention from a traditionally hands-off state, they recommended that the government organize joint stock companies, grant exclusive charters for manufactures, undertake public works and geological prospecting, and found a national bank. The reformers' economic demands often dovetailed nicely with their political goals: the full political participation of burghers, free from the legal restrictions the nobility had placed on their public participation and private businesses, and, in some cases, the liberation of the peasantry.⁷

If, as Jedlicki contends, serious general debate about Poland's economic future did not begin until the 1780s, part of the groundwork for the discussion, I believe, was laid in the 1760s and 70s by the *Monitor*, an Enlightenment journal that emerged under the editorship of Ignacy Krasicki and Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski at the behest of King Stanislaw August and was published semi-weekly from 1765 to 1785. Most of the economic writings of the generation of reformers of the 1780s emerged after the demise of the *Monitor*. Switkowski's journal *Pamiętnik Historyczno-Polityczny* began publication in 1782, but Kollataj's *Do Stanisława Malachowskiego* was published in 1788, and Staszic's *Przestrogi dla Polski* appeared in 1790, as did Nax's *Wykład początkowych prawideł ekonomiki politycznej*. However, the *Monitor*, from its inception in 1765, provided a forum for an earlier generation of Enlightenment reformers whose attention to the economic deficiencies of Sarmatist ideology and the *folwark* system, the deteriorating conditions of the cities, and the legal and financial burdens of artisans and merchants helped to pave the way for the bolder economic debates and attempted reforms of the 1780s.

One should be careful, however, not to impute a single ideological line to the *Monitor* on the question of Poland's economy. First of all, the journal's format fostered at least the impression of an open discussion among various correspondents, rather than the single-minded repetition of one party line—though the journal was faulted for rarely publishing critical letters that were not of its own invention.⁸ Along with translations from classical and Enlightenment tracts, the journal published short essays and sketches, real and fictional letters. True to its title, its purpose was to act as a critical observer of customs and mores (particularly those of its noble readership) and to offer advice and commentary. While it was often guided by

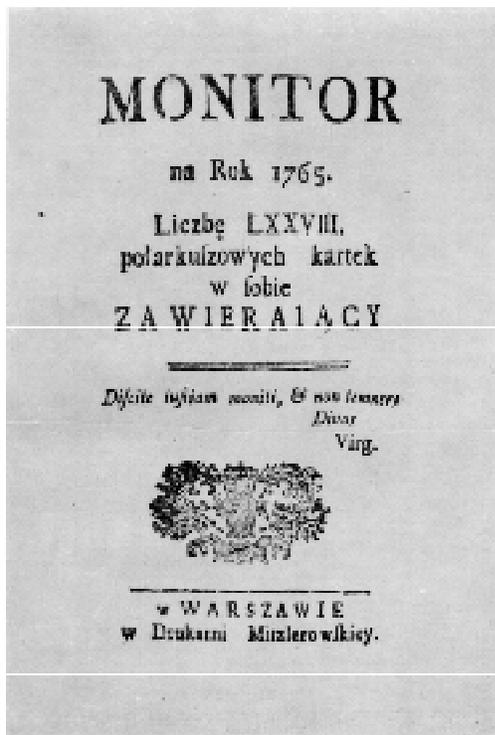
the larger program of its editors and backers, new ideas were refracted through the varied opinions of its (often anonymous or pseudonymous) contributors.

Although the journal began publication a year after the beginning of Stanislaw August's reign and helped to promote his reform campaign, it would be a mistake to see the journal simply as the mouthpiece for the reformist party. The *Monitor* remained in reformist hands for only its first three years and metamorphosed many times over the course of publication. After 1767, under the editorship of Franciszek Bohomolec, the journal was made to conform more closely to the generic form of a satirical journal, focusing almost exclusively on customs and culture. After a brief two-year eclipse under the more conservative editorship of Jozef Epifani Minasowicz (who would take over again from 1775–78), the journal revived its political content after the first partition of 1772. With the leadership of Wawrzyniec Mitzler de Kolof, the *Monitor* renewed its earlier campaign to reform the country, although this time not as a voice for the reformist party but for a reform-minded group of noble and bourgeois intellectuals. After Mitzler de Kolof's death in 1778, the quality of the journal, and its radicalism, declined, though it continued its function as a forum for public debate.⁹

Despite its many incarnations and numerous contributors, however, the *Monitor* presented a largely consistent vision of a renewed republic. Although the most radical essays contained in its pages would invoke Enlightenment notions of natural law and sovereignty of the people and the more conservative would do no more than urge the nobility to revive its ancient sentiments of honor and duty to the state, the general goal of the *Monitor* was a republic governed not for the benefit of what they saw as a decadent and often unjust elite, but for the prosperity and well-being of the population as a whole.

Economic issues played a central role in this reform agenda, and discussions of Poland's financial state and economic organization appeared frequently, most often from Mitzler de Kolof, Feliks Lojko, and Adam Czartoryski. In the *Monitor*'s discussion of Poland's economy, its merchant and artisan classes, and its cities, contributors did not adhere to one economic orthodoxy, drawing (sometimes in the same article) from the tenets of mercantilism, Physiocracy, and free trade. But the journal's attitude toward economic issues resembled its general stance on the republic: the goal of general welfare, rather than noble advantage, remained a consistent theme. Interspersed with idiosyncratic contributions on the economic problems of the day—for example, a long verse protesting the crown's tobacco monopoly and extolling the virtues of imported tobacco for the Polish nose¹⁰—were articles that sought to mitigate Poland's economic woes by placing the interest of the republic as a whole, rather than that of its ruling class, first.

All contributors to the journal who wrote about the state of the Polish economy lamented the country's growing impoverishment, and all of them argued that the present state of affairs could not continue. They disagreed, however,



on the extent and kind of reform that was necessary to increase the wealth of the state. The recommendations were often very modest and straightforward. In a 1778 essay on Poland's credit crisis, for example, Jozef Wybicki admonished his noble readers in a fatherly fashion never to spend more than their station would allow and to always honor their debts.¹¹ But many writers for the *Monitor*—including Wybicki himself—had more radical goals in mind than simply advising the nobility to manage its wealth more judiciously.

One common refrain of *Monitor* articles was the notion that nobility's trade in grain for imported finished goods was draining wealth from the country. These fears about the nobility's penchant for luxury goods were based on the simple precepts of mercantilism: since the amount of wealth was finite, any activity that drove specie out of the country and increased the commerce of another country was harmful. In 1774, for example, Mitzler de Kolof began his essay on Poland's trade with the classic maxim of mercantilism: "less money should leave Poland and more should flow in."¹² What was "driving out the silver and gold specie from Poland," he claimed, was the nobility's addiction to chocolate, coffee, tea, and wine and its penchant for ostentatiously displaying its wealth by importing marble, precious stones, and furs.

Such pleas for the nobility to lead a more ascetic lifestyle had been voiced in the commonwealth from the early eighteenth century, when it was clear that the European demand for Polish grain was drying up.¹³ Mitzler de Kolof, in fact, was instrumental in starting such debates by bringing mercantilist ideas to Poland. Before becoming a publisher, contributor, and editor for the *Monitor* (which was published on his presses), he founded several of his

own journals, publishing some of the first periodicals in Warsaw. Through his *Nowe Wiadomosci Ekonomiczne i Uczzone*, he began to discuss Poland's economy through a cameralist and mercantilist lens. This new view of economic life entailed not only criticizing the expensive trading habits of the nobility, but encouraging the state to foster indigenous industry and manufacture, which became a common theme in the *Monitor*.¹⁴

While the *Monitor* helped to further the spread of mercantilist ideas among its readers, it also helped to change their understanding of another emerging economic theory, Physiocracy. French Physiocratic thought had gained popularity among the nobility because its emphasis on agriculture as the primary source of all wealth gave ideological weight to the Sarmatist prejudices of the majority of the *szlachta*.¹⁵ The reformist contributors to the *Monitor* used Physiocratic doctrines as well, but not as a confirmation of the status quo. When, in the journal's second year of publication, Feliks Lojko decided to change the journal's content from moralistic satire to recommendations for the complete reform of the republic, including its economy, he inaugurated the journal's new program in 1766 with translations from the Physiocratic works of Quesnay. His intention, presumably, was not to praise the *folwark* system, but to underscore the need for efficient agricultural practices in the republic.¹⁶ Numerous pages of the *Monitor* were devoted to the question of revamping agriculture in Poland. Various articles proposed the introduction of crop rotation and other innovations, and there were calls to lessen the tax burden on the peasantry.¹⁷ The plight of the peasantry as both an economic and political issue became an important cause of the *Monitor*. Lojko and Wybicki wrote articles in favor of the emancipation of the peasantry, and Lojko also published a translation of François Gabriel de Coyer's *Dissertation sur la nature du peuple*, an encomium to the plebeian masses.¹⁸ Mitzler de Kolof, when he resumed editorship after 1773, again turned the journal's attention to the living conditions of the peasantry.¹⁹ Physiocracy was transformed from a verification of Sarmatism to a call for efficiency and productivity in agriculture—even if that meant transforming the *szlachta's* relation to its peasantry.

While contributors to the *Monitor* often wrote about the economic and humanitarian imperatives of improving life in the country, most contributors to the journal dealing with economic issues understood that the republic could not rely on its agriculture alone and proposed the development of both agriculture and trade and manufacture. Contributors were less interested in proselytizing the benefits of one economic theory over another as they were with solving the concrete problem of a Polish economy in decline. Lojko himself, although he published many excerpted translations from the Physiocrats, did not hesitate to endorse industry and commerce for Poland. Stanislaw August, in fact, appointed Lojko in 1766 to head the state's Council on Manufactures.

In that same year, Lojko wrote an essay on the state of Polish trade. He began with a warning that Poland could no

longer successfully rely on its grain trade to secure its economy.²⁰ Not only had the demand for Polish grain dried up, but England was successfully exporting grain, and France had just reopened its ports for export as well. It was no longer true that Europe needed Polish grain, but it was becoming evident that Poland needed to learn from other countries how to conduct its grain trade more efficiently, perhaps adopting the English system of price controls or the German system of economic councils. Agriculture was not enough, however. A strong Polish economy necessitated the reinvigoration of Poland's long-neglected cities in the hope of improving manufacture, trades, and artisanship. Moreover, the interdependence of agriculture and manufacture for the development of the economy were clear: the country's fertile soil was useless without developed and populated cities to serve as an internal market for agricultural products.

Adam Czartoryski made a similar assessment of the economy in a series of essays he published in the *Monitor*'s first year on the condition of Poland.²¹ "Poland is in the worst condition of any country in Europe," he complained. "Agriculture is not what it could be; trade is worth little and often more harmful than beneficial; and there are few craftsmen and artisans in the cities."²² This lack of native industry—outside a few manufactories that had been set up on noble lands—left the population dependent on foreign countries for finished goods. The state's dearth of funds also left it without a sufficient army or an adequate means of collecting taxes. Ironically, then, the nobility's defense of their "Golden Freedom" had left the country in a state of slavish dependence on foreign goods and vulnerable to foreign invaders, and therefore manifestly unfree.

If essays such as Czartoryski's called for a comprehensive reform of the way Poland organized its state and economy, they did not provide much detail on how the reform should be accomplished. For example, correspondents to the *Monitor* never gave detailed recommendations on what kind of manufacturing should be undertaken or how grain prices should be set. Articles in the *Monitor* were usually long on rhetoric and short on technical discussion, as suited the format of the journal. Nonetheless, the journal's contribution to economic thought in the republic should not be underestimated. The journal helped to popularize mercantilist and Physiocratic ideas and related them, however superficially, to real conditions in the commonwealth.

In doing so, the *Monitor* not only brought new economic ideas into educated circles, but inaugurated a new perspective from which to understand the republic and its relation to the rest of Europe. The majority of the nobility believed they held an equal, if not superior, position in the European economic system. Polish agriculture, which provided the nobility with a unique and splendid way of life, seemed to exist in equality and harmony with Dutch and English industrial development, which had been fueled in part by Polish grain. In the *Monitor*, we see the beginnings of a distinct change in orientation that had its

culmination in the works of the reformers of the 1780s. As Jedlicki explains, this change entailed shifting from a perspective of Polish superiority or complementarity to "a unilinear perspective in which the West, discarding feudal bonds and developing industry was not an antithesis of generically Polish values of life, but a referent system."²³ Once reformers adopted Enlightenment notions of progress and mercantilist (and later free trade) notions about the development of industry, they understood Poland as economically and culturally backward. It is clear, however, that one does not have to wait for the generation of the 1780s for Polish thinkers to "discover" their country's economic inferiority. Writers like Lojko and Czartoryski were among the first to understand Western European development as a threat, rather than a boon, to Poland's economic well-being. And they were also among the first to view the country's condition with a sense of dismay and even shame. In the *Monitor*, many writers referred to Poland's lack of wealth, skilled labor, and native industry and urged the state to catch up with England, France, Germany, and the Netherlands. Lojko, for example, appended his translation of a French essay on political and economic progress with the comment, "I cannot imagine that there is anyone among us who would not long for the same development in Poland that we see in France."²⁴

While the *Monitor* helped to bring about a new vision of Poland in relation to the rest of Europe, it also helped to foster a new orientation toward the non-noble estates of the commonwealth. The renunciation of Sarmatism as an economic system went hand in hand with a reevaluation of the position of all the economic classes in the republic. The format of the *Monitor*, in fact, was more suited to satirical sketches and social commentary than to theoretical tracts on economics. Although one can find in the *Monitor* many depictions of the rural economy, I would like to focus here on the *Monitor*'s discussion of the city and two of its social groups, artisans and merchants.

Craftsmen, tradesmen, and artisans (*rzemiesniki*) were held in high regard by contributors to the *Monitor*, and they occupied a crucial place in their vision of a more prosperous and more enlightened Poland. While the reformers of the 1780s, with the Industrial Revolution underway, talked frequently of developing Poland's industry (*przemysł*), writers in the *Monitor* spoke more often of artisanship and handicraft (*rzemiosło* and *rekodzielo*) and trade (*handel*) and the hope of revitalizing the traditional role of the cities as centers for workshops and guilds.

Craftsmen—if we use that as a general term to mean skilled laborers of all kinds—then, were seen as an important source of economic revival. In an essay on taxation, for example, one writer defended craftsmen as essential contributors to the wealth of the state. The foundation of the wealth and happiness of the state, the correspondent argued, rested on the improvement of skills, which would in turn invigorate agriculture, handicraft, commerce and populate the cities. It would therefore be a "disaster" to place a new tax burden on scholars, artisans, craftsmen, and independent

farmers [*na ludzi uczonych i stucznych, na rzemieślników i chłopów właściwych*], the very well springs of a new economy.²⁵

Just as the craftsman represented the revitalization of Poland's cities and economy, he also symbolized a new ethic of industriousness and probity, values which the *Monitor* ceaselessly tried to inculcate in its readership and the population as a whole. Correspondents complained often of the nobility's lack of respect for manual labor and those who engaged in it. This Sarmatist disdain for work and glorification of a noble birth over a useful life, they argued, had retarded the economic activity of the entire populous. A typical example may be found in a letter written by a pseudonymous contributor to bemoan the disgraceful number of Poland's artisans and tradesmen who were from other countries. He claimed that a master craftsman had revealed to him that Polish young men rarely had the desire to apprentice at a trade. The (perhaps fictional) master craftsman explained to the correspondent that Polish children, unlike their foreign counterparts, never learned the value of a trade. Quite to the contrary, they knew no one who had made a fortune as a craftsman or artisan, and they saw in what low regard tradesmen were held. "Any footman, even a cook's assistant, even a beggar will be heard to occasionally remark, 'What am I? A shoemaker? A tailor?' What impression does this make on a young man—who would then rather serve as a groomsman to a noble so that he, too, may look down on the skilled craftsmen?"²⁶ The aura of nobility was so pervasive, the correspondent concluded, that poor young men preferred the status that went with even the lowliest position attached to a nobleman to the more productive life of a craftsman.



There were often reports criticizing the mistreatment of artisans and craftsmen and neglect of the cities at the hands of the nobility. Such stories often appeared, for example, in a kind of moral watch dog column authored by Franciszek Bohomolec when he took over the editorship of the journal in 1768–69. One entry tells the story of a joiner (*stolarz*), a "decent fellow" who had taken a peasant boy as his apprentice.²⁷ The apprentice was then wooed away by a certain person "of high birth" to work for him, "depriving the joiner of his only means of supporting his wife and some-odd children." When the apprentice, given no skilled work by the nobleman, decided of his own accord to return to the joiner, the nobleman took the matter to court. The court, stacked with the noble's friends, issued a decree for the punishment of the joiner and had the apprentice brought back to the nobleman in shackles. The judges then "congratulate[d] the nobleman on his victory, they praise[d] his reversal of fortune, and thank[ed] him for teaching that peasant (that is, the joiner) reason."²⁸

With equal indignation at the lawlessness of the nobility, Mitzler de Kolof published an open letter to a provincial governor (*starosta*) who had lost "thirteen hundred red zlotys" gambling. Giving suggestions for more appropriate uses for the *starosta's* expendable cash—which he had presumably skimmed off from city funds in the first place—Kolof proposed, among other endeavors, that he pay for some of the peasants on his estate to learn a trade.²⁹

The contributors to the *Monitor* could easily praise the moral uprightness and productive diligence of artisans and tradesmen and wax indignant at their mistreatment at the hands of a decadent and unjust nobility. They had a much more conflicted attitude, however, toward merchants and wealthier city dwellers. Take, for example, the following sketch a correspondent submitted of his visit to Powazek, a town near Warsaw and home to the fashionable gardens of the Czartoryskis.³⁰ Entering a hall, he found two tables. At the first were seated noblemen and women, comporting themselves with "grace and civility"; at the other, craftsmen and their wives, displaying an equal "decorum and humility." Just as the correspondent was remarking to himself on the growing similarity of the behavior of all Poles and its benefits for the republic, a figure appeared to disrupt his contented thoughts. A man dressed in the "French style"—clearly attempting, but failing, to dress as a fashionable nobleman—sat down uninvited next to the ladies, sending unwanted attention and pipe smoke their way. Much to the ladies' relief, the correspondent soon recognized this ill-mannered clod as a petty merchant (*kupeczyk*) who had sold him some goods the other day. The merchant, his plebeian identity revealed, departed hastily, "knowing he could no longer play his role."³¹

The correspondent had no trouble imagining a future in which tradesmen, craftsmen, and artisans and well-mannered and dedicated nobles would come to resemble each other and together represent a force of enlightened behavior in the republic. The only person to spoil his vision is the nouveau-riche merchant who wishes to be part of the

nobility—a nobility dedicated less to service to the state than to its own wealth and pleasure. In creating this uncouth *kupczik*, the writer could draw on a well-established stereotype of the merchant. In her work on the Polish bourgeoisie, Maria Bogucka has shown how the *szlachta* regarded wealthy burghers at best with disdain for their eagerness to imitate the noble lifestyle and at worst with malice, for competing with them economically. Merchants were seen as “the enemy”: “speculators” and “parasites” ruining the country while enriching themselves and foreigners and trying vainly to imitate what could only be assured by birth.³²

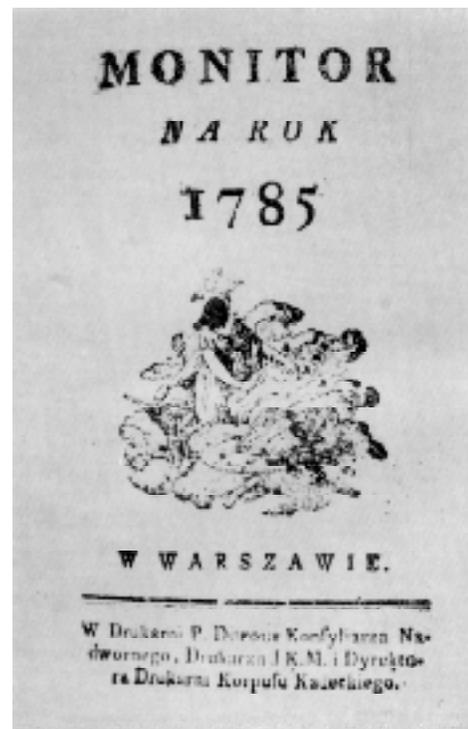
The *Monitor* drew on this stereotype of the wealthy merchant, but for its own purposes. Wealthy burghers were often looked upon by *Monitor* writers not as enemies of the *szlachta* but as a part of Poland’s elite and leisured class, which shared the vices of that class. For example, an anonymous correspondent, arguing for the state’s obligations to all its citizens, claimed that those wishing to retain the status quo would insist that “the peasant till the soil, the artisan toil in his workshop, the petty merchant deal in trade and the nobleman and burgher live comfortably.”³³

Burghers could be criticized for engaging in the same high-handed and unjust behavior as their noble counterparts. One Antoni Tadeusz Michniewski, for example, sent in a letter protesting the privileges of city councils and mayors, offices controlled by an urban patriciate, and their oppression of the city population.³⁴ City government in Poland, he complained, was made for “increasing the wealth of the mayor and council members, ensuring them a comfortable and peaceful life and squeezing the population.” Having sat on a city council himself, he assured the readers that its duties were largely pernicious: it served the population by “levying taxes, requisitioning horses, setting tariffs, issuing fines, convicting, arresting, imprisoning and inflicting corporal punishment.”

Since they often saw wealthy merchants as sharing the vices of their *szlachta* competitors, correspondents for the *Monitor* did not necessarily look to Poland’s indigenous class of merchants to revive Poland’s cities. Indeed, the burgher class did not take the lead in calls for economic reform. “After two centuries of decline, the townsmen—with the exception of a narrow strata of bourgeoisie of Warsaw and Wielkopolska—were neither economically nor psychologically prepared for this role.”³⁵ Reformers, in fact, often found resistance to calls for change among merchants and artisans, who preferred their existing structures of guilds and trade associations to the expansion of commerce. This mismatch between reformers and the bourgeoisie continued into the 1780s. While Staszic and Kollataj were committed to the political causes of the burghers, other economic reformers saw them as “useless inhabitants” and “hucksters.”³⁶

In their programs for reform, both Lojko and Czartoryski believed that Poland’s native merchants and craftsmen could be part of a revitalization of urban and economic life, but they also insisted that an economic

turnaround would require a fresh infusion of foreigners. In one of the most controversial articles published in the *Monitor*, Lojko made the provocative suggestion that Poland could increase its population, improve its trade, and make its cities flourish again only by encouraging religious dissenters to come to Poland.³⁷ Restrictions on the building of churches and holding government offices had discouraged religious refugees from coming to the republic, but Lojko warned that it was dangerous, at a time when other countries were expanding trade and manufacture, to discount the benefits that the immigration of dissident groups could bring. The value of religious dissenters and “foreigners” to the commonwealth had already been demonstrated historically: “Wherever there is industry in our cities, we owe it to the Germans and dissenters: the most prosperous cities in Wielkopolska—Wschowa, Leszno, Rawicz, Bojanow, etc.—bloom from the labor and endeavor of dissenters.”³⁸ Reminding his readers of



Poland’s tradition of tolerance during the Reformation, he argued that a renewed spirit of leniency and fairness to religious dissenters was paramount if Poland wanted to stem its economic decline. Czartoryski argued similarly that Poland would not be able to begin manufacturing goods for its own use without the help of expertise brought in from other countries.³⁹

By insisting on the value of Protestants and other foreigners for the republic, Lojko and Czartoryski were, in a sense, condemning native Polish merchants’ and artisans’ lack of enterprise. At the same time, however, they were trying to combat the xenophobic tendencies of Sarmatism and the *szlachta*’s tendency to view all foreigners with

suspicion. In the sixteenth and seventeenth century, at the height of the grain trade, the *szlachta* equated trade and city life—and particularly the main port city of Danzig—with foreignness. Lojko and Czartoryski were suggesting that these attitudes toward urban life and industry had to change, if Poland was going to increase its wealth and population.

If Lojko and Czartoryski did not see Polish merchants as an economic vanguard, they believed nonetheless that the burgher class was important to the republic's economic and political future. They and other contributors argued in favor of its legal equality with the nobility. For example, Lojko argued that much of the dearth of enterprise in the cities was due to the meddlesome interference of the nobility and that trade would only flourish when legal equality did.⁴⁰ Thus alongside the view of the burgher as the oppressor was a description of him as the oppressed, hemmed in by the legal restrictions on trade and public participation enacted by a self-serving nobility.

Many articles pointed out that the legal restrictions barring non-nobles from participation in public life had grave consequences both for the burghers and for the republic. One article, for example, focused on the fate of the sons of wealthy burghers.⁴¹ The correspondent pointed out that no father would be willing to bear the expense of educating his son knowing that the son's ambitions would be thwarted in any case. Lacking education and the hope of advancement, the son was then sure to be a failure. The ignorance and mediocrity one often saw in the burgher class, the writer concluded, was not a sign of the lack of bred-in-the-bone noble qualities. What guaranteed "honor, intelligence, and virtue" was not blood, but "hopes of praise, honor, and reward"—all privileges reserved for the *szlachta* in a country that recognized as valid only the nobleman's way of life.

This very privileging of noble status led many wealthy burghers to seek ennoblement, and many articles in the *Monitor* dealt with the evils and inconveniences of this phenomenon. Lojko wrote to complain that the contempt in which the nobility held all other social classes made ennoblement a matter of course for those non-nobles who could afford it.⁴² The cities were losing their most able citizens, and the entire commonwealth, it seemed, would soon be enlisted into the petty offices of the customs house. "Wouldn't it be more beneficial," Lojko asked, "to liberate once and for all that middling stratum between nobility and servitude, whose usefulness for us and for the kingdom ought to be known to us?"⁴³

If burghers were sometimes criticized for their obsequious imitation of noble vices, they were also occasionally held up as examples of industriousness and honesty for the nobility to emulate. When the 1764 diet passed a law making some commissions to the military, treasury, and courts based on elective commission—effectively opening them up to non-nobles—a correspondent wrote in to dismiss complaints about the decree.⁴⁴ "What will happen to the *szlachta*," he asked sarcastically, "who will no longer be able to earn a crust of bread for doing precious little work?"

Then he went on to explain how much more difficult holding office was for the nobleman than for someone of low birth. After all, a well-born person had social obligations, requiring him to drink a glass or two with his client and play a little cards. After all the social events, there will be little time left to attend to business. But none of this earnest socializing will pay off if the poor *szlachcic* is forced to imitate the burghers in "learning the law and with the greatest of care and actually reading documents."

This proposition meant more than requesting that a *szlachcic* at his judicial post give up playing cards with his client: the correspondents to the *Monitor* were asking the nobility to renounce the priorities that Sarmatism had established for them. As Wladyslaw Korcz has shown in his study of the journal, the *Monitor* suggested to the nobility for the first time that an idler—whether poor or leisured—was a drain on the economy.⁴⁵ Wybicki, for example, argued that the nation as a whole would have to cultivate a "spirit of ingenuity and industry (*duch dowcipu i przemyślu*)" in order to provide for its own needs.⁴⁶

Whether the nobility was willing to embrace the *Monitor*'s call for a renewed spirit of industriousness is questionable. Over the twenty-one years of the journal's existence, there was no great economic reform of the republic. The calls for the nobility to curb its appetite for imported goods went unheeded. And without high tariffs that would increase the cost of imported goods, the republic could not successfully develop domestic industry, beyond the few manufactories that had been established on magnate estates.

Stanislaw August did initiate an improvement commission to restore order to urban finances, with mixed results, but cities had no representation in the Sejm until 1791. They still had to contend with the corruption of *starostas*, councilmen, and—in many cases—the noblemen who owned them. Trade within the cities was further hampered by guilds, which had degenerated into monopolies supplied with a cheap labor force. Trade skills had declined to the degree that German guilds were reluctant to receive Polish journeymen.⁴⁷

The contribution of the *Monitor* cannot be measured, however, by any actual reforms that were carried out at its behest, but rather by the change in orientation that it helped to foster. While the reformers of the 1780s would praise the banker, the industrialist, and the government official as the forerunners of a new economy, the *Monitor* challenged the primacy of agriculture by lauding the artisan and the tradesman. It helped to connect political reform with economic prosperity, arguing that a renewed economy required a free peasantry and an unhampered bourgeoisie. The journal also set the stage for later discussions of the national economy by arguing that the interests of the republic superseded those of the nobility. This sense of duty and responsibility to the republic, however, was coupled with a sense of dismay at its present state. Sarmatism, as Jedlicki points out, was "the last Polish ideology free from complexes vis-à-vis the West," and the *Monitor*, by ques-

tioning Poland's sense of superiority, also helped foster a vision of the republic as a backward and underdeveloped nation in the light of the new economic developments of Western Europe. Whatever its theoretical contributions, the *Monitor* excelled, as a satirical journal should, at pointing out—sometimes with rhetorical hyperbole—the inefficiency, injustice, and sometimes the absurdity, of the existing state of affairs. Through their sketches, commentaries, and treatises, the contributors to the *Monitor* tried to goad Poland's elites into rethinking an economic and political order that they had taken for granted.

Notes

¹ Maria Bogucka i Henryk Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miasta i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolinskich, 1986).

² Jerzy Lukowski, *Liberty's Folly: The Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth in the Eighteenth Century, 1697–1795* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 63.

³ Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland. Volume I: The Origins to 1795* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 287.

⁴ Jerzy Jedlicki, "Social Ideas and Economic Attitudes of the Polish Eighteenth-Century Nobility: Their Approach to Industrial Policy," in *Fifth International Congress of Economic History*, ed. Hermann Van der Wee, et al (Leningrad: International Economic History Association, 1970), 92.

⁵ Lukowski, *Liberty's Folly*, 64.

⁶ Jedlicki, "Social Ideas," 93.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 94–101.

⁸ Elzbieta Aleksandrowska, "Les principaux périodiques polonais dans la deuxième moitié du XVIII^e siècle," in *Les lumières en Pologne et en Hongrie*, ed. F. Biro, L. Hopp, and Z. Sinko (Budapest: Akadémia Kiado, 1988), 159.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 160–63.

¹⁰ [Marcin Eysymont], "Tabaka. Wiersz, czyli suplika pokorna do matki ojczyzny *pro coaeqatione iurium* nosa koronnego z litewskim," *Monitor* Nr 13 z 13 II 1779, reprinted in *Monitor, 1765–1785, Wybor*, ed. Elzbieta Aleksandrowska (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolinskich, 1976), 498–506. Page numbers cited in the notes will refer to this reprinting.

¹¹ Jozef Wybicki, "O przywróceniu kredytu w Polsce," *Monitor* Nr 13 z 14 II 1778, 481–84.

¹² Wawrzyniec Mitzler de Kolof, "O sztukach pozytecznych dla Polski, a w oglnosci o handlu," *Monitor* Nr 9 z 29 1774, 385–89.

¹³ Jedlicki, "Social Ideas," 93.

¹⁴ On the economic thought of Mitzler de Kolof, see Wladyslaw Korcz, *Problem pracy, a miejsce czlowieka w spoleczestwie: Poglady na prace w polskim Oswieceniu* (Warszawa: Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1983), 111–15.

¹⁵ Jedlicki, "Social Ideas," 94.

¹⁶ Elzbieta Aleksandrowska, "Wystep. Rekonesans dziejow redakcji i ideologii," in *Monitor, 1765–1785: Wybor*, xxxiii.

¹⁷ On the question of taxes in the *Monitor*, see: [], [Przeciw uciskowi poddanych—pierwszych kraju podatnikow], Nr 65 z 13 XI 1765, 63–66 and S. W., "O podatkach," Nr 21 z 12 III 1774, 398–401.

¹⁸ Lojko's most complete discussion of the peasantry is to be found in "Potencja kraju zasadzona na wolnosci ludu," *Monitor*, Nr 38 z 11 VII 1765, 44–48 and "Kontynuacja uwag gospodarskich: Zaczynszowanie poddanych," Nr 26 z 1 IV 1767, 150–54. For Wybicki's views see, Ludo-Lubec Przesado-Ganski [Jozef Wybicki?], [Uwolnienie Chlopow od poddaŃstwa najpryncypalniejszym punktem szczesliwosci i obfitosci kraju naszego], Nr 81 z 10 X 1778, 489–94.

¹⁹ Translations from Francois de Coyer's *Dissertation sur la nature du peuple* appeared in Nr 47 z 13 VI 1767, 155–59. On the radicalism of the *Monitor* from 1773–76, see Aleksandrowska, "Les principaux périodiques," 161–62.

²⁰ Feliks Lojko, "W obronie dysydentow," *Monitor* Nr 13 z 11 II 1766, 72.

²¹ Yunip [Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski?], "Kontynuacja druga manuskryptu Chinskiego [Wolnosc Polska nic inszego nie jest, jeno moc czynienia przeciwko prawu]," *Monitor* Nr 60 z 27 X 1765, 59–63.

²² *Ibid.*, 59.

²³ Jedlicki, "Social Ideas," 95.

²⁴ [Feliks Lojko], [Potencja kraju zasadzona na wolnosci ludu], translated excerpts from René Louis du Voyer marquis d'Argenson, *Considérations sur le gouvernement ancien et présent de la France*, *Monitor* Nr 38 z 11 VIII 1765, 44–48.

²⁵ S. W., "O podatkach," 402.

²⁶ Prawdomowiec (pseud.), "O przyczynach drogosci towarow rzemieslnicznych," *Monitor* Nr 18 z 4 III 1767, 138–41.

²⁷ [Franciszek Bohomolec], [Nowiny Krajowe], s. v. "Od Wisly," *Monitor* Nr 18 z 2 III 1768, 199–200.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 200.

²⁹ M. d. K. [Wawrzyniec Mitzler de Kolof], "List pewnego obywatela polskiego do jednego z swych przyaciol, pana starosty [przeciw karciarstwu]," *Monitor* Nr 31 z 16 IV 1777, 464–69.

³⁰ [], [Prezentacja towarzystwa z sali Powazkowej], *Monitor* Nr 16 z 23 II 1785, 575–82.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 577.

³² Bogucka, *Dzieje miasta i mieszczaństwa*.

³³ [], "O powinnosciach ojczyzny wzgledem obywateli," *Monitor* Nr 38 z 13 v 1769, 235.

³⁴ Miesciuszko Gminowicz R. M. N. [Antoni Tadeusz Michniewski], [O niesprawiedliwosci praw miejskich protegujacych radcow i burmistrzow, a uciskajacych pospolstwo], *Monitor* Nr 34 z 28 IV 1773, 364–68.

³⁵ Jedlicki, "Social Ideas," 100.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Lojko, "W obronie dysydentow."

³⁸ Ibid., 77.

³⁹ Czartoryski, "Kontynuacja druga manuskryptu Chinskiego."

⁴⁰ Lojko, "Potenja Kraju," 47.

⁴¹ [], [Nadzieja dostapienia dystynkcji lub lepszego mienia droga do zaslugiwania sie ojczyźnie mieszczan polskich], *Monitor* Nr 7 z 24 IV 1765, 13–18.

⁴² Feliks Lojko, "O plebeuszach," *Monitor* Nr 35 z 31 VII 1765, 42–43.

⁴³ Ibid., 43.

⁴⁴ Prozniakowski, [Dopuszczenie mieszczn do niektorych urzedow publicznych krzywdzi rodowitych], *Monitor* Nr 6 z 20 IV 1765, 9–12.

⁴⁵ Korcz, *Problem pracy*, 189–95.

⁴⁶ Wybicki, "O przywroceniu kredytu," 481.

⁴⁷ Lukowski, *Liberty's Folly*, 67–84.

Upcoming Events

Events are subject to change; for current information on Center events, please call (510) 642-3230. When no one is available to take your call, you may listen to the recorded message that lists our upcoming events.

Wednesday, October 11. *Annual Fall Reception:* Please join us to kick off the new academic year! In the Toll Room, Alumni House, 4 p.m.

Save these dates!

We have scheduled the following major events for the upcoming academic year. These dates are subject to change, but pencil them on your calendar now. Our Monthly Updates will confirm these dates or announce any changes to the schedule as the year unfolds.

Friday, March 9. *Annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference:* The topic and speakers will be announced. In the Toll Room, Alumni House; the day-long schedule will be announced. Sponsored by ISEES and the Center for Russian and East European Studies at Stanford University.

Saturday–Sunday, April 28–29. *Annual Teachers Outreach Conference:* The topic and speakers will be announced. In the Toll Room, Alumni House; the two day schedule will be announced. Sponsored by CSEES, with funding from the US Department of Education.

Other events of interest

Through September 8. *Exhibit:* "Kosovo: David Gross and Associated Press Photographers—Two Views." At the Center for Photography, Graduate School of Journalism, North Gate Hall. Photographs by David I. Gross (M.J., UC Berkeley, 2000) illustrate how "shooting is a small part of what war is about."

September 11–29. *Performance:* San Francisco Opera presents *The Tsar's Bride* (Rimsky-Korsakov). At the War Memorial Opera House, 301 Van Ness Avenue, San Francisco; times and dates vary. Fees: \$22–145. Contact: SF Opera, (415) 864-3330, for ticketing and general information.

Thursday, September 14. *Performance:* Kirov Orchestra will perform works by Debussy, Prokofiev, and Tchaikovsky. At Zellerbach Hall, UC Berkeley campus, 8 p.m. Fees: \$36/48/60. Contact: Cal Performances, (510) 642-9988 or <http://calperfs.berkeley.edu>.

Saturday, September 30. *Performance:* Slavyanka. At the Orinda Community Church, 10 Irwin Way, Orinda, 7:30 p.m. Fees: To be announced. Contact: Slavyanka, (415) 979-8690 or <http://www.slavyanka.org>.

Sunday, October 1. *Performance:* Takacs Quartet will perform works by Mozart and Dvorak. At Hertz Hall, UC Berkeley campus, 3 p.m. Fees: \$32. Contact: Cal Performances, (510) 642-9988 or <http://calperfs.berkeley.edu>.

Thursday–Saturday, October 12–14. *Performance:* San Francisco Symphony Orchestra, featuring Tortelier and Lang, will perform Kodaly, Grieg, and Lutoslawski. At Davies Symphony Hall, San Francisco, 10/12: 2 p.m.; 10/13–14: 8 p.m. Fees: Prices to be announced; non-season tickets go on sale September 9. Contact: SF Symphony Box Office, (415) 864-6000.

Saturday, October 14. *Performance:* Slavyanka. At Stewart Chapel, SF Theological Seminary, 2 Kensington Road, San Anselmo; 7:30 p.m. Fees: To be announced. Contact: Slavyanka, (415) 979-8690 or <http://www.slavyanka.org>.

Thursday–Saturday, October 19–21. *Performance:* San Francisco Symphony Orchestra, will perform Shostakovich's *Symphony No. 10*, among other works.

Faculty and Student News

Laura Adams (Ph.D. in sociology, 1999) will be at Hamilton College in New York for another academic year as a visiting assistant professor in the Department of Sociology.

Laura participated in the ASN Annual Convention, “Identity and the State: Nationalism and Sovereignty in a Changing World” (April 13–15, 2000 at Columbia University), presenting the paper “Competing Representations of Identity in Contemporary Uzbekistan” at the panel entitled “Genealogies of Nationhood: Identity and Politics in Soviet and Post-Soviet Central Asia.”

Tadashi Anno (Ph.D. in political science, 1999) has accepted a position as lecturer (equivalent of assistant professor) in political science at Sophia University in Tokyo. In the Faculty of Comparative Culture, Tadashi is teaching courses on international relations, comparative politics of post-Communist states, and Japanese foreign policy.

Aaron Belkin (Ph.D. in political science, 1998) is an assistant professor with the Department of Political Science at UC Santa Barbara, where he is teaching courses on international relations. Aaron is founder and director of the Center for the Study of Sexual Minorities in the Military at UC Santa Barbara.

David Burke, Ph.D. candidate in history, received a 2000–2001 Individual Advanced Research Grant from IREX to conduct research in Russia and Ukraine on his project “Capital Punishment and the Quest for Personal Rights in Early Twentieth-Century Russia.”

Michael Carpenter, Ph.D. candidate in political science, received a 2000–2001 Individual Advanced Research Grant from IREX to conduct research in Poland on his project “Liberalism and the Weakness of a Public Orientation in Post-Communist Poland.”

Shari Cohen (Ph.D. in political science, 1997) recently published *Politics without a Past: The Absence of History in Postcommunist Nationalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999). Shari is a senior research fellow at the National Jewish Center for Learning and Leadership in New York City.

Keith Darden, Ph.D. candidate in political science, has accepted a long-term contract as assistant professor with the Department of Political Science at Yale University. He will spend AY 2000–2001 as a postdoc at the Academy for International and Area Scholars at Harvard University before taking up his position at Yale.

Adrienne Edgar (Ph.D. in history, 1999) participated in the ASN Annual Convention, “Identity and the State: Nationalism and Sovereignty in a Changing World” (April 13–15, 2000 at Columbia University), presenting the paper “Kinship, Class, and Nationhood in Soviet Turkmenistan, 1924–1938” at the panel entitled “Genealogies of Nationhood: Identity and Politics in Soviet and Post-Soviet Central Asia.”

Adrienne had a postdoctoral appointment at Harvard’s Davis Center for Russian Studies during AY 1999–2000. She is currently an assistant professor of history at UC Santa Barbara.

Danielle Fosler-Lussier (Ph.D. in music, 2000) begins a three-year postdoctoral appointment with the Society of Fellows at Princeton University this fall, where she will examine the effect of Cold War politics on European musical life. Danielle is one of six scholars to be named to the first group in the Society of Fellows, a newly inaugurated program at Princeton designed to bring recent outstanding Ph.D.s to the campus.

Theodore Gerber (Ph.D. in sociology, 1995) has accepted a position as assistant professor with the Department of Sociology at the University of Arizona. Ted was previously on faculty at the University of Oregon.

Brian Horowitz (Ph.D. in Slavic languages and literatures, 1993) presented a paper on “Recesses of Humanism: Semen Dubnov’s Jewish Autonomism in the Context of Russian History” at the conference “Negotiating Cultural Upheavals: Icons, Myths, and Other Institutions of Cultural Memory in Modern Russia, 1900–2000,” held on April 13–15, 2000 at Ohio State University.

Brian is an assistant professor of Russian with the Department of Modern Languages and Literatures at the University of Nebraska, Lincoln.

Marc Morjé Howard (Ph.D. in political science, 1999) has accepted a tenure-track position as assistant professor in comparative politics with the Department of Politics at UC Santa Cruz.

Lise Morjé Howard, Ph.D. candidate in political science, will be a research fellow at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard’s Kennedy School of Government during the fall 2000 term. She will then take up a position in the spring as visiting assistant professor at UC Santa Cruz.

Lise received the Soroptimist International Founder Region Women’s Fellowship through UC Berkeley to write up her dissertation, which she plans to complete this fall.

Brian Kassof, Ph.D. candidate in history, received the Woodrow Wilson Postdoctoral Fellowship in the Humanities from the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation in Princeton, New Jersey. The fellowship provides a two-year appointment, to be divided equally between teaching and scholarship. This fall, Brian will begin a joint appointment in the Program for Media Studies and the Department of History at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville.

Oleg Kharkhordin (Ph.D. in political science, 1996) began his position as associate professor and chair of the department of political sciences and sociology at the European University in St. Petersburg during the fall of 1999.

Oleg will be a visiting associate professor in the Department of Political Science at Berkeley for the spring 2001 semester.

William Nickell (Ph.D. in Slavic languages and literatures, 1998) presented a paper entitled "Tolstoy as Mirror of Cultural Change" at the conference "Negotiating Cultural Upheavals: Icons, Myths, and Other Institutions of Cultural Memory in Modern Russia, 1900–2000," held on April 13–15, 2000 at Ohio State University.

Joel Ostrow (Ph.D. in political science, 1997) has accepted a tenure-track position as assistant professor with the Department of Political Science at Benedictine University in Illinois.

Joel received an IREX Short-Term Travel Grant to travel to Russia this summer for his project "Institutional Design and Legislative Behavior in Post-Communist Legislatures."

Jan Plamper, Ph.D. candidate in history, spent AY 1999–2000 in Moscow conducting dissertation research, with funding from a DAAD fellowship, the Reinhard Bendix Memorial Fellowship (UC Berkeley), and a Peder Sather Grant, through the Department of History. He will live in Berlin during the next academic year while writing his dissertation, "Representing the Leader: Images of Stalin, 1929–1953," with funding from a Mellon Foundation Dissertation Write-up Fellowship from the history department.

Ethan Pollock, Ph.D. candidate in history, has accepted a two-year postdoctoral appointment at the Center for History of Recent Science at George Washington University in Washington, DC. He plans to file his dissertation, "Politics of Knowledge: Party Ideology and Soviet Science, 1929–1953," this fall.

Ruth Rischin (Ph.D. in Slavic languages and literatures, 1993) presented a paper entitled "In the Shades of Spain: Gorky's Last Legacy to Hebrew Literature" at the conference "Negotiating Cultural Upheavals: Icons, Myths, and

Other Institutions of Cultural Memory in Modern Russia, 1900–2000," held on April 13–15, 2000 at Ohio State University.

Ruth is an independent scholar and is currently co-editing a collection of essays, *William James in Russian Culture*, and an anthology of Russian-Jewish prose in translation.

Rudra Sil (Ph.D. in political science, 1996) co-edited and contributed to the recent book *Beyond Boundaries? Disciplines, Paradigms, and Theoretical Integration in International Studies* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2000). Rudy is an assistant professor with the Department of Political Science at the University of Pennsylvania.

Arthur Small (Ph.D. in agricultural and resource economics, 1998) has been at Columbia University's School of Business for the past two years where he is assistant professor of finance and economics.

The *Journal of Political Economy* recently published his paper, "Valuing Research Leads: Bioprospecting and the Conservation of Genetic Resources" [118, no. 1 (February 2000): 173–206], co-authored with Gordon Rausser, dean of the College of Natural Resources at Berkeley.

Valerie Sperling (Ph.D. in political science, 1997) has accepted a tenure-track position as assistant professor with the Department of Government and International Relations at Clark University in Massachusetts.

Valerie is the editor of *Building the Russian State: Institutional Crisis and the Quest for Democratic Governance* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000).

Michelle Viise, Ph.D. candidate in Slavic languages and literatures, received a 2000–2001 Individual Advanced Research Grant from IREX to conduct research in Poland on her project "Establishing Textual Authority in Seventeenth-Century Poland-Lithuania."

Lisa Walker, Ph.D. candidate in history, received a 2000–2001 Individual Advanced Research Grant from IREX to conduct research in Russia on her project "Regional Consciousness and Social Stability in Late Imperial Russia: Civic Organizations in Nizhnii Novgorod and Saratov, 1870–1914."

Lisa's paper entitled "Historical Commemoration and Local Civic Identity in Nizhnii Novgorod" appeared in the Fall 1999 issue of our newsletter.

Mark Walker (Ph.D. in political science, 1999) has been teaching at American University in Washington, DC since the fall 1999 term. Mark is an assistant professor of comparative and regional studies at the American's School of International Service.

Lucan Way, Ph.D. candidate in political science, will spend AY 2000–2001 at Harvard University’s Davis Center for Russian Studies as a postdoctoral fellow. He will continue his research on governmental control in regional Ukraine, the subject of his dissertation. Lucan recently worked as a consultant on Ukraine to the World Bank.

Suzanne Wertheim, Ph.D. candidate in linguistics, received a 2000–2001 Individual Advanced Research Grant from IREX to conduct research in Russia on her project “Lan-

guage Choice, Change, and Viability: The Case of Tatar in Tatarstan.”

Glennys Young (Ph.D. in history, 1989) will be a senior fellow during AY 2000–2001 at the Rutgers Center for Historical Analysis at Rutgers University where she will be working on her second book-length project, “Extralegal Violence in Soviet Political Discourse, 1917–1991.” The center’s research theme for 1999–2001 is “Utopia, Violence, Resistance: Remaking and Unmaking Humanity.”

Outstanding Graduate Student Instructors

Each spring the Graduate Student Instructor Teaching and Resource Center recognizes graduate students whose work as instructors has been exemplary that academic year. The following Ph.D. candidates affiliated with the Slavic Center were honored for their work during the academic year:

Alina Ayvazian was selected for *Introduction to Eastern Armenian* by the Department of Near Eastern Studies.

Jonathan Barnes was selected for *Introduction to Bulgarian* by the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures.

Matthew Bencke was selected for *International Relations* by the Department of Political Science.

Galina Hale was selected for *Economic Theory: Macro* by the Department of Economics.

Lilya Kaganovsky was selected for *Self-Reflections* by the Department of Comparative Literature.

Rebecca Manley was selected for *Survey of World History* by International and Area Studies Teaching Programs.

Kirsten Rodine was selected for *Introduction to Research Methods* by the Department of Political Science.

Michelle Viise was selected for *Introduction to Polish* by the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures.

Kosovac Prize Awarded

Jelena McWilliams has been awarded the Drago and Danica Kosovac Prize for her senior thesis on “Media Manipulations in the Balkan Wars, 1991–1999.” Jelena earned her B.A. in political science from UC Berkeley in 1999 with highest honors.

The Drago and Danica Kosovac Prize was established through a donation to the university by Colonel Don Kosovac, an Associate of the Slavic Center, in honor of his parents. It is awarded for an outstanding thesis in the social sciences or humanities which researches some aspect of Serbian history or culture.

Now a J.D. candidate at the Boalt Hall School of Law, Jelena McWilliams is following her interest in the Balkans, currently studying the development of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) at the Hague. The ICTY was established in 1993 by the UN Security Council to prosecute war crimes in Croatia and, later, in Bosnia. As the international community considers creating a permanent judicial body of this kind, it must be determined whether the ICTY does justice to the international law. Jelena will examine what factors, parties, and organizations had a role in the evolution of the tribunal;

how it was created, financed, staffed; how it functions; how is it influenced; and whether it is political in nature or biased.

Beginning this summer, Jelena will study the research materials available on campus; visit Washington, DC to research ICTY budget appropriations; visit the UN in New York to research committees involved with the Tribunal; visit the ICTY in the Hague to conduct interviews and research documentation; and travel to the former Yugoslavia to interview individuals and NGOs involved in gathering and presenting evidence of war crimes. Jelena is fluent in Serbian/Croatian and will be able to access original sources.

In addition to continuing support by Colonel Don and Mrs. Caroline Kosovac, donations have been made to the Kosovac prize by Agnes and Dmitre Adich, Mileva and Milorad Mladenovich, William and Geri Murakowski, George and Anne Platisha, and James and Lisa Varnum. To contribute to the Drago and Danica Kosovac Prize or to provide other support for Balkan studies, please contact Barbara Voytek at (510) 643-6736 or bvoytek@socrates.berkeley.edu.

Associates of the Slavic Center

The Center acknowledges with sincere appreciation the following individuals who have contributed to the annual giving program, the Associates of the Slavic Center (or have been enrolled due to their particular generosity toward Cal to support some aspect of Slavic & East European Studies), between March 1 and July 1, 2000. 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.

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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, brilliant blue coffee mug which promotes Slavic and East European Studies at Berkeley. They also receive invitations to special informal afternoon and evening talks on campus featuring guest speakers from the faculty as well as visiting scholars.

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Center Circle (\$1,000-up). In addition to enjoying the above-mentioned benefits, donors within the Center Circle will also become Robert Gordon Sproul Associates of the University. Benefits of the Sproul Associates include invitations to two football luncheons and eligibility for membership in the Faculty Club.

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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Fellowship Opportunities

Slavic Center Travel Grants provide limited travel support for faculty and Center-affiliated graduate students. Awards up to \$400 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 99–00. Deadline: On-going. To apply send request with budget to: Barbara Voytek, CSEES, UC Berkeley, 361 Stephens Hall # 2304, Berkeley CA 94720-2304.

The **Hertelendy Graduate Fellowship in Hungarian Studies** provides assistance for research and graduate training, funded by an endowment established by Mr. and Mrs. Paul Hertelendy to support Hungarian studies at UC Berkeley. Applicants may be of any nationality and citizenship, but must be US residents at the time of application, and must plan to pursue a career in the US. Research must focus on Hungarian/US-Hungarian/Europe- (or EU-) Hungarian Studies. Currently only partial assistance (tuition/stipend) is being offered to students. Deadline: March 15, 2001. Contact: Barbara Voytek, CSEES, UC Berkeley, 361 Stephens Hall # 2304, Berkeley CA 94720-2304; Tel: 510-643-6736; bvoytek@socrates.berkeley.edu.

DAAD

Grants for Study in Germany provide a monthly stipend, health and accident insurance, and an international travel subsidy to Berkeley grad students who want to study in Germany. Preference is given to graduate students engaged in doctoral dissertation research. Awarded in all fields, grants are intended for Ph.D. candidates and recent Ph.D.s to carry out research at libraries, archives, institutes, or laboratories in Germany for 1–6 months. Consult the DAAD Web site, <http://www.daad.org>, for program details. Deadline: A campus deadline in early October will be announced. Contact: Graduate Fellowships Office, 318 Sproul Hall # 5900; Tel: 510-642-0672; <http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/grad/>.

Fulbright

Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad Grants provide a monthly stipend. Period of award ranges from 6 to 12 months for grad students to conduct full-time dissertation research overseas in modern foreign language and area studies. Applicants must be US citizens or permanent residents.

Fulbright/IEE Grants for Graduate Study Abroad provide round-trip transportation; language/orientation courses, as appropriate; tuition, in some cases; book and

research allowances; maintenance for the academic year, based on living costs in the host country; and supplemental insurance. Applicants must be US citizens or permanent residents holding a B.A. or equivalent; study abroad must be for graduate course work or for master's or dissertation research.

Fulbright/IEE Travel Grants cover the cost of airfare for travel to Germany, Hungary, Italy, or Korea. Funds are intended to supplement an award from a non-IEE source that does not provide for travel or to supplement a student's own funds for study. Applicants must be US citizens or permanent residents

For more information, see grant Web site at <http://www.iie.org/fulbright/us/>. Deadline: A campus deadline in early September will be announced. Contact: Graduate Fellowships Office, 318 Sproul Hall # 5900; Tel: 510-642-0672; <http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/grad/>.

Social Science Research Council (SSRC)

The **Louis Dupree Prize for Research on Central Asia** provides \$2,500 to the most promising dissertation involving field research in Central Asia. Only candidates who receive a SSRC/ACLS dissertation fellowship are eligible for the prize. The prize is intended to enrich the individual's field experience by making possible a longer stay or more extensive travel within the region. Deadline: 10/1/00. Contact: Eurasia Program, Social Science Research Council, 810 Seventh Ave, New York NY 10019; Tel: 212-377-2700; Fax: 212-377-2727; eurasia@ssrc.org; <http://www.ssrc.org/programs.html>.

SSRC / ACLS / Ford

International Predissertation Fellowships provide up to 12 months of support over two years. Fellowships support a combination of language training, overseas study, and coursework in area studies, in addition to living stipends and international travel expenses. Deadline: A campus deadline for September will be announced. For grant details, see SSRC's Web site, <http://www.ssrc.org/>. Contact: Graduate Fellowships Office, 318 Sproul Hall # 5900; Tel: 510-642-0672; <http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/grad/>.

SSRC / ACLS / NEH

International and Area Studies Postdoctoral Fellowships provide 6–12 months of support. Special funding by ACLS and NEH has been set aside to encourage humanistic research in area studies. Scholars at least two years beyond the Ph.D. may apply to pursue research and writing on

Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, among other regions. Deadline: 10/2/00. Contact: ACLS, Office of Fellowships and Grants, 228 E 45th St, New York NY 10017-3398; Fax: 212-949-8058; grants@acls.org; http://www.acls.org.

UC Berkeley

Mangasar M. Mangasarian Scholarships provide funding to Berkeley graduate students of Armenian descent. Awards are made to those with demonstrated financial need, up to full cost of tuition, fees, books, and maintenance. Deadline: A campus deadline in mid-October will be announced. Contact: Graduate Fellowships Office, 318 Sproul Hall # 5900; Tel: 510-642-0672; http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/grad/.

UC Davis

University Research Expeditions Program Grants for Field Research provide funds and field assistance for UC grad students and postdocs on short- or long-term field-work. All disciplines are welcome. Deadline: A date in early October will be announced. Contact: University Research Expeditions Program, University of California, Desk D06, Davis CA 95616; Tel: 530-752-0692; Fax: 530-752-0681; urep@ucdavis.edu; http://urep.ucdavis.edu/ucfunds.html.

Woodrow Wilson Center

East European Studies Short Term Grants provide a stipend to grad students and postdocs who are engaged in specialized research requiring access to Washington, DC

and its research institutions. Grants are for one month and do not include residence at the Wilson Center. Deadline: 9/1/00, 12/1/00, 3/1/01, 6/1/01. Contact: East European Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center, One Woodrow Wilson Plaza, 1300 Pennsylvania Ave NW, Washington DC 20523; Tel: 202-691-4000; Fax: 202-691-4001; kneppm@wwic.si.edu; http://wwics.si.edu/ees/grants.htm.

Kennan Institute Research Scholarships provide a stipend of \$3,000 per month for 6–9 months to postdocs. Only US citizens or permanent residents may apply. Awards provide office space, a research assistant, and library access. Research proposals examining the countries of Central Eurasia are welcome. Deadline: 10/1/00. Contact: Fellowships and Grants, Kennan Institute, One Woodrow Wilson Plaza, 1300 Pennsylvania Ave NW, Washington DC 20523; Tel: 202-691-4100; Fax: 202-691-4001; http://wwics.si.edu/kennan/grants.htm.

Kennan Institute Short Term Grants provide a stipend of \$100 a day, up to one month for grads and postdocs. Grants are given for one month of research in Washington, DC and its institutions and do not include residence at the Wilson Center. Deadline: 9/1/00; 12/01/00, 3/1/01, 6/1/01. Contact: Fellowships and Grants, Kennan Institute, One Woodrow Wilson Plaza, 1300 Pennsylvania Ave NW, Washington DC 20523; Tel: 202-691-4100; Fax: 202-691-4001; http://wwics.si.edu/kennan/grants.htm.

Upcoming Events, continued from page 21.

10/19: at the Flint Center, Cupertino, 8 p.m.; 10/20–21: at Davies Symphony Hall, San Francisco, 8 p.m. Fees: Prices to be announced; non-season tickets go on sale September 9. Contact: SF Symphony Box Office, (415) 864-6000.

Sunday, October 29. *Performance:* Kremerata Baltica, a chamber orchestra of young musicians from the Baltics, will perform. At Davies Symphony Hall, San Francisco, 7:30 p.m. Fees: Prices to be announced; non-season tickets go on sale September 9. Contact: SF Symphony Box Office, (415) 864-6000.

November 1–4. *Performance:* Mikhail Baryshnikov and White Oak Dance Project present *Past Forward*. At Zellerbach Hall, UC Berkeley campus, 8 p.m. Fees: \$36/48/60. Contact: Cal Performances, (510) 642-9988 or http://calperfs.berkeley.edu.

November 1–5. *Performance:* San Francisco Symphony Orchestra, featuring Villaume, will perform Tchaikovsky's *Pathetique*, among other works. At Davies Symphony Hall, San Francisco, 11/1: 2 p.m.; 11/1–4: 8 p.m.; 11/5: 2 p.m. Fees: Prices to be announced; non-season tickets go on sale September 9. Contact: SF Symphony Box Office, (415) 864-6000.

Saturday, November 4. *Performance:* Slavyanka. At Carmel Mission, 3080 Rio Road, Carmel. Fees: Prices to be announced. Contact: Slavyanka, (415) 979-8690 or http://www.slavyanka.org.

Sunday, November 5. *Recital:* Arcadi Volodos, Russian pianist, will perform. At Davies Symphony Hall, San Francisco, 7:30 p.m. Sponsored by the San Francisco Symphony. Fees: Prices to be announced; non-season tickets go on sale September 9. Contact: SF Symphony Box Office, (415) 864-6000.

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Projects Funded by the Kujachich Endowment in Balkan Studies

Graduate training with Dr. Vladimir Zhobov, a leading Bulgarian dialectologist, and a detailed examination of ethnic migration flows to and from Serbia were made possible during the past academic year with funding from the Peter N. Kujachich Endowment in Balkan Studies.

Dr. Vladimir Zhobov, of the Faculty of Slavic Philology at Sofia University in Bulgaria, visited Berkeley for two weeks during February and March, 2000, working intensively with a number of graduate students from the Department of Linguistics and the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures who specialize in South Slavic linguistics. Dr. Zhobov's visit was organized by Professor Ronelle Alexander, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures. The group worked on techniques of data collection, data analysis, and archival preservation of Bulgarian dialectical speech. Participating graduate students developed methodology and learned valuable research skills applicable not only to the study of Bulgarian dialects but to Balkan Slavic dialectology as a whole.

In the project entitled "Migration Flows To and From Serbia and Its Regions, 1941–1981," Professor Eugene A. Hammel, Department of Demography, and Dr. Mirjana Stevanovic (Ph.D. in anthropology, 1996) are focusing on extensive census data covering 1941–1981 to examine ethnic migration from all republics of

Yugoslavia and overseas into Inner Serbia, the Vojvodina, and Kosovo; from Inner Serbia, the Vojvodina, and Kosovo into each of the Yugoslav republics; and, within Inner Serbia, the Vojvodina, and Kosovo, the internal flows between each region. With ethnic conflict and population movement at the core of recent events in the former Yugoslavia, this initial study will immediately contribute to the understanding of ethnic relations in a region of great interest to US foreign policy. This project will also lay the foundation for future research on the collection of published censuses of the former Yugoslavia, dating from 1830 and earlier.

Each fall, the Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies calls for proposals from Berkeley faculty and students for funding by the Kujachich Endowment in Balkan Studies. Interested faculty and students are encouraged to contact Barbara Voytek at bvoytek@socrates.berkeley.edu for more details.

The Peter N. Kujachich Endowment in Balkan Studies was initiated in 1997 to support, in perpetuity, a variety of activities in research and instruction in social sciences, humanities, and the arts. For information on supporting Balkan studies or other programs of study on our regions, please contact Barbara Voytek, executive director of the Center for Slavic and East European Studies, at (510) 643-6736.