ISSN 1536-4003

University of California, Berkeley

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

Summer 2005
Volume 22, Number 2

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Newsletter of the Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies
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Subscriptions are free of charge. Submit mailing changes to the above address or call (510) 642-3230.

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Notes from the Director

My first year as director of the Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies has been extremely stimulating and enjoyable. And probably no event this year has been more stimulating, enjoyable, and personally gratifying to me than the forum on the development of Slavic studies at UC Berkeley. Drawing on the experience, wisdom, and knowledge of some of our most distinguished and admired colleagues, we presented a program of reminiscences about the life of the Slavic and East European program from the 1950s until the end of the Cold War. Our speakers were Gregory Grossman, Joan Grossman, David Hooson, Olga Hughes, Hugh McLean, and Nicholas V. Riasanovsky (unfortunately, Robert Hughes, who had planned to participate, was out with the flu).

Following the February forum, ISEEES hosted the joint Berkeley-Stanford Conference. This year, the theme was "The Caucasus: Culture, History, Politics." The day-long event featured presentations by Stephan Astourian (UC Berkeley), Daniel Brower (UC Davis), John Dunlop (Hoover Institution), Harsha Ram (UC Berkeley), Erik R. Scott (UC Berkeley), Kathryn Stoner-Weiss (Stanford), Andrei P. Tsygankov (SF State), and Edward Walker (UC Berkeley). It has been 29 years since Stanford and Berkeley started this joint venture, and it is still as vibrant as ever.

In early April, ISEEES cosponsored a panel on "The Celebration of Russian Music in History and Culture" with Cal Performances and the Department of Music. It was the sequel to the November program on Russian dance. Linked to the half-day event was a two-day conference on "Glinka and His Legacies." The conference was cosponsored by several units on campus and organized by two Ph.D. candidates in the Department of Music, Anna Nisnevich and William Quillen.

On April 23rd we had our Annual Teachers Outreach Conference. The title was "Keeping the Faith: The Orthodox Church in Eastern Europe." Victor Zhivov (UC Berkeley) focused on the differences in religious experience in Eastern and Western Christianity; Jack Kollmann (Stanford) discussed the role of the iconostasis in a Russian Orthodox church; Anton Vrame (GTU) surveyed the history of Byzantine iconography; Olga Hughes (UC Berkeley) presented an overview of the Orthodox Church in America; Milica Bakic-Hayden talked about the place of Orthodoxy in Serbian life; and Marika Kuzma (UC Berkeley) discussed—and played—Orthodox spiritual music.

Our last and largest conference was held at the very end of the spring semester. Entitled "The Thaw: Soviet Society and Culture in 1950s and 1960s," the conference included thirty-five presenters and discussants from the US, Canada, France, Great Britain, and Germany. The event was funded, in part, by the National Endowment for the Humanities and several other campus and non-campus entities. Two Ph.D. candidates,

Eleonory Gilburd (History, UC Berkeley) and Denis Kozlov (History, University of Toronto) conceived the conference and organized the three-day event.

In addition, ISEEES presented two endowed lectureships in the spring. The first was our Annual Colin Miller Memorial Lecture. Istvan Deak, Seth Low Professor Emeritus at Columbia University, spoke on "The Post–World War II Political Purges in Europe." In March, our Annual Peter N. Kujachich Lecture featured Robert Hayden, University Professor of Anthropology, Law and Public and International Affairs at the University of Pittsburgh and my counterpart in their Center for Russian and East European Studies. The title of his lecture was "Hagueiography: Uncritical Legal Studies of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia."

The Carnegie research and graduate training project on Extremism in the New Eurasia held six seminars in the spring. The presenters included David Laitin, professor of political science at Stanford University; John Dunlop, senior fellow at the Hoover Institution; Georgi Derluguian, associate professor of sociology, Northwestern University; Margaret Anderson, professor of history, UC Berkeley; John Lie, dean of International and Area Studies and professor of sociology, UC Berkeley; and Ronald Hassner, assistant professor of political science at UCB.

Five graduate student working groups were active last semester: the BPS Graduate Student Seminar; the Identity in Central Asia Working Group; the *Kruzhok* Russian History Working Group; the Post-Communist Political Economy Working Group; and the *Sozhok* Graduate Student Working Group in Sociology.

I am very happy to report two new faculty additions to our community. Victoria Frede (History) and Jason Wittenberg (Political Science) will join us next year.

Another piece of good news is that the Mellon Foundation has responded positively to our proposal for a Sawyer Seminar award on the topic, "Private Wealth and Public Power: Oligarchs, Tycoons, and Magnates in Comparative Perspective." The seminar series is likely to be launched in the spring semester of next year.

Finally, I would like to thank our outstanding visitors for contributing so much to the work of the Institute. They included two scholars in the Junior Faculty Development Program administered by the American Councils for International Education who came from Serbia and Montenegro. Ivana Jelic, law and legal studies, and Milos Besic, sociology, were excellent resources for our faculty and students. Vadim Volkov, associate professor of sociology at the European University of St. Petersburg and Carnegie Foundation Research Fellow, gave two brown bag lunch talks and one seminar on his research on "early capitalism" in the US and Russia.

Let me also take this opportunity to welcome our newest employee, Ms. Kalynn Yastro, who is the new administrative assistant for programs (BPS, CCAsP, ASP). If you have not yet met Kalynn, please come by and say hello.

On behalf of all of us at the Institute, I wish you a happy summer.

Yuri Slezkine
Director, ISEEES
Professor, Department of History

Bosnian, Serbian, and Croatian Electronic Corpora in Light of the Current Linguistic Situation

Elena Morabito

Elena Morabito is a Ph.D. student in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures. This is an abbreviated version of a seminar paper under the same title, written for Professor Ronelle Alexander in 2004.

During the existence of Yugoslavia—and of the language Serbo-Croatian—there were complications and disputes pertaining to linguistic matters. Since the bloody breakup of the nation in 1991, three national "ethnic" languages have been declared: Croatian, Serbian, and Bosnian (also referred to as Bosniac).[1] There is a fourth potential language, Montenegrin, and it is possible that a separate Montenegrin language could be declared in the near future, depending whether Serbia-Montenegro will split into two states or remain one.[2]

Whereas the "ethnic" criterion is the one corresponding most closely to what people in the former Yugoslavia use officially, and what they fought wars about, it is not the only one or the completely agreed-upon criterion for the differences between the Serbian, Croatian, and Bosnian languages. There are many intricacies to this issue: the question of what people speak who are not 100% "ethnically pure," or who are not "geographically pure." One example is Muslims outside Bosnia and the complexity which arises when attempting to determine the language they speak. In addition, one does not necessarily need an ethnic designation in order to know what language he speaks: there are many former Yugoslavs who identify their language as "Serbo-Croatian," even though it is currently a "dead language," in the sense that the individual Serbian, Croatian, and Bosnian languages have eclipsed it.[3] Of the three new official state languages, Serbian seems to be the most stable and similar to the former language. Croatian has been rapidly changing from the former Serbo-Croatian, and Bosnian is somewhere in between: it has definitely been moving away from the "parent" language, but not as quickly and/or as radically as Croatian.

In this paper the term Serbo-Croatian will be used when referring to the language as it was prior to the breakup of Yugoslavia. When referring to the current situation in which three national languages are derived from this one, the individual names Bosnian, Serbian, or Croatian will be used. When the three state languages are referred to in terms of their membership in a single common language system, the abbreviation BCS will be used.[4]

The linguistic situation right now is incredibly murky. Although there are definite differences between Bosnian, Serbian, and Croatian—mainly on the level of vocabulary and pronunciation—these state languages are for the most part mutually intelligible.

The present study is a comparison of electronic linguistic corpora of the language formerly known as Serbo-Croatian, and intends to show how the construction and use of various post–Serbo-Croatian corpora reflect the current linguistic situation. A corpus is usually a body of randomly-sampled texts that as a whole is intended to represent a language. The digitized, computer-accessible texts can include newspapers, books, or transcribed conversations, to name a few examples.[5] Those who create the corpus have control over text selection and thus its content; therefore, motives of the designers are often reflected in the corpora themselves. In addition, different linguists can come to different conclusions about BCS, depending on which corpus they use or which interpretation of it they use. I will briefly describe each major corpus I examined, although I focus mainly on the Croatian National Corpus and the lexical differences between Croatian and Serbo-Croatian.

1. The Serbo-Croatian Corpus[6]

In the late 1980s, Henning Mørk compiled a Serbo-Croatian text base in Denmark. Texts are mostly from 1955–1990. This corpus is unique in that it covers all the Serbo-Croatian speaking area: Croatia, Bosnia, Serbia, and Montenegro.

2. Oslo Corpus of Bosnian Texts[7]

The Oslo Corpus of Bosnian texts is a project through the University of Oslo. It is the first widely-available corpus of the language as it is written in Bosnia-Herzegovina after the breakup of Yugoslavia.

3. The Corpus of the Serbian Language[8]

Professor Dorde Kostic* initiated this project in 1957. He worked with the Institute for Experimental Phonetics and Speech Pathology in Belgrade. Texts are from the 12th century to current.

** Many diacritical marks that the author used in this paper—namely the subset used with Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian languages—have been omitted by the newsletter editors for technical reasons.*

4. Croatian National Corpus[9]

The project of compiling a Croatian corpus started in the 1970s. Professor Milan Mogus created the earliest version of this corpus, based on texts from 1937–1978. It is now referred to as the Mogus Corpus, and served as a pilot for the Croatian National Corpus. The contemporary Corpus consists of two parts: the 30-million Corpus of the Contemporary Croatian Language and the Croatian Electronic Text Archive (containing texts which are older than 1990).

5. The Mannheim Corpus of Croatian

Mario Grcevic, a Croatian linguist, compiled this corpus from the daily newspapers *Vjesnik, Vecernji list, Slobodna Dalmacija* and the magazine *Hrvatsko slovo* from 1997–1999. The corpus contained 14,000,000 tokens as of the year 2000.[10]

One significant problem in terms of BCS corpus construction is that of linguistic boundaries. States have boundaries: there is a clear boundary between the states of Croatia, Serbia-Montenegro, and Bosnia. However, what are the boundaries of the languages Croatian, Serbian, and Bosnian? This is a debatable question, and very significant to the study of post-Yugoslav linguistic corpora. What I intend to show is that corpora aren't necessarily perfectly representative of the languages they are intended to represent. Text selection is a deliberate process, usually involving the following steps:

Category ➜ genre ➜ period ➜ text ➜ sample

In short, corpora are never just random samples of the language but are carefully chosen. Some questions the linguist needs to ask before using a Bosnian, Serbian, or Croatian corpus is: who selected the texts, and on what basis? How does the corpus compiler determine what texts are/are not written in the target language? When dealing with an area with such ambiguous linguistic boundaries as the former Yugoslavia, it becomes apparent that the parameters of what constitutes Bosnian, Serbian, or Croatian are up to whoever is designing the corpus. Let's take a closer look at the corpora, in terms of imagined or created boundaries of each language.

1. Mørk's pre-1990 Serbo-Croatian corpus

Henning Mørk states that his corpus is based on all territories where Serbo-Croatian was spoken: present-day Serbia-Montenegro, Croatia, Bosnia. Mørk began the project because he realized the value of doing text retrieval for his research and for textbook projects. He constructed the corpus entirely by himself, as at that time there was neither the funding nor the understanding of the need for such an activity.

Mørk's Serbo-Croatian corpus was not state funded and does not appear to have been designed with any particular political motivation. He is explicit about what constitutes the corpus, who the authors are, and where they are from. There are 56 different texts in Mørk's corpus, of which 51 belong to the period after World War II (1955–1990). Only five texts, all by the Croatian author Nazor, are from an earlier period, dating to around 1900.

2. Oslo Corpus of Bosnian Texts

Samples for the Oslo Corpus of Bosnian Texts were selected by state-funded Norwegian researchers. The names of all authors included in the corpus are listed on the corpus website, and it is stated that all authors are from the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Since it is clear that texts are included not just from Bosnian Muslim authors, but also Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats, the composition of the corpus and what is defined as "Bosnian" is apparent.

3. Corpus of the Serbian Language

The Institute for Experimental Phonetics and Speech Pathology in Belgrade initiated the Corpus of the Serbian Language project in 1957. The Institute needed material for automated speech and text recognition projects, and for machine translation projects. In 1962, the project was suspended. In 1996, a few years after the breakup of Yugoslavia, the Institute, along with the Laboratory for Experimental Psychology, reactivated and digitized the corpus. I infer that resurgence of Serbian nationalism in the 1990s could be responsible for the current attention being poured into the Serbian language.

The corpus includes around 11,000,000 words and is chronologically divided into five samples. The first four are drawn from the Serbian language from the 12th to the 20th centuries. The first category comprises writing samples from the 12th–17th century, including writings from Domentijan, Teodosije, and Archbishop Danilo, among others.

The second category contains writing samples from the 18th and early 19th century, including writings by Milovan Vidakovic, Gerasim Zelic , and Joakim Vujic. The third category is the complete works of Vuk Karadzic. The last category contains literature from the second half of the 19th century, including Radicevic, Miljanov, Njegos, and Jaksic, among others. The contemporary language sample, the largest part of the corpus with 7,000,000 words, is divided into six parts: novels and essays, poetry, media print, scientific prose, political prose, and text of Belgrade surrealists.

Let us look at what the content implies. The early writings are primarily from Orthodox sources—this in itself seems to justify the label "Serbian." This highlights a peculiar problem with the post-Yugoslav situation. In this corpus, some of the boundaries of what is Serbian seem to be the boundaries of Orthodoxy. For other parts, it is ethnicity. For other parts, it seems to be political, although these different categories can clearly overlap—for example, with the inclusion of Njegos texts in the Serbian corpus. Njegos is from Montenegro, so the corpus compilers are

already in gray territory—not all Montenegrins would agree today that he belongs in a corpus of the Serbian language, but that he is instead a distinctly Montenegrin writer. This brings up some questions: how can we tell from the corpus what is Serbian vs. what could be claimed to be "Montenegrin"? We cannot. The issue of Njegos is symptomatic—Serbs can claim certain writers as Serbs, but at the same time other "ethnic" groups can claim them as well. This brings up the question of the reliability of the results for a linguistic corpus query of the Serbian language if they include debatable data.

4. The Croatian National Corpus

Professor Milan Mogus created the prototype for the Croatian National Corpus, and it is interesting to note that its creation of this corpus coincides with the Croatian independence movement, which was later called Croatian Spring. The Croatian Spring gained momentum in 1971 and called for more autonomy for the republics, full ethnic emancipation, and economic equality of the peoples forming the Yugoslav Federation.

The present-day Croatian National Corpus is funded by the government of Croatia and does not state the parameters for what can or cannot be included as a source for this Croatian corpus—as is done on the Serbian and Bosnian corpus websites. This is very interesting to us on the outside because we do not have a way of knowing what they consider their language to be. Whereas it is confusing to the rest of the world what this new state language is and what its boundaries are, it is clear that from the information provided on the corpus website that for many Croats this is self-evident.

There is a vast state-funded Croatian language corpus, and a lot of energy and money are being poured into it—proportionally much more energy and money than has been poured into the corpora of Bosnian or Serbian.[11] This would seem to indicate that the issue is very important at the government level in Croatia. It is also symptomatic of an interest in language that has been more strongly an issue in Croatia than in an in any other pre- or post-Yugoslav republic. I think that the corpus may have helped to serve as a tool for building Croatian nationalism prior to the breakup, encouraging the separate Croatian state on the basis of the uniqueness of the Croatian language. Important steps in the differentiation and national identity–building were the publication of a specifically Croatian orthography, grammar, dictionary—and also the creation of an extensive corpus. It is also possible that the corpus functions in the present not only as a declaration of Croatian as a separate language from the former Serbo-Croatian, but in addition to reinforce the new political borders in the post-Yugoslav world.

One more issue is that of corpus compiling: the issue of writing the texts themselves, which comes before issues of inclusion in a corpus. The written language used today in Croatia is noticeably different from that used before the breakup of Yugoslavia.[12] There are two possible reasons for this. The first is that Croatian was never a unified language with Serbian, and that any changes in Croatian media since the breakup are due to a resurfacing of forms that were always used during the time of Yugoslavia, but were not permitted in print due to censorship. The second possibility is that contemporary Croatian language politics put pressure on individual authors to write in a more canonically "Croatian" way, to differentiate it from Serbian. To bring this point to life, I give case studies of two linguists: both Mario Grcevic and Snjezana Kordic are Croatian linguists living in Germany. They analyze the same phenomenon—the difference in the written Croatian language from before the breakup of Yugoslavia to today—but the logic leading to why this is so is completely different. The reason for its occurrence is symptomatic of the current linguistic situation in the former Yugoslavia.

According to Grcevic, there has been no essential change in the Croatian language.[13] Croatian was never a unified language with Serbian, but was always linguistically autonomous. There are noticeable differences in the Croatian media between data gathered before and after the proclamation of the Republic of Croatia in 1991, but this is reportedly due to previous Yugoslav censorship of texts. There was an attempt to create a "Serbo-Croatian standard language," and this attempt was never fully successful and fell apart organically at the end of Yugoslavia. Any changes in Croatian media since the breakup are due to a resurfacing of forms that were always used during this time, but were not permitted in all domains of communication.

As proof of such differences in the Croatian printed matter before and after 1991, Grcevic turns to the 1-million word Mogus corpus, the prototype of the Croatian National Corpus. He notes how much of the data in this corpus, which was compiled in the 1970s, is based on writing under government pressure, as well as read by a *lektor* (a specific type of text editor). He then compares the results of the Mogus corpus with a more recent corpus of his own design, the Mannheim corpus. He compiled this corpus from the daily newspapers *Vjesnik, Vecernji list, Slobodna Dalmacija* and the magazine *Hrvatsko slovo* from 1997–1999. The corpus contained 14,000,000 tokens as of the year 2000. Based on the Mogus and Mannheim corpora, Grcvic gives a list of 114 words, and the frequency of their use in print has drastically changed in recent years.

Snjezana Kordic writes that Serbo-Croatian as a linguistic unit still exists, and she is critical of attempts of Croatian linguists to move their language away from the common Serbo-Croatian core.[14] She argues that in Croatia today, the language politics are such that one person (i.e., the *lektor*) determines what is and is not Croatian, and there is a large difference between this new, rather forced language and the Croatian literary tradition. Kordic criticizes recent attempts to "Croatianize" the language,

including the banning of "Serbianisms." She also discusses various internationalisms that are being rejected in modern Croatian print, since they are widely used in Serbian media (such as *civilizacija* and *datum,* which are replaced by the neologisms *uljudba* and *nadnevak*). According to Kordic, the main method for purifying the language is excluding from publications words which are deemed to be "Serbian," and she continues that membership in the category defined as "Serbian" is not always clear. She also argues that the speech limitations imposed in Croatian are grounded in nationalism and are potentially dangerous for this current time period.

Kordic views Serbo-Croatian as a distinct linguist unit and Croatian as an artificial construct, contrasting with Grcevic, who views Croatian as a distinct linguistic unit and Serbo-Croatian as an artificial synthesis. It is clear from the evidence of Grcevic and Kordic that the similar linguistic data can lead to radically different conclusions. It seems most likely that both types of linguistic pressure that Kordic and Grcevic discuss have been active—Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav. In Croatia right now, anyway, certain phrases, vocabulary, or grammatical constructions in printed matter are definitely discouraged. Add this to the issue of the Croatian National Corpus: it is the state-funded project that is completely in control of the texts included in this linguistic corpus. There are clearly some problems that could arise with conclusions based on this data. Corpus data is only (and can only be) a tool in the hands of a linguist, and when there are strong emotions at stake, there is a clear potential for problems.

Conclusions and Future Research

The current linguistic situation in the former Yugoslavia is extremely unique. The outside observer researching this situation needs to take into account the many different possible conclusions based on objectively identical sets of linguistic data. In addition, the scholar needs to be mindful of the observer's paradox: as soon as people realize that their language is being "observed," they tend to become self-conscious and—to a certain degree—stop behaving naturally. In other words, the more carefully you try to look, the less (of the truth) you may see. One result of this is that the foreign linguist has to be very careful with the sources of collected data as well as with interpretations that have resulted from it. For example, when the Croatian language is observed as it is presented in a corpus, it might appear more canonically Croatian than what Croats actually speak to each other. This could be due to variety of factors: text selection, editors, self-censorship through societal pressure, or certain texts just not being included if those compiling the corpus do not consider a certain text to be sufficiently Croatian.

Linguistic conclusions based on the corpora could thus not be entirely in step with the spoken Croatian language, whatever that is. This is a rapidly-changing language with isoglosses cutting through the state as well as extending into other territories. So from the perspective of a foreign onlooker: what is the Croatian language? It is not clear. What *is* clear, however, is that analyzing the frequencies of certain words or grammatical structures in corpus texts will not necessarily answer this question.[15]

The next step I plan to take in this research is to calculate usage frequencies for some paired lexical items in the Croatian media: those that are marked as Serbian or foreign, and those that represent the recommended Croatian usage. For this I will use the Corpus of the Contemporary Croatian Language, a subset of the Croatian National Corpus, when it is fully functional (the corpus has been undergoing major reconstruction since October 2004). When up and running, the corpus will feature the option of breaking down a search for a specific genre; thus, limiting a search to newspapers is feasible. The goal of this would be to compare numbers with Keith Langston's findings in a study he made between Yugoslav Croatian and post-Yugoslav Croatian.[16] He uses only news sources, comparing *Vjesnik* from 1985 to various state-controlled/nationalistic media as well as independent media from 1997. He found that—although the difference was not drastic—there was a noticeable shift from 1985–1997 away from Serbian/foreign words toward canonically Croatian ones. My study will update his research so that there can be a comparison and continuation to determine whether the lexical shifts in the media have continued or plateaued.

* * *

I would like to thank the following individuals for their input and assistance: Wayles Browne, Danko Sipka, Marko Tadic, Henning Mørk, Nedzad Leko, Mario Grcevic, and especially Ronelle Alexander for her help and guidance.

Notes

[1] Bosniac refers to the language specifically of the Bosnian Muslims, whereas the term Bosnian is used as an umbrella term for the language spoken in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Bosnian Muslims refer to their specific language as Bosnian as well as Bosniac, whereas outsiders insist on Bosniac for the Muslim-marked language, and nobody seems to agree on what "Bosnian" actually means.

[2] The focus of this paper is the existing legal languages stemming from Serbo-Croatian and their respective corpora; as Montenegrin is not an official state language and there is no corpus based on the Montenegrin language, it will only be mentioned in passing. It is possible that in the future this paper could be expanded to include Montenegrin if it does become an official state language with its own corpus of distinctly Montenegrin literature.

[3] Ranko Bugarski, for example, declares that he speaks Serbo-Croatian and finds it interesting that he speaks a "dead language" (UC Berkeley lecture, 2004).

continued on page 19

A Symbolist Palette: The Aesthetics of Andrei Bely's *Zoloto v lazuri*

Jonathan Stone

Jonathan Stone is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures. He gave versions of this paper at the Midwest Slavic Conference at Ohio State University in March and the California Slavic Colloquium at UC Berkeley in April. His dissertation topic is "The Concept of Symbolism and Its Development in Russian Literature."

In the poetics of Symbolism, language was granted a creative primacy that far surpassed its mimetic and narrative functions. It was a key element of Symbolist mythmaking projects and proved to be a central fulcrum point in their uneasy relationship with the physical, phenomenal world. Language mediated the transition from this world to the other, from the real to the more real, with its capacity to signify both simultaneously. The magical power of words was not lost on the Symbolists themselves in their critical discussions of the Symbolist aesthetic and in their practical application of it in their poetry. More than others, Andrei Bely was concerned with articulating the Symbolist notion of language and its proper use in the mythical and mystical associative realms of the poetry he helped to develop.

A degree of insight into the Symbolists' appreciation of language, fundamentally different from that of their poetic predecessors, can be gained through an examination of their use of color and reliance on the associative chains it introduces. Bely particularly lends himself to such an approach to Symbolist language since a distinctive color palette dominates his early collection of poetry, *Zoloto v lazuri* [*Gold in Azure*] (1904), and has a prominent place in the formation of his exuberant juvenile mytho-poetic world. In looking at the role played by color in Bely's poetics, I will also be addressing the peculiarities of a Symbolist world view as an amalgam of a Romantic preference for art over reality and the inextricability of art and life characteristic to Realism. The Symbolists, and Bely in particular, encountered and incorporated into their aesthetics both of these models for reconciling the tension between the perceived world and the idealized realm of artistic creation. Bely's colors provide a concrete marker of the delicate balance between Romantic idealism and Realist mimesis at play in Symbolist poetics.

While incorporating many elements of Romantic philosophy and the belief in the primacy of a Neo-Platonic artistic sphere, Symbolist theory was not a wholesale regurgitation of Romanticism. As Irina Paperno argues by way of introducing the Symbolist project of life creation:

> Russian Symbolists saw their attempts to merge art and life as a revival of romanticism. However, they operated in the culture that had passed through and responded to the experience of realism. Realism was worked into their aesthetics.
>
> Symbolism aspired to affect a total coincidence between the two planes or the two worlds. While romanticism saw the other world as the "true" world, Symbolism adopted the realistic notion of the ultimate "truth," or reality, and superior aesthetic value of this world and of life. […] Life as a whole, without any "residue," can be transformed into art. In a mystical key, the whole of "this world" can be transformed into "the world beyond." Thus, romantic striving for *Jenseits* was replaced with the desire to bring the *Jenseits* into this, "real" world.[1]

The barriers between the real and the more real were quite malleable, and consequently the Symbolist was granted a great deal of freedom to see not the shadows of the true world in his surroundings, but truth itself in all of its transfigured glory. It was primarily a matter of perception. In furnishing a mimetic depiction of the world he could simultaneously reveal its realized idealization. For the young Bely, this power was bound up in language's mythmaking capacity.

Bely's entrance into the literary and cultural world came, at the turn of the century, at the head of a group of young Moscow students who came to be known as the Argonauts. They blurred the distinction between life and myth and saw their everyday lives infused with symbolic significance. During his Argonaut period, Bely first demonstrates the epistemological reversal that Symbolism would enact—art was no longer meant merely to depict the world, but in fact the world should strive to resemble art. Poetry was the vehicle through which this new epistemology was made possible. "[Bely] prized Symbolism not as artistic creation but as a way of understanding the world."[2] But he does not immerse himself so entirely in the Symbolic realm such that he loses sight of the real. Bely does not overlook the dual existence of language as partaking in both this world and the other.

> Poetry is directly linked to the creation of language and obliquely linked to mythical creation. The strength of an image is directly proportional to one's

> faith (though perhaps not identified as such) in the existence of that image. When I say, "the moon is a white horn," I am certainly not asserting in my consciousness the existence of a mythical animal whose horn, in the shape of the moon, I perceive in the sky. But in the deepest essence of my creative self-assertion I cannot help but believing in the existence of some reality whose symbol, or representation, is the metaphorical image I created.
>
> Poetic speech is directly linked to mythical creation. The tendency towards the imaginal combination of words is the fundamental trait of poetry. [3]

Here the nature of the Symbolist poet is exposed. He is one who understands language as metaphor yet nevertheless yearns to believe in the reification of this metaphor and its realization in the surrounding world. The mythical imagery of Symbolism must also have the ability to impose itself on the real world and reform reality into myth.

An integral component of this tenuous relationship with the physical world (in which its reality is not denied but is also meant to be overcome and replaced by a higher reality) is a fundamental rejection of the positivistic belief in a fully knowable world. It is the purview of the artist, and not the scientist, to be the arbiter of truth and disseminate it to the people.

> Perceived nature is, in this case, the enchantress Lorelei distracting me away from real life and toward perceived life. […] Art is a special type of creation, freeing the nature of images from the power of the magical Lorelei. The need for images of perception is rooted in the laws of my consciousness; but the true "I" is not in my consciousness. Shifting the capacity for representation to lived experience frees represented images from the laws of necessity and they can then freely merge into *new images,* new groups. Here we understand that our dependence on natural fate is not genuine because even nature is just an emblem of the real and not reality itself. The study of nature is the study of the *emblems* of reality and not of reality itself. Nature is not nature at all: nature is the nature of my "I," it is artistic creation.
>
> Such is the view of life of every true artist. But it is not the majority's view of life. For this majority, *artistic creation itself* is just an *emblem* of reality and the real is in the natural world around us.
>
> It is not surprising that the unrecognizable imagery of the artist is, for most, just the fruit of a creative dream and not reality. But for the person who has arrived at the true nature of symbols, he cannot but see in the perceived world, even in his own perceived "I," the reflection of another "I" that is true, eternal, and artistic.[4]

The artist's vision permits him not to be deceived by the physical world but to recognize it as no more than an emblematic representation of true reality. Bely does not discount these emblems, but he is careful to distinguish them from the truth that they only signify. He thus transforms them into symbols or metaphors and with this slight of hand can demonstrate the primacy of poetry in most accurately depicting the world. This is a clear expression of the modernist reaction to the notion that the world can be known in full through sensory perception. It is part of what Françoise Meltzer has called the "symbolist revolt."[5] This revolt is typified by a revaluation of the use of color in Symbolist poetry.

> Yet the dominance of color in symbolism is not the result of aesthetic preference or mere poetic technique, as has previously been argued; rather, color functions, with the synaesthetic poetic context of which it is an integral part, as the direct manifestation of a particular metaphysical stance. Color leads to the heart of what symbolism is, for it is the paradigmatic literary expression of a general spiritual crisis—a crisis in epistemology.[6]

The blues and golds which characterize the world created for Bely's first book of poetry evidence this same project to effect a metaphysical shift in the way the world is perceived. These are the colors of Vladimir Solov'ev's Divine Feminine and provide, in Samuel Cioran's terms, "a mystical perspective of revelation."[7] The emblematic and associative spheres of these colors ascend to the forefront and usurp their meanings, and yet their mimetic qualities do not disappear entirely.[8] An examination of the over- and undertones of *Zoloto v lazuri* will show in practical terms this attempt to reconfigure our vision and establish a Symbolist worldview.

From his earliest poetry, Bely's representation of the world is predicated on his need to transform and mythologize it. In some aspects of *Zoloto v lazuri* this is an overtly stated project and is integrated into the poetic narrative. But evidence of the instability of the world and the threat that, even at its most everyday, it can give way and reveal its mythical underpinnings can be found throughout the collection. The transformed, other world is a constant presence, and it is more a matter of degree to which it is brought to the surface of each individual poem. Thus, the poems in this work can be grouped in three categories according to the balance accomplished in each between superficial mythology and superficial mimesis, but both are always implied. Poems that impose myth onto the world depict transformed reality, yet with a recognizable geography.[9] Poems entrenched in the daily life of the physical world still manage to reveal glimpses of a transformed world hovering in the backdrop. And between these two poles comes the poetry of the sunset—the moment of transformation itself in which there is a total balance between these worlds. The eponymous colors of this book

pervade all three of these groupings and are capable of participating in both realms at once and thus of providing the bridge between them so necessary in the Symbolist aesthetic.

The first poems of the book abound in the youthful and utopian mythmaking that so utterly displaces the physical world for Bely and his group of Argonauts.[10] The focus of these initial poems ("Bal'montu" [To Bal'mont], "Zolotoe runo" [The Golden Fleece], and "Solntse" [The Sun]) is the sun, and brilliant shades of gold and red dominate.

V zolotistoi dali oblaka, kak rubiny, - oblaka, kak rubiny, proshli, kak tiazhelye, krasnye l'diny. […] I luna, kak fonar', ozariala nas otsvetom krasnym. ("Bal'montu", 3-4)[11]	In the golden distance clouds like rubies clouds like rubies passed by like heavy, red icebergs. […] And the moon, like a lantern illuminated us with a red glow. ("To Bal'mont")
I na more ot solntsa zolotye drozhat iazyki . […] No vezde vmesto solntsa oslepitel'nyi purpur ognia. ("Zolotoe runo", 7-8)	Golden tongues of the sun tremble on the sea. […] But everywhere, instead of the sun is the blinding red of the flames. ("The Golden Fleece")
Nashi dushi – zerkala, otrazhaiushchie zoloto. ("Solntse", 11)	Our souls are mirrors reflecting the gold. ("The Sun")

The realistic and naturalistic hues of the moon, sun, and sunset are replaced by otherworldly and overwrought shades of gold and blinding reds. This color palette is meant to overwhelm the senses and transport the reader into the realm of the mythic. The color attributes hijack the objects they modify and cease to operate mimetically.

> The symbolists' trick of elevating color above form results in the dissolution of form into color. […] Language becomes far more than just aesthetically significant; it is viewed as a kind of ladder to the *Idéal*. […] Subjectivity becomes dominant, while objectivity—matter—is increasingly bypassed.[12]

Here again is a moment of reversal in which the true artist must overcome what he perceives as reality and instead see the emblems of the truer reality that are reflected in it. The poet's subjective view is prioritized over more naturalistic descriptive systems in such a way that these Symbolist visions are not meant to be read as metaphor or an artistic rendering of the world, but precisely as the most accurate and true to life portrayals of these scenes possible in language. More so than even a pictorial representation of that reality.

Yet Bely is not indulging in a metaphysical flight of fancy. His celestial imagery and the colors he ascribes to it are grounded in a particular identifiable moment—the sunset.[13] This is a natural occurrence of these fiery reds and golds in the sky, an instance when the world undergoes an organic distortion that skews human perception and reveals nature's transformative capacity. Much like Bely's poems, at sunset the landscape remains unchanged, but the color palette takes on hypertrophied tones. This is a natural choice for the Symbolist poet to depict as it demonstrates the intermingling of the mimetic and mythical potentials of the surrounding world. Bely can develop his poetic system of symbolic color without straying too far from the phenomenal world. The colors of sunset permit him to operate in both the realm of the real and of the ideal, this world and the other, simultaneously. This is the moment when their role as a bridge between the two is most evident (and in the aesthetics of Symbolism, bridges are of fundamental importance). Bely takes advantage of this transitional moment in a series of poems titled "Zakaty" [Sunsets] with images such as:

> Ia vdal' smotrel – tianulas' pautina
> na golubom
> iz zolotykh i luchezarnykh nitok…
> (13-14)
>
> I looked into the distance – in the blue
> there stretched a spiderweb
> of golden and luminous threads …

The rays of the sun are an expected gold, but this passage also underscores the formative aspect of Bely's sunset poems. The sky always remains a tempered shade of blue—"goluboi" or "sinii." The sun and the clouds may achieve an otherworldly hue at sunset, but the sky is still its natural color. Bely's colors will reach their mythmaking fruition only when this naturally blue sky yields to the azure of its truer reality.

The first of the "Tri stikhotvoreniia" [Three Poems] is an important work for witnessing this shift from the poet gazing at the magical colors of the sunset to his *imposing* that mystical palette onto the world around him.

> Vse tot zhe raskinulsia svod
> nad nami lazurno-bezmirnyi,
> i tot zhe na serdtse rastet
> vostorg odinochestva pirnyi.
>
> Opiat' zolotoe vino
> na sklone nebes potukhaet.
> I grud' moiu slovno odno
> znakomoiu grust'iu szhimaet.
>
> Opiat' zarazhaius' mechtoi,
> pechal'iu vostorzhenno-p'ianoi…
> Vdali gorizont zolotoi
> podernulsia dymkoi bagrianoi.
>
> Smeius' – i moi smekh serebrist,
> i plachu skvoz' smekh ponevole.

Zachem etot vozdukh luchist?
Zachem svetozaren… do boli? (22)

The very same firmament, azure and otherworldy
spreads out above us,
and the same festive ecstasy of solitude
grows in our hearts.

Again the golden wine
is extinguished in the twilight of the heavens.
And, as if alone, my chest
is pressed by the familiar melancholy.

Again, I'm infected by a dream,
by ecstatically intoxicating sadness…
In the distance the golden horizon
flickers with crimson smoke.

I laugh, and my laugh is silvery,
and involuntarily weep though my laughter.
Why is this air radiant?
Why is it painfully illuminated?

The golds and reds of the sunset are still present in this poetic landscape, but the otherworldly colors of a Symbolist vision of reality have spread beyond the limited sphere of the sun and can be experienced all around us. Through these colors, the sense of the transformed world has taken over even the everyday and intimate moments of life. The use of azure is a marker of this transition. As Hansen-Löve notes, "The earthly 'dark blue' and 'light blue' colors often form an otherworldy correspondence with the unearthly 'azure' which is symbolically 'reflected' and discovered in them, as in the glass of a window."[14] Once the poet sees through the naturalistic shades of blue that had previously served as the backdrop for his glimpses of the revealed world, he can impose this less mimetic and more mythologized view onto every aspect of the world. He is overwhelmed by this new perception of the world where even his laughter takes part in the tonal transformation of reality. The key moment for this switch is the instant that azure becomes the standard signification of the sky.

Replacing the sun with a reddish fire is a natural device and can still be understood to operate in the realm of

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Faculty and Student News

Sener Akturk, Ph.D. candidate in political science, gave a talk on "The Historical Evolution of Turkey's Imperial Nationhood and the European Union" at the annual convention of the Association for the Study of Nationalities in April 2005. He also presented that paper at the Middle East History and Theory Conference at the University of Chicago on May 13, 2005.

Sener's paper "Counter-Hegemonic Visions and Reconciliation through the Past: The Case of Turkish Eurasianism" was published in *Ab Imperio* (4/2004), and his paper on "American and British Foreign Policy in the Middle East: A Comparison" was published in *Insight Turkey* (January-March 2005) issue.

Polina Barskova, Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, was awarded the Townsend Dissertation Writing Fellowship for 2005–06. The topic of her dissertation is "Writing the End: Literature and Culture of the Aesthetic Opposition in Leningrad (1921–1934)."

Milos Besic, ISEEES visiting scholar, presented "Nationalism vs. Civil Option in Montenegro" at the 2005 convention of the Association for the Study of Nationalities. A lecturer at the College for Industrial Management in Krusevac, Serbia, Milos came to Berkeley in 2004–05 through the Junior Faculty Development Program.

Jennifer D. Carlson, Ph.D. student in the Department of Sociology, has been awarded a Graduate Research Fellowship from the National Science Foundation. The fellowship provides three years of support.

Polish novelist and poet **Izabela Filipiak** recently published *Ksiega Em (The Book of Em),* a drama and memoir of her work on Maria Komornicka, an outstanding poet of Polish modernism (Warsaw: tCHu, 2005). Izabela is currently a visiting scholar at ISEEES.

David Hooson, professor emeritus of geography, published "Encounters with Mackinder: A Personal Memoir" in the December 2004 issue of *Geographical Journal* and a chapter entitled "The Heartland—Then and Now" in the edited volume *Global Geostrategy: Mackinder and the Defence of the West* (London and New York: Frank Cass, 2005).

Recently David has been busy teaching, under the rubric of "Lifelong Learning" on a variety of topics, in San Francisco, Berkeley (University Extension), and Sonoma.

Andrew Janos, who recently became a professor of the graduate school in political science, was appointed in 2004 as a Fulbright Senior Specialist (Outside Consultant), for the Council of International Exchange of Scholars, Bureau for Educational and Cultural Affairs (USDS). The position runs through 2009.

In June 2005, Andrew will be the keynote speaker at the conference entitled "The European Dream and Divided Societies," sponsored by the Institute for Social and European Studies of the Jean Monnet European Center in

Koeszeg, Hungary. He'll also present a paper, "From Love Affair to Marital Infidelity? European-American Relations from Cold War to Cold Peace," at the conference.

Raymond June (Ph.D., social and cultural studies, 2005) published "Measuring Perceptions of 'Corruption' in Czech Society" in the spring 2005 issue of *The Anthropology of East Europe Review* (23:1, 10–29). Raymond is currently a postdoctoral research fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

Leonid Kil, Ph.D. candidate in political science, presented "Goliath's Predicament: Cultural Identity and the Problem of Socio-Economic Backwardness in the Russian Empire, the Soviet Union, and Post-Socialist Russia in Historical Perspective" at a conference entitled Shifting Borders, which was held in February 2005 at the University of Pittsburgh.

Harsha Ram, associate professor in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, has been awarded a Fulbright-Hays Faculty Research Abroad Program grant to pursue research in Moscow and Tbilisi during fall 2005.

This summer, a Research Assistantship in the Humanities will permit Harsha and Slavic department graduate student **Michael Kunichika** to pursue their shared interest in Russian modernism and primitivism.

Regine Spector, Ph.D. candidate in political science, received a grant through the University of Michigan's William Davidson Institute for work during 2005–06 on her dissertation project on shuttle trade and state policy in the former Soviet Union.

Jarrod Tanny, Ph.D. candidate in history, presented "Dissecting the Nation: The Shifting Ethnic Boundaries of Post-Soviet Georgia" at a conference entitled History in the Making X: Nations, Nationalism, and National Identity, which took place during March 2005 at Concordia University in Montreal, Canada.

Richard Taruskin, professor in the Department of Music, authored *The Oxford History of Western Music,* which was published in 2004 by Oxford University Press.

Orna Tsultem, Ph.D. student in the history of art, presented "Urga Portraits: Mongol Identity Enshrined in Third Space" at the Mongol Society's Annual Meeting, which was held during March–April 2005 in Chicago.

Jennifer Utrata, Ph.D. candidate in sociology, spent six months in AY 2004–05 on a Fulbright in Moscow and Kaluga, Russia.

Susanne Wengle, Ph.D. candidate in political science, presented "Politics of Welfare Reform in Russia" at a graduate student conference held in April 2005 at Princeton's Institute for International and Regional Studies.

Susanne's FLAS fellowship for AY 2004–05 to study Russian should have been listed in our spring newsletter.

Jane Zavisca (Ph.D., sociology, 2004) has been appointed to the position of Assistant Professor (tenure-track) with the Department of Sociology at the University of Arizona.

The **California Slavic Colloquium** was held at UC Berkeley on April 16–17, 2005. Our Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures hosted their colleagues this year. The following Berkeley affiliates participated in the event:

Molly Brunson, Ph.D. candidate in Slavic languages and literatures, presented "Flying over Moscow: Aerial Perspectives and Spatial Representation in Bulgakov's *Master and Margarita.*"

Anastasia Kayiatos, Ph.D. student in Slavic languages and literatures, presented "Desire for Desires *(Zhelaniia zhelanii):* Platonic Eros and Polymorphous Sexualities in *Anna Karenina.*"

Olga Matich, professor of Slavic languages and literatures, chaired the first panel of the colloquium.

Stiliana Milkova, Ph.D. candidate in comparative literature, presented "Visual Pleasure and the Politics of Looking: Petko Slaveijov's 'The Fountain of the White-Legged Woman.'"

Elena Morabito, Ph.D. candidate in Slavic languages and literatures, presented "Language Relativity Served up Yugoslav Style: An Overview of Bosnian, Serbian, and Croatian Electronic Corpora in Light of the Current Linguistic Situation."

Irina Paperno, professor of Slavic languages and literatures, chaired the third panel of the colloquium.

Renee Perelmutter, Ph.D. candidate in Slavic languages and literatures, presented "Construction of Reference in Early Russian Legal Texts."

Boris Rodin Maslov, Ph.D. student in comparative literatures, spoke on "Gesture in Turgenev."

Jonathan Stone, Ph.D. candidate in Slavic languages and literatures, presented "A Symbolist Palette: The Aesthetics of Andrei Bely's *Zoloto v lazuri.*"

Alyson Tapp, Ph.D. student in Slavic languages and literatures, presented "Moving Stories: (E)motion and Narrative in *Anna Karenina.*"

Michelle R. Viise, Ph.D. candidate in Slavic languages and literatures, spoke on "Fedorov's Conception of L'vovan Print Culture as Shown in His *Afterword Apostol.*"

Viktor Zhivov, professor of Slavic languages and literatures, chaired the sixth panel of the colloquium.

Montenegro, Oasis of Peace in the Balkans: An Overview of Human Rights and Diversity

Ivana Jelic

Ivana Jelic, LL.M., is a lecturer of public international law and human rights law at the Law School of the University of Montenegro. Ivana spent the 2004–05 academic year as a visiting scholar at UC Berkeley through the Junior Faculty Development Program, which is sponsored by the US Department of State.

Although it is the smallest country in the Balkans,[1] Montenegro has remained the shining example of the co-existence of diversity in the Western Balkans, a region that has seen many conflicts in the post–Cold War era. There are several reasons for this, but most significant are the facts that, after World War II, Montenegro did not experience any armed conflict or turbulence within its borders, as well as that it stayed out of surrounding conflicts. At the same time, the small state has been giving great support for a dozen years to refugees and internally displaced persons, to all people in need who left their homes in order to survive.

Montenegro has preserved peace within a heterogeneously ethnic, cultural, religious, and national population. In the Western Balkans, Montenegro has become a model for peaceful life in multiethnic, multinational, multicultural, multireligious circumstances. This article aims to give a short overview of Montenegro today, with special emphasis on the legal aspects of human rights and minority rights protection as an indispensable precondition for successful social cohesion in the contemporary world.

Background

Human rights in a small country in Europe, one composed of a nationally diverse population, is mostly a story of minority rights protection. Minority rights—which is understood as a set of specific rights of individuals belonging to specific groups, who are ethnically, nationally, religiously, culturally, and linguistically different from the majority population—are dedicated to the preservation of the existence and identity of those individuals, as well as of the specific groups they belong to. Protection of these specific human rights is an internationally recognized standard, but in the Balkans, the issue is emphasized in the present constellation of national and European powers. The protection of minority rights is *conditio sine qua non* for peace and the development of societies/states, but also it is the boarding pass into Euro-Atlantic integration.

Present-day Montenegro is in the final phase of transition from a socialist regime to a modern democracy. There are numerous difficulties in such a transition that inevitably impact the process of building a rule of law and human rights protection. The need to build strong state institutions and an independent judiciary, as well as the imperative to annihilate corruption, are just some of the main problems. But these are the general conditions facing all of the states undergoing this post–Cold War transition.

What specific advantage does Montenegro have that makes its transition easier? It is the fact that within the state there are neither bad memories of violations of group human rights nor the feeling of debt in blood between a minority and the majority (which is a destructive element by itself in other societies in the region). Montenegro experienced peace during the hardest times of conflicts in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia (Kosovo), or the turbulences in FYR of Macedonia. That is the greatest capital for the future of the country. However, we have to bear in mind that peace is a building category, and in Montenegrin case, it is a product of a tradition of harmony between the majority (Orthodox Christian Montenegrins) and minorities (Muslim Albanians, Catholic Christian Albanians, Muslim Montenegrins, Muslim Bosniacs, Catholic Christian Croats, and others).[2]

This is neither the place to talk at length about the history of Montenegro, nor is it the author's intention to burden the topic of this paper with the glory of Montenegro's past. However, there are some very important facts that should be mentioned, as they are the roots of the state's modern protection of human and minority rights.

At the Berlin Congress of 1878, Montenegro was one of three new states recognized as independent states by the international community (Serbia and Romania were the two others). This international event and the legal act signed at the occasion were important not only for re-recognizing Montenegro as a state,[3] but especially because significant progress was made in the international legal protection of minority rights. Namely, the congress concluded that differences in religion, belief, or professing must not have an impact on the enjoyment of civil and political rights, and especially not on the right to work and employment. Additional conditions were set out for the three new states in respect to the religious rights of non-Orthodox populations.[4] Montenegro accepted the obligation and has respected it ever since. After World War I, Montenegro lost

its statehood by becoming a part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenians – the first Yugoslavia. The system of minority rights protection at the time, within the League of Nations, proved incapable of surviving throughout Europe, but once again, Montenegro did not have a problem with the issue of minorities. After World War II, Montenegro participated in the founding of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as one of six equal socialist republics and Montenegrins as one of six constitutive peoples/nations of the state. This was the time of a new system of minority rights protection under the United Nations, which was based on an approach to protecting individual rights. The system shows many weaknesses and general fragility, which have been discussed often in recent times when speaking about peace, terrorism, human rights violations, aggressions, law versus power, etc.

Speaking about minority rights protection, the main weakness in today's international system is the omission of a collective approach—the protection of the rights of groups. Namely, some of the collective or group rights of minority peoples—mainly cultural (religion, the use of language, and some aspects of education), but also political rights regarding representation (in parliament, government, self-government, and policy making)—should be recognized to minorities in order to fully protect their specific rights. Additionally, this is the only way to create happy, content, and respectful minority citizens. This should be emphasized especially in new states, ones that were formed after the dissolution of socialist federations, where new minorities are comprised of those who were members of former majority populations and who, naturally, experience problems with having rights derived from this new minority status.[5]

Fortunately, and perhaps deservedly so, Montenegro did not face the same problems or challenges as other ex-Yugoslav republics. It maintains the traditional harmony of majority and minority. Successful social integration, without forced assimilation, is something for which Montenegro and all its citizens, regardless of origin, religious, or ethnic affiliation, can be proud. However, it is not a state devoid of all national, religious, or ethnic problems. Montenegro has its own burden that is unique in the region, which serves to remind us that the country is indeed a part of the Western Balkan region. This is the issue of the national identity of ethnic Montenegrins, the majority population. This issue is intrinsically linked with the state status of Montenegro.

Montenegro Nowadays

Montenegro is a state-member of the State Union named Serbia and Montenegro. This new union was the consequence of the defunct Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (formed by Serbia and Montenegro staying together after the dissolution of the former SFRY), which had not been recognized by the international community as the successor of the former SFRY. But as Montenegro did not agree with the policy of Slobodan Milosevic, as well as later Serbian official policy, it started to seek independence during the late 1990s. Montenegro separated its economy completely from Serbia and temporarily introduced a foreign currency (the German mark) in order to protect its economy and society from galloping inflation.[6] Montenegrin tendencies toward independence were not supported by the international community who nevertheless realized that something must be done with the "pending case" in the Balkans.

In March 2002, upon mediation by the European Union, Montenegro and Serbia signed an agreement to stay together within one internationally recognized state for a trial period of three years. This state union began with the signing of the Constitutional Charter of Serbia and Montenegro and expires February 4, 2006.[7] Thereafter, Montenegro will be allowed to organize a referendum whereby its citizens will show if they wish to live independently or in one state with Serbia. Politicians from both sides predict different results, depending on their own or their political parties' interest and wishes. Montenegrin citizens are tired of these opinions and interference from outside of Montenegro's borders.

What is important is that there are no clashes between two opposing opinion bearers or among their groups—people are not being challenged to fight by daily political stories. People live their lives, growing more and more tired of the stories of the state's status and of the speculations on national affiliations by political hacks.[8] All "conflicts" are only rhetorical in nature. This demonstrates that Montenegrin society has matured and that, although its Orthodox Christian majority is burdened by a very specific identity crisis, it is ready to accept any democratic solution in the future.

Unique Problem

The most recent census, taken in 2003, indicates that Montenegrin nationality is facing an identity crisis.[9] Compared to the previous census from 1991, the number of citizens who declared their national identity to be Montenegrin decreased while those who declared themselves Serbs increased. The difference was not a negligible number, but almost 22% of the total population.[10] One can think that large numbers of Serbs have settled in Montenegro in the past dozen years, a question I was asked by foreigners while I was traveling abroad. The truth is different, but perhaps it is only apparent to Balkan experts or to us from the region.

Those people who were newly identified as nationally Serb are mostly people who had declared themselves Montenegrin in 1991 but who wish to stay in the same state with Serbia. Their new declaration of identity is based on two fears: on one side, there is a certain mistrust of actual Montenegrin authorities who value independence more than the quality of living, and on the other, there is a fear that Montenegro could not support itself economically without rich Serbia.

At the same time, Montenegrins opposed to independence are afraid of the possibility that their children and relatives would become a minority in Serbia, where many Montenegrins live. But they forget that Serbs are not a minority in Montenegro. Because both groups share the same religion and language, neither group could ever be a minority, non-dominant population in the other's country.

These two peoples share strong ancestral roots, evident facts that can be neither proven nor protected by changing the national identity of Montenegrins. In the past, especially when the Ottoman Empire was dominant in the Balkans, Serbian-ness ("serbstvo" as it was called in archaic Serbian language used at the time; "srpstvo" is the modern version) was equated with being Orthodox Christian. Montenegrins, as Orthodox Christians, used the word "serbstvo" as a common label for Orthodox peoples in the Balkans, in order to differentiate themselves from Muslims or Catholics. There are also arguments on the common history, battles, and origins of Serbs and Montenegrins, but that is a topic for historians.

Of course, there are significant differences between these two peoples. Regardless of which side people take in the decision on union or independence, they cannot deny that Montenegro was the first Slavic state in the Balkans and that Montenegrin people built their own nation. In this statement, there is no sentiment against any people in the region, and especially nothing against Serbs. On the contrary. Living together in one internationally recognized state is a legitimate request. And such a request would become a reality if the majority of citizens of Montenegro show that to be their will in Referendum 2006, as it is called by official Montenegro.

Unfortunately, the people who declare their nationality according to the politics of the day forget one important thing, that national identity—even though it is only a feeling of affiliation—is supposed to be specific, not something to be changed from occasion to occasion.

Legal Aspects of Human and Minority Rights Protection

As human rights and the protection of minority rights are so important to Montenegro's character, let us explore their legal background and practice.

Being a part of the State Union (legally speaking, it is a *sui generis* type of state whose functioning is still controversial due to different political, economic, and, in many aspects, legal systems between its two constitutive states), Montenegro is obligated by all existent legal instruments on the State Union level. Serbia and Montenegro is a party of both international covenants on human rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights,[11] as well as the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.[12] This young State Union became the newest and last member of the Council of Europe (April 03, 2003) when it signed the European Convention on Human Rights. In addition, Serbia and Montenegro ratified the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (2001).

At the level of *de lege lata* (existing legislative) solutions, within the framework of the above-mentioned Constitutional Charter, the main legal act forming the State Union, there is one legal act dedicated to human rights protection, with special emphasis on human and minority rights. It is the Charter of Human and Minority Rights and Civil Liberties.[13]

The charter is a modern legal act, following international and European standards on human and minority rights. Concerning human rights protection, it is completely within international standards, and concerning minority protection, it goes even further—it protects and guarantees not only individual, but also collective minority rights. *Collective minority rights,* in the spirit of this document, mean that members of minorities can participate "directly or through elected representatives in the process of decision-making concerning issues related to their culture, education, information and the use of language and script, in accordance with the law" (Art. 47). According to the charter, it is possible for minorities to establish national councils in order to enjoy the guaranteed right to self-government in culture, education, information, and the official use of the minority language and script. *Individual minority rights,* i.e., rights dedicated to members of minorities, are guaranteed as follows: the freedom of expression of national identity, identity rights (to express,

uphold, cherish, promote, and manifest in public their national and ethnic, cultural, and religious characteristics, language and script, and to display their symbols in public places, etc.), the right of association, the right to maintain relations with co-nationals in other states, and the right to improve their living conditions.

The Charter ensures (or provides) three prohibitions—the Prohibition of Discrimination, the Prohibition of Forced Assimilation, and the Prohibition of Instigation to Racial, National, and Religious Hatred.

New laws on minority rights protection are to be expected (*de lege ferenda* solutions) in both state-members, as concretization of general provisions of the above-mentioned documents. The Montenegrin law on the protection of national and ethnic minorities is being working out by the ministry concerned, and hopefully it will be discussed in the government and parliament in the near future.

Practice

Integration without forced assimilation is a leading principle respected by Montenegro in its modern history. Identity of a national, ethnic, religious, cultural, and/or lingual nature is protected not only by the constitution, but also in practice. Human and minority rights of individuals (not groups of nationally, ethnically, religiously, or lingually different people) have mainly been violated and are protected as such.

People of all ethnic, national, religious, cultural, and lingual groups in Montenegrin society are involved in public life. There are representatives of all in the parliament, government, administration, and judiciary of Montenegro. Within the Office of the President of Montenegro, there is the Republic Council for the Protection of Rights of Members of National and Ethnic Groups, managed directly by the President of Montenegro.

Montenegro is a good example of the social integration of minorities in civil society. Montenegro shows that it respects minority rights, and in response, members of minority groups and the groups as a whole show respect to the territorial integrity and political sovereignty of Montenegro. Of course, they are aware, as well as all citizens, that it is a principle of international legal order and that state has right and mechanisms to protect itself. The legal order of a state should be respected by everyone, no matter what their origins or affiliations may be.

Diversity is understood as richness in this small country. That was the case even in ancient times. There are many examples in Montenegrin history that illustrate how peace was preserved within its society. Even though Montenegro was a subject of the Ottoman Empire—though it was the only state in the region that had never been totally conquered by that power—Montenegro has shown a respect for the rights of its Muslim minority. Even, Montenegrin king Nikola I, who ruled in the 19th century, used to appoint Montenegrin Albanians (both Muslim and Catholics, the main minorities at the time) as leaders in their communities, giving them medals and honors. They in turn gave their loyalty and love to Montenegro. It is a very rare but real case, and such a history is one of the main reasons that Montenegro remained a real oasis of peace while conflict broke out elsewhere in the Balkans after the Cold War.

Looking Forward

Being a state with human and minority rights legislation in accordance with international legal standards, especially those set out by the Council of Europe, managing to preserve peace in recent history, and having good relations with other states in the region, Montenegro has laid the groundwork to successfully become a modern democracy that is governed by the rule of law.

Keeping in mind that the Montenegrin majority changed their census declarations according to political factors, the national identity of Montenegrins is losing its social value. Apparently, national identity is taking on a political dimension which is a challenge to stability. But, the civil consciousness of Montenegrins, no matter how they declare themselves or whether they will choose union or independence, is at a level which is able to accept any solution brought about by the democratically examined will of the people. Still to be seen is whether any democratic result would be eagerly accepted by the European Union or Montenegro's surroundings.

The problem of the national identity of Montenegrins will remain current until the state status of Montenegro is solved. Once the referendum on independence gives the result of the Montenegrin citizens' will (regardless of the outcome), this issue should not be among the most important ones that the state will face.

A democratic examination of the Montenegrin citizens' will is necessary at this stage of development. Staying together with Serbia or choosing an independent future, either outcome would put a full stop to the exhausting stories of state-legal order, and then citizens would have the opportunity to pay more attention to living quality, moral values, and improving the quality of all spheres of life.

Notes

[1] It was the smallest republic of Former Yugoslavia; nowadays it is a state-member of the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro.

[2] The national minorities of Montenegro, according to the 2003 census results: 7.77% Bosniacs, 5.03% Albanians,

3.97% Muslims, 1.10% Croats, 0.42% Roma (Gypsy), 1.02% Others.

[3] Montenegro was first recognized as an independent kingdom (at the time named Zeta) in 11th century.

[4] Eastern Orthodox Christianity is the dominant religion in Montenegro.

[5] There are many examples of new minorities comprised of members of former majority/constitutive peoples of Former Yugoslavia, but we can emphasize the Slovenian, Bosnian, Serbian, and Montenegrin minorities in Croatia; Croats, Bosnians/Bosniacs in Serbia and Montenegro; Serbians, Montenegrins, Bosniacs in Macedonia; etc.

[6] This was the period before the Euro came into force.

[7] The Constitutional Charter of the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro came into force on 4 February 2003. The text was available at <http://www.gov.yu/start.php?je=e&id=34> as of 06/03/05.

[8] An indication is, among other things, that the percentage of non-declared citizens went up from 0.15% in the 1991 census to 4.34% in 2003.

[9] The 2003 census results were: 43.16% Montenegrins, 31.99% Serbs, 7.77% Bosniacs, 5.03% Albanians, 3.97% Muslims, 1.10% Croats, 0.42% Roma (Gypsy), and 1.02% Others. The constitutional right not to be declared was used by 4.34%.

[10] The 1991 census results were: 61.86% Montenegrins, 9.34% Serbs.

[11] Ratification of 1971.

[12] Signature of 1990.

[13] Serbia and Montenegro's Charter of Human and Minority Rights and Civil Liberties came into force on 28 February 2003, text available at <http://www.gom.cg.yu/biblioteka/1054904021.pdf> as of 06/03/05.

Outreach Programs

Orthodox Christianity in Eastern Europe

On April 23, 2005, our annual teacher outreach conference presented "Keeping the Faith: Orthodox Christianity in Eastern Europe" to an audience of teachers and others. The following summarizes the conference presentations.

Viktor Zhivov, professor of Slavic languages and literatures at Berkeley, began with "The Eastern and Western Church: Differences in Religious Experience." He described key people and events in the separation of Christianity into Eastern and Western churches, beginning with Emperor Constantine the Great's conversion to Christianity and leading us through the division of the Roman Empire into East and West, the mutual excommunications of the Great Schism, the sack of Constantinople by Western crusaders, and unsuccessful attempts at reconciliation. Zhivov then described how the two churches provide differing religious experiences. For example, the Eastern church was governed by councils, while power in the Western church is centralized in the Papacy. Differences in doctrine also developed. The liturgy of the Western Church framed Christ as a victim and focused on the redemption that comes from his suffering, whereas the Eastern liturgy framed Christ as a victor, focusing on the transfiguration of the earthly into the divine. The Western perspective, seeing a shortage of grace in the world, developed a concept of purgatory, while the Eastern perception of a world full of grace did not develop such a concept. The cultural development of Eastern and Western Europe can be attributed in part to these diverging histories.

Jack Kollman, lecturer and academic coordinator of Stanford's Center for Russian, East European, and Eurasian Studies, spoke about "The Role of the Iconostasis in the Russian Orthodox Church." The iconostasis, or image screen, is a wall of icons that separates the altar from the main body of the church (nave). He showed slides of the Holy Sophia Cathedral in Kiev—which dates from the 11th century, the first century of Christianity in Kievan Rus'—decorated with mosaics and frescoes by Byzantine Greek masters. The location of each image in that building is repeated more or less in the iconostasis. Because the iconostasis follows convention but is not bound by doctrine, there are many variations. A diagram of an archetypal Russian iconostasis can be found in Ouspensky and Lossky's *The Meaning of Icons* (2nd ed., St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1997). The icons are organized in rows (bottom to top): local row, consisting of the royal doors flanked by icons with local meaning; the Deisis row, with icons of Mary, Jesus, and John the Baptist; the festal row, feasts in the church calendar from events in the life of Jesus; two rows, with the prophets and church patriarchs; and the Virgin Enthroned at the top. While Russians did not invent the image screen, they made it much taller than it had been in the Greek tradition. Kollman described its function as not being a solid wall that obscures the activities at the altar, but a series of windows through which people in the physical world can understand the mysteries of the heavenly world.

Anton Vrame, assistant professor of Orthodox Christian studies at the Graduate Theological Union and director of the Patriarch Athenagoras Orthodox Institute in Berkeley, presented "The Icon: Controversy, Theology, Form." He described for us how the iconoclast controversy—the ban on the use of imagery—was not just a debate among scholars in Constantinople, but a struggle over which people were willing to give their lives. Debates on the use of icons are supported by three major points of theology. The ban on the use of images in the Ten Commandments was refuted by the story of God telling Moses to decorate the temple he built, and the New Testament describes Jesus Christ as the "image of God." Depicting Christ's dual nature as humane and divine was another point of contention, because stressing either aspect above the other would commit a heresy. Finally, people debated the difference between worshiping an icon, which would be idolatry, and venerating it, seeing beyond the icon itself to the person or event it represents. Vrame also discussed the form of icons, including how they follow certain conventions of depiction, how they tell a story, and how iconography is a living tradition.

Olga Hughes, professor emerita of Slavic languages and literatures at Berkeley, spoke about "The Orthodox Church in America Today." In this case study, she presented many themes that can be applied to Orthodox Christianity in general. An important feature is the lack of centralization of the religion, composed instead of local churches, which use different languages to perform the same liturgy. A Russian Orthodox mission went to Alaska in the late 18th century and visited the Russian settlement at Fort Ross, California. As other Orthodox Christians came to the United States, they often set up missions and thought of themselves as living in a diaspora. The Orthodox Church in America (OCA), however, views itself as a national church for Americans of any ethnic descent, using English as its main liturgical language. Amplifying the Nicene Creed's belief in one church, the OCA seeks to unify all Orthodox Christians in America. Though the many Orthodox churches in the country are divided by their separate administrative jurisdictions, they cooperate on many projects, such as a unifying council, an educational commission, and a charitable organization.

Milica Bakic-Hayden, professor of religious studies at the University of Pittsburgh, spoke on "The Serbian Orthodox Church Since 1990." She described how Orthodox Christianity is often misunderstood in social science literature, characterized as authoritarian, politically conservative, nationalist, passive, and submissive and, therefore, incompatible with a post-communist transition to democracy. When explaining conflict in former Yugoslavia, scholars have often explored differences in religion, even though religion was not a significant factor in the officially atheist society. The Serbian Orthodox Church (SOC) had a privileged role in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, lost its social power in Socialist Yugoslavia, and found itself spread across several states in former Yugoslavia. While Bakic-Hayden acknowledged the well-documented instances that the SOC contributed to conflict, she pointed out that the church never had "a uniform and monolithic" identity. And there many cases of the SOC supporting non-Serbs and non-Christians during times of conflict and even cases of being itself a victim of hostility and violence. When the church regained power in the 1980s that "could be used for nationalist purposes," leaders within the church supported both sides of the political debate. Today there is even interest by some in Serbia in teaching religion in public schools. The SOC now faces a wide range of religiousity among people, and it must navigate a complex and diverse situation.

Marika Kuzma, associate professor of music at Berkeley, ended the conference with "Orthodox Music." She described how singing is continuous during church services—with the priest at the front, a choir at the back, and a deacon or other clergy also in the front, all singing layers that overlap and even interrupt each other. She described this as a "conference call" and told how it gives a sense of fluidity to the service. Then, Kuzma shifted to specific music of the Eastern Slavic Orthodox Church (Russia and Ukraine) and described one of the most important composers of that tradition, Dmitry Bortniansky (Rachmaninoff is the other). Traditionally, the Orthodox Church does not permit the musical instruments (some American churches use an organ for accompaniment), so when Peter the Great sent his court composers to Western Europe for a musical education, they returned to face a unique challenge. In the Western tradition, instruments are used to create color, texture, and drama in music (for an example, she played some of Mozart's Requiem). In his choral concertos, Bortniansky used voices not in large blocks of sound all singing the same part, but as individual voices in solos and interesting combinations, and the full use of the voice, to create such effects. With many examples, Kuzma demonstrated how singing is a holy act in the Orthodox tradition.

Stella Bourgoin is the ISEEES outreach coordinator.

Upcoming Events

June 12–July 7, 2005. *Performance:* The San Francisco Opera will perform Tchaikovsky's *The Queen of Spades*. At the War Memorial Opera House, 301 Van Ness Ave, San Francisco, times vary by date. Fees: $35-215. Tickets can be purchased at http://www.sfopera.com/, (415) 864-3330, or at the Opera House on M–F, 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. Contact: San Francisco Opera, http://www.sfopera.com/ or (415) 861-4008.

Friday, July 8, 2005. *Performance:* The San Francisco Symphony, Edwin Outwater, conducting, will perform an All-Russian Program. At Davies Symphony Hall, 201 Van Ness Ave, San Francisco, 8 p.m. Fees: $25-62. Tickets are available through SFS Ticket Services at (415) 864-6000 or http://www.sfsymphony.org/. Contact: San Francisco Symphony, http://www.sfsymphony.org/ or (415) 552-8000.

Saturday, July 30, 2005. *Festival:* Fort Ross Heritage Day, celebrating Russian America at Fort Ross. The festival includes Orthodox Christian liturgy in St. Nicholas Cathedral, musical and dance performances, and historical demonstrations. At Fort Ross State Historic Park, 19005 Coast Highway One, Jenner, 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. Admission is free; there is a fee for parking. No dogs, please. Contact: Fort Ross State Historic Park, (707) 847-3286 or http://www.mcn.org/1/rrparks/fortross/lhd.htm.

August 25–September 25, 2005. *Performance:* The American Conservatory Theater presents *The Overcoat,* adapted from the work by Nikolai Gogol, with music by Shostakovich. At ACT Geary Theater, 415 Geary St, San Francisco. Fees: Non-subscription tickets will be available July 31, 2005. Contact: ACT, http://www.act-sf.org/ or (415) 749-2228.

Cal Performances' 2005–06 Season

Non-subscription tickets go on sale Sunday, August 7, 2005. Contact: Cal Performances, (510) 642-9988 or http://www.calperfs.berk eley.edu/. Plan ahead for:

Sunday, October 9, 2005. Takacs Quartet and Garrick Ohlsson, piano.

Wednesday–Sunday, October 12–16, 2005. Kirov Ballet and Orchestra of the Mariinsky Theatre, *The Sleeping Beauty.*

Saturday, November 12, 2005. Borodin Quartet.

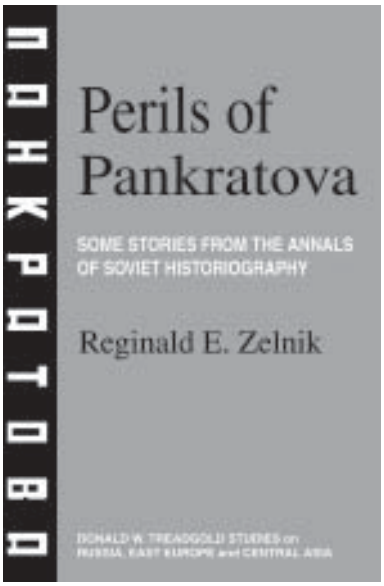
Sunday, December 4, 2005. Artists of the Mariinsky Academy, St. Petersburg.

Saturday–Sunday, February 25–26, 2006. Moscow Circus, "A Russian Winter's Tale."

Sunday, March 12, 2006. Takacs Quartet.

Sunday, March 26, 2006. Vadim Repin, violin, and Nikolai Lugansky, piano.

Thursday–Sunday, April 6–9, 2006. Tchaikovsky Perm Ballet and Orchestra, Natalia Makarova's *Swan Lake.*



A special volume, *Perils of Pankratova: Some Stories from the Annals of Soviet Historiography,* is being published (July 2005) by the University of Washington Press in memory of Professor Reginald Zelnik.

It contains Reggie's final manuscript, a biography of Anna Pankratova, a woman from Odessa who became a leading labor historian and academic administrator in the Soviet Union from the 1920s to her death in 1957. Also included in the volume are five essays on Zelnik's scholarship that were contributed by Laura Engelstein, David A. Hollinger, Benjamin Nathans, Yuri Slezkine, and Glennys Young.

The volume may be purchased at bookstores or directly from the University of Washington Press at <http://www.washington.edu/uwpress/search/books/ZELPER.html>.

Electronic corpora, continued from page 6

[4] Another term used is "diasystem," which is often preceded by a qualifying adjective, as in "*centralnojuznoslavenski dijasistem*" (Central South Slavic diasystem). This term is used in reference to this overarching linguistic commonality. The term was first introduced in 1970 by Brozovic "to denote a linguistic are broader than that of a single national language that this is now the neutral meaning of the term for most natives … But such usage is highly confusing to Western linguists, for whom a 'diasystem' is a purely abstract structural model … such a model rarely (if ever) makes reference either to geographical areas or to language boundaries." (See Alexander, 2002–2003, p. 29.)

[5] This study includes the most current information available to date. As electronic publications can shift location or content, there is no guarantee that past the writing of this paper they will all be available.

[6] Available at <http://www.korpus.matf.bg.ac>. Access this corpus by first looking under *Korpusi srpskog jezika,* then *Lista dostupnih korpusa.*

[7] Available at <http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/Bosnian/Corpus.html>.

[8] Available at <http://www.serbian-corpus.edu.yu/ie/digest.html>.

[9] Available at <http://www.ffzg.hr/zzl>.

[10] This is the date of publication of Grcevic's article, "Some remarks on recent lexical changes in the Croatian language," which he based on research comparing results from the Mannheim corpus with the Mogus corpus.

[11] Using the corpus, the Institute has developed several series of publications: computer concordances of texts of Croatian literature; contrastive analyses of Croatian and other languages (English, German, Russian, French, Spanish, Italian, etc.); phraseological dictionaries (of Croatian and French, Slovene, Czech, Polish, German, Italian, Russian, Ukrainian, Latin, Ancient Greek and Modern Greek); analyses of Anglicisms; and linguistic textbooks.

Future projects will deal with all aspects of Croatian studies: analysis of the history of the Croatian language; the investigation of processes of inflexion and derivation in Croatian; lexicography and lexicology (monolingual and bilingual dictionaries, text concordances, orthographic dictionaries, thesauruses, terminology dictionaries, dictionaries of neologisms, etc.); and information science (indexing and searching of textual databases, processing of natural language, generating natural language messages, creation of computational tools for the processing of natural language texts).

[12] Langston, 1999.

[13] Grcevic, 2002.

[14] Kordic, 2004.

[15] Open web queries are not much help either in determining the boundaries of the BCS languages because it is not always clear which of the languages is being used (despite domain designators such as .hr or .yu, which tend to indicate the website host).

[16] Langston, 1999.

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Symbolist palette, continued from page 10

metaphor, where language is subordinate to reality (or in Meltzer's terms, objectivity still dominates subjectivity). But using the word "azure" instead of a less marked term for the sky severely undermines the metaphoric quality of this device and initiates more of a pure symbolic language. The subjective becomes substantized and is used as the primary carrier of meaning demarking a real world object. It is not just an attribute of the object, it is the object itself.

> The ideal image—the intermediary between the phenomenal and noumenal worlds—loses its real outlines and, being assimilated to all of nature, speaks with the language of the universal elements. "Sky," "ether," "azure," "blizzard," "rapture of snowstorms," "pearly cloud," "dawn": Bely's letters to Morozova are dotted with these "ethereal" definitions symbolizing nature's essence, perceived as revelation.[15]

"Zoloto" [gold] and "lazur'" [azure] are not adjectives qualifying the concrete nouns of sun and sky, but are nouns themselves, colors reified to take the place of sun and sky, to show them in their transfigured, revealed state. And in this state, these bright and overwrought colors are as true and realistic as the naturalistic depictions of the sun and the sky that they displace. And even in the most prosaic and unmythological situations, the Symbolist poet can still look overhead and see the azure. Such is the case in a poem written on the tragic deaths of Bely's close friends and mentors, Mikhail and Olga Solov'ev.

> Mogilu ikh ukrasili venkami.
> Vokrug bez shapok my v toske stoiali.
> Vostorg snegov, krutiashchiisia nad nami,
> V seduiu Vechnost' vikhri progoniali.
>
> Poslednii vzmakh briatsavshego kadila.
> Poslednii vzdokh tumanno-snezhnoi buri.
> Vershinu el' mechtatel'no sklonila
> v prosvete oslepitel'noi lazuri. (216)

> Their grave was decorated with wreaths.
> We stood around it hatless, in grief.
> The ecstasy of the snow, swirling above us,
> Was chased into gray Eternity by the whirlwind.
>
> The final pass of the clinking censor.
> The final sigh of the cloudy snowstorm.
> The spruce dreamily bends its top
> in a patch of blinding azure.

This solemn poem is a far cry from the energetic and enthused Argonaut poems quoted above, and yet it benefits from the color palette Bely developed in the context of his mythical subjects. The simple substitution of azure for sky opens up the entire series of otherworldly associations that brings the sense of a transformed reality into this muted and somber scene. The finality and concreteness of this moment are undercut by a skewing of the colors of the sky, a glimpsed revelation of a truer reality. It is the same effect achieved in nature by the setting sun, but now the poet has appropriated this revelatory power and can freely intermix it with his depictions of the world around him. I would argue that this is Bely's aesthetic ideal for this early period—a recognizable landscape that nevertheless shows its transformed self and is always on the verge of giving way entirely to that higher reality.

In the world of Bely's symbols, color clearly transcends its descriptive, mimetic function and assumes a more universal and central position in his poetics. It does not forego its attributive power, but while partaking of this it simultaneously expands to encompass a greater significance that joins the mimetic world with the mythological. In order to accomplish this semiotic shift, the reader must be able to overcome the strikingly visual and limiting properties of such evocative colors as gold and azure. If gold is never more than the tint of a metal and azure no more than the color of a rock, then this project fails and remains impossibly mired in the physical, phenomenal world. The moment of revelation necessary to enact a Symbolist revaluation of this world is absent, and the colors are marked but still serve an attributive function. This is the danger inherent in Bely's project to symbolically charge the everyday and create myths out of the banality of the physical world around him—that his language will not break free of the ties that bind it to this world. If the azure and gold of the truer world do not overcome their mimetic limitations, then Bely has failed in his attempt to reveal the other world through imagery grounded in this world. His poetry must strive to escape the imposition of such exclusively visual and attributive boundaries. Bely's exuberant myths seek to show how very much more than color these two ideas can signify, and with them he can grant us glimpses of the familiar world around us in its ideal, transfigured state. Such was the magical power of words in Bely's Symbolist aesthetics.

The years 1901–3 witnessed the blossoming of Bely's project to reveal the higher truth of the world through language and poetry. It was a youthful and utopian goal that was predicated on the Symbolist's ability to experience and convey the noumenal realm without abandoning the phenomenal world. He immersed his poetry in the Romantic otherworld while never losing contact with the Realist world around him. Such a project calls for a coherent system of color signification which Bely develops in his overtly mythological poems but which is then extended to the poems set solidly in the surrounding world. This system must surmount the existing highly visual and mimetic functions of color in order to establish the dominance of the objective, transformative point of view of the artist. This is an extremely ambitious and idealistic project the

success of which hinges on the poet's ability to revalue language to contain symbolic and not metaphoric significance and to transport the reader, the masses, into this reformed world. In his subsequent articles on Symbolism, Bely himself realizes the difficulties of such an all-encompassing aesthetic and acknowledges the problematic nature of a poetics that calls for the reader to embrace the existence of myth in a literal sense. But the belief in such myths and in language's capacity to reify them is a critical facet of the Symbolist worldview, and it is an integral part of Bely's own epistemology. He wants to believe that language can shape reality. It is this view of the nature of poetic language that provoked a strong negative reaction in the generation following Symbolism. Mikhail Kuzmin called for a poetics of "klarizm" [clarism] whose main tenet is a "prekrasnaia iasnost'" [beautiful clarity].[16] Viktor Zhirmunskii gives his evaluation of the Symbolist aesthetic in the context of the Acmeists, "those who overcame Symbolism."

> For the Symbolists, the word was a hint and an allegory; amongst words, as amongst things, appeared secret correspondences. All borders became blurred into a general musical, lyrical mood.[17]

The post-Symbolist movements in Russian poetry desired concreteness and mimetic detail in their language. This is the polar opposite of Bely's initial early vision of Symbolism. He sought a language that would soar above the phenomenal world. He valued the unnatural image of gold in azure as a reality equally viable as a mimetic description of the sun in the sky. With this poetry, he strove to reveal the constant presence of the transfigured world just under the surface of everyday life, and the unbounded potential of his language and palette was the force behind this transformative Symbolist vision.

Notes

[1] Irina Paperno, "The Meaning of Art: Symbolist Theories" in *Creating Life: The Aesthetic Utopia of Russian Modernism*, edited by Irina Paperno and Joan Delaney Grossman (Stanford, 1994), p. 22.

[2] A. V. Lavrov, "Andrei Bely and the Argonaut's Mythmaking" in *Creating Life: The Aesthetic Utopia of Russian Modernism*, edited by Irina Paperno and Joan Delaney Grossman (Stanford, 1994), p. 105. This is the somewhat generous interpretation of Bely's affinity for an overwhelmingly autobiographical tendency in his works. Lavrov also expresses the less generous appraisal of Bely's literary limitations in his book *Andrei Belyi v 1900-e gody* (Moscow, 1995), "All of Bely's art reveals the author's fatal incapacity to write not about himself." p. 15.

[3] *The Selected Essays of Andrey Bely*, edited and translated by Steven Cassedy (California, 1985), p. 110. The original text can be found in "Magiia slov" [1910] in *Simvolizm kak miroponimanie* (Moscow, 1994), p. 141.

[4] Bely, "Simvolizm" [1908] in *Simvolizm kak miroponimanie* (Moscow, 1994), p. 35 (Bely's italics). Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

[5] Françoise Meltzer, "Color as Cognition in Symbolist Verse" *Critical Inquiry* 5:2 (Winter 1978): 254.

[6] Ibid., 253–4.

[7] Cioran, Samuel. "A Prism for the Absolute: The Symbolic Colors of Andrey Bely" in *Andrey Bely: A Critical Review,* edited by Gerald Janecek (The University Press of Kentucky, 1978), p. 108.

[8] "Color is a powerful tool for symbolist linguistics because it has no nominatum to begin with, and yet by its very nature it is capable of leading sensory overtones to the abstraction which characterizes symbolism." Meltzer, "Color as Cognition in Symbolist Verse," p. 260.

[9] Lavrov points out the importance of Moscow's streets and topographical elements in the myths of the Argonauts. "Andrei Bely and the Argonauts' Mythmaking," p. 109.

[10] As I am examining a constructed aesthetic, my discussion of the poems will proceed in the order in which Bely arranged them in the book itself rather than in strictly chronological terms.

[11] The page numbers for citations of Bely's poetry refer to first edition of *Zoloto v lazuri* (Moscow, 1904) recently reprinted by Progress-Pleiada (Moscow, 2004).

[12] Meltzer, "Color as Cognition in Symbolist Verse," pp. 256–8.

[13] Biographically, the composition of *Zoloto v lazuri* coincided with what Bely referred to as his "period of dusks and dawns," when he and Sergei Solov'ev would look over the Moscow landscape from Bely's balcony on the Arbat and marvel at the moments of dusk and dawn. See "God zor'" in *Nazhalo veka,* edited by A. V. Lavrov (Moscow, 1990).

[14] Aage Hansen-Löve [Age Khanzen-Leve], *Russkii simvolizm. Sistema poeticheskikh motivov. Mifopoeticheskii simvolizm nachala veka. Kosmicheskaia simvolika* (St. Petersburg, 2003), p. 431.

[15] Lavrov, "Andrei Bely and the Argonaut's Mythmaking," p. 115.

[16] M. Kuzmin, "O prekrasnoi iasnosti," *Apollon* No. 4 (January 1910), pp. 5–10.

[17] V. M. Zhirmunskii, "Preodolevshie simvolizm " [1916] in *Teoretika literatury. Poetika. Stilistika.* (Leningrad, 1977), p. 111.

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