



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

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

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or inquiries to the *Newsletter* editors
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your comments and suggestions.

Notes from the Director

Welcome to another year of intellectual stimulation, learning, and conviviality. I am very happy to announce that we will be joined by two new faculty members: Victoria Frede, Assistant Professor in the History Department, and Jason Wittenberg, Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science. Victoria is a Berkeley Ph.D. (2002), so many of you already know her. She works on Imperial Russia, primarily eighteenth- and nineteenth-century intellectual history. Jason received his Ph.D. at MIT in 1999. His main research interests include the comparative politics of Eastern Europe, especially Hungary. Please help us welcome them to our community.

The fall semester begins with a very ambitious program organized by the Caucasus and Central Asia Program (CCAsP), directed by Dr. Sanjyot Mehendale. It includes an exhibit of paintings by the Kazakh artist Saule Suleimenova and a conference on contemporary Central Asian film, music, and visual arts. Accompanying these events will be a month-long film series, "Films from Along the Silk Road: Central Asian Cinema," at the Pacific Film Archive. In October, the Worth Ryder Gallery in Kroeber Hall will host an art exhibit featuring works by three contemporary Mongolian artists. You can find more details on these events in this newsletter.

Still on the subject of exhibits, in early December Professor Alexei Yurchak, of the Department of Anthropology, will organize a conference on the work of the contemporary Russian "neoacademic" artists (Victor Kuznetsov and Oleg Maslov, Mamyshev-Monroe, and Dubossarsky and Vinogradov). The participants will include the St. Petersburg curators and art critics Olesya Turkina and Viktor Mazin. The discussion will be accompanied by a demonstration of the artists' work.

Our Annual Fall Reception will take place on Monday, October 10. Please write down the date and join us at the Alumni House at 4 p.m. It will be a good opportunity to meet our new faculty members and visiting scholars, and, of course, to enjoy Naile's wonderful cooking.

We are fortunate to have two Fulbright visiting scholars with us this semester. Dr. Svetlana Adonyeva is a docent in the Department of Humanities at St. Petersburg State University. She is interested in Russian village culture and social theory. Dr. Daunis Auers is a lecturer at the Department of Political Science, University of Latvia. He works on the organization of political parties in the "New Europe." Dr. Irina Chernykh, a lecturer in International Relations at al-Farabi Kazakh National University in Almaty, Kazakhstan, joins us for the fall semester on a grant from the Open Society Institute (Soros). Two other visiting scholars affiliated with the Institute this year are Dr. Saori Kondo, who recently finished her studies in History at Tokyo Metropolitan University, and Dr. Elena Shulman, who completed her Ph.D. at UCLA last year, also in History.

Many of you attended our Carnegie-funded faculty/graduate student seminars on “Extremism in the New Eurasia” last year, and I am pleased to say that they will continue into the fall. In addition, we have been awarded a Mellon-Sawyer grant for a new faculty/graduate student seminar series to begin in the spring. The theme of that project is “Private Wealth and Public Power: Oligarchs, Tycoons, and Magnates in Comparative Perspective.” We look forward to many stimulating events this year.

Finally, I would like to thank our Associates of the Slavic Center for their kindness and generosity. We greatly appreciate your interest and help, and hope to see you at our various events. Welcome back!

Yuri Slezkine
Professor of History
Director of ISEEEES

The Development of Slavic Studies at UC Berkeley: Professor Richard A. Pierce

As some of you know, we did a forum on the Development of Slavic Studies at UC Berkeley last February. The event prompted a gracious letter from one of our alumni, Melvin Kessler, to remind us of one of our other illustrious alumni, Professor Richard A. Pierce, who died in September 2004. At the time of his death, Professor Pierce was honored by flags flying at half mast at sites such as Fort Ross, Castle Hill in Sitka, the Baranov Museum in Kodiak, and the Alaska State Historian’s Office in Anchorage. Professor Pierce made a major contribution to the history of Russia in Central Asia and Russian Alaska. His doctoral work at UC Berkeley culminated in a volume published by UC Press in 1960, *Russian Central Asia, 1867–1917: A Study in Colonial Rule*.

Campus Visitors

Svetlana Adonieva is visiting ISEEEES this fall on a Fulbright grant. She is a linguistic anthropologist in the Humanities Faculty at St. Petersburg State University.

Daunis Auers is a Fulbright scholar at ISEEEES this year to conduct research on the organization of political parties in the “New Europe.” He is a lecturer in the Department of Political Science at the University of Latvia.

Irina Chernykh returns to Berkeley for the fall semester on a grant from the Open Society Institute (Soros). She is with the international relations faculty at al-Farabi Kazakh National University in Almaty, Kazakhstan.

Izabela Filipiak is working on a book project at Berkeley this fall. Izabela was recently awarded a Ph.D. from the Institute of Literary Research of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

Maya Haber, doctoral candidate in the School of History, Classics, and Archaeology at Birkbeck College, University

of London, is visiting Berkeley this year as a student researcher. She is working on Soviet social services in the post–World War II period.

Saori Kondoh, doctoral candidate at Tokyo Metropolitan University, is visiting Berkeley this year as a student researcher. Her research focuses on the archaeology of the former Soviet Union, particularly Central Asia.

Robert Wessling is visiting the Department of Slavic Language and Literatures this fall where he is teaching courses in Russian literature. He earned a Ph.D. from the department in 1998.

Izaly Zemtsovsky is a visiting scholar at Berkeley this year, based at ISEEEES. He is an ethnomusicologist and folklorist specializing in the cultures of Eurasia.

Fall 2005 Courses

Selected Faculty Course Offerings and Selected Area-Related Courses

East Euro Studies 100	Advanced Hungarian Readings	A. Mihalik	
Econ 161.1	Economics of Transition: Eastern Europe	G. Schwartz	
Econ 260A	Economics of Transition	G. Roland	
Econ 261	Seminar in Comparative Economics	G. Roland	
English 125C (Slavic 133)	The Novel in Russia and the West: The European Novel	I. Paperno	
Film 100	History of Film Theory: Questions of Cinema	A. Nesbet	
Geography C55 (NES C26)	Introduction to Central Asia	S. Mehendale	
History 5	European History	M. Anderson	
History 39M.2	The Mongols and their Legacy	L. Peirce	
History 100. 1 (Slavic 158)	The Rise and Fall of Yugoslavia	R. Alexander / J. Connelly	
History 101.5	Roman Imperialism in the East	J. Nager	
History 101.8	War, Revolution, and Memory in Twentieth-Century Europe and Russia		C. Kulke
History 110	The Ottoman Empire, 1400–1750	L. Peirce	
History 171B	Russia, 1700–1917	V. Frede	
History 177B	Armenia	S. Astourian	
History 280B.2	Introduction to Soviet Historiography	Y. Slezkine	
NES C26 (Geog C55)	Introduction to Central Asia	S. Mehendale	
Poli Sci 137C	Transitions to Democracy	M. S. Fish	
Poli Sci 141C	Politics and History in Eastern Europe	J. Wittenberg	
Poli Sci 149D	Challenges of Nation and State Building in Post-Soviet Central Asia		E. Walker
Slavic R5A	Reading and Composition	R. Wessling	
Slavic R5B.1	Writing the Experience of Terror: Literary Depictions of Living under Stalinist and Nazi Regimes	A. Peri	
Slavic R5B.2	Translating the Self: Modernity and Assimilation in Literature	V. Smolkin	
Slavic 39J	Lower-Division Seminar: Love Among the Russians	H. McLean	
Slavic 45	Nineteenth Century Russian Literature	R. Wessling	
Slavic 50	Introduction to Slavic Peoples and Cultures	K. Schild	
Slavic 133 (English 125C)	The Novel in Russia and the West: The European Novel	I. Paperno	
Slavic 134E (Theater 166)	Chekhov	A. Muza	
Slavic 158 (History 100.1)	The Rise and Fall of Yugoslavia	R. Alexander / J. Connelly	
Slavic 160	Survey of Czech Literature and Film	E. Langer	
Slavic 210	Old Church Slavic	D. Frick	
Slavic 220	Comparative Slavic Linguistics	J. Nichols	
Slavic 243	The Russian Novel: Dostoevsky's Bookshelf	A. Nesbet	
Slavic 280.1	Graduate Seminar in Literature: Platonov	E. Naiman	
Slavic 280.2	Graduate Research Seminar: Literature and Experience	I. Paperno	
Slavic 280.3	Graduate Seminar: Balkan Linguistics	R. Alexander	
Sociology H190A	Senior Honors Thesis Seminar	V. Bonnell / K. Voss	
Sociology 101A	Sociological Theory	M. Burawoy	
Theater 166 (Slavic 134E)	Chekhov	A. Muza	

Language Courses: The Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures is offering courses in Armenian, Bulgarian, Czech, Georgian, Hungarian, Polish, Russian, and Serbian/Croatian languages this semester.

Recent Graduates

Matthew Justin Von Bencke was awarded a Ph.D. by the Department of Political Science in December 2004 for his dissertation “International Identity Crises: Explaining Soviet and Russian Strategic Defense Policies.”

Diana Ruth Blank was awarded a Ph.D. by the Department of Anthropology in May 2005 for her dissertation “Voices from Elsewhere: An Ethnography in Place in Chelnohovsk-na-Dniestre, Ukraine.”

Mieczyslaw Pawel Boduszynski was awarded a Ph.D. by the Department of Political Science in December 2004 for his dissertation “Explaining Divergent Paths of Post-Communist Diversity: Regime Change in the Yugoslav Successor States, 1990–2004.”

Christopher Joseph Caes was awarded a Ph.D. by the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures in December 2004 for his dissertation “Historical Contingency of the Self in Stalinist and Post-Stalinist Era: Polish Literature and Film, 1950–1960.”

Jeanne Ellen Grant was awarded a Ph.D. by the Department of History in May 2005 for her dissertation “The Political Side of Hussitism: Late Medieval Law in Bohemia and the Holy Roman Empire.”

Laura Ann Henry was awarded a Ph.D. by the Department of Political Science in December 2004 for her dissertation “Changing Environments: Green Activism, Civil Society, and Political Transformation in Russia.”

Raymond June was awarded a Ph.D. in Social and Cultural Studies by the Graduate School of Education in May 2005 for his dissertation “From Dissident Truth to Market Transparency: Global Knowledge and the Making of the ‘Governance Intelligentsia’ in Czech Society.”

Ingrid Anne Kleespies was awarded a Ph.D. by the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures in December 2004 for her dissertation “Nomad Nation, Wandering Writer: Writing, Travel, and Identity in Russian and Polish Literature (From the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Late Nineteenth Century).”

Rebecca Manley was awarded a Ph.D. by the Department of History in December 2004 for her dissertation “The Evacuation and Survival of Soviet Civilians, 1941–1946.”

Anne Marie Marsh-Flores was awarded a Ph.D. by the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures in December 2004 for her dissertation “Literary Collaboration

and the Rise of the Russian Woman Writer, or, How Zinaida Volkonskaia Learned to Write in Tsarist Russia.”

Brian Joseph McCook was awarded a Ph.D. by the Department of History in December 2004 for his dissertation “The Borders of Integration: Polish Migrant Workers in the Ruhr Valley of Germany and Pennsylvania Anthracite Regions of the United States, 1870–1924.”

Andrej Milivojevic was awarded an M.P.P. by the Goldman School of Public Policy in May 2005.

Victor Avigdor Peskin was awarded a Ph.D. by the Department of Political Science in May 2005 for his dissertation “Virtual Trials: International War Crimes Tribunals and the Politics of State Cooperation in the Former Yugoslavia and Rwanda.”

Diahanna Lynch Post was awarded a Ph.D. by the Department of Political Science in May 2005 for her dissertation “Food Fights: Who Shapes International Food Safety Standards and Who Uses Them?”

Brandon Ingersoll Sprague was awarded an M.A. in International and Area Studies in May 2005 for his thesis “Shock Therapy in Iraq under the Coalition Provisional Authority: A Comparison with 1990 Poland.”

Gergely Lajos Toth was awarded a Ph.D. by the Department of German in December 2004 for his dissertation “Linguistic Interference and Native Language Attrition: German and Hungarian in the San Francisco Bay Area.”

Boris Yanislav Wolfson was awarded a Ph.D. by the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures in December 2004 for his dissertation “Staging the Soviet Self: Literature, Theater, and Stalinist Culture, 1929–1939.”

Jane Roj Zavisca was awarded a Ph.D. by the Department of Sociology in December 2004 for her dissertation “Consumer Inequalities and Regime Legitimacy in Late Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia.”

The Monetization of *L'got*: Politics of Welfare and Institutional Change in Russia

Susanne Wengle

Susanne Wengle is a Ph.D. student in the Department of Political Science. She works on the political economy of post-Soviet transformation.

Since the beginning of his second term in office President Putin has repeatedly declared the reform of the social service provision a priority for Russia.¹ The most important recent legislation in the sphere of social policy was the federal law, zakon No.122-F3. This law provides the legal basis to reduce or eliminate certain benefits (*l'goty*), or to convert in-kind benefits, like free public transport and utilities, into cash allowances. Most journalists refer to zakon No.122 as the law on the “monetization of benefits,” which has been one of the most contested pieces of legislation in the Putin administration. In January 2005 protestors opposed the implementation of the law across the country. Against the backdrop of the Ukrainian Orange Revolution, these protests triggered a significant political crisis for the government of President Putin.

The aim of this paper is threefold: First, it presents an empirical account of the events surrounding the benefits reform. While pictures of the protestors in snowy, cold Russia went around the world's television screens, many journalistic accounts are replete with stereotypes inherited from the 1990s—disgruntled pensioners opposing market reforms. Why is a more in-depth understanding of these protests important? Observers who see the post-Soviet transition as a series of economic reforms tend to implicitly de-legitimize protests as obstacles to necessary reforms. Concerned with the ability of opposition groups to block the passing or the implementation of legislation, such perspective is unable to grasp aspects of politics that do not neatly fall into these categories of “pro-” and “anti-reform.”² To present an interpretation of the *politics* of social reform is thus the second aim of this paper. A nuanced understanding of the political debates and strategies of the proponents and opponents of this legislation is needed in view of the controversial institutional reforms in the health, housing and utilities sectors planned for the coming months and years. The “politics of welfare” that we have seen in connection with the benefits reform might well be a preview of similar political confrontations during President Putin's second term in office.

In the concluding remarks, I will draw attention to what might be long-term consequences of the institutional changes that are currently being implemented through these social reforms. I suggest that the politics of welfare could

be seen as a response to these institutional changes because they institutionalize new administrative categories and new patterns of responsibilities and risk. Soviet-era social categories are no longer recognized by the new laws, while new administrative categories are in many ways problematic: they are not in the same way meaningful, and they shift risks and responsibilities to individuals and to regional and local authorities. While it is too early to assess the consequences of the institutional changes empirically, the third aim of the paper is to suggest a theoretical framework that sets the politics of welfare in relation to these institutional changes.

Post-Socialist welfare reform and the *l'got* system

At the outset, I want to briefly situate the account of recent reforms in the context of the post-Communist welfare reforms in Russia. Most commentators agree that the gap between the state's guarantees and the actual levels of public finance for welfare services is an important source of problems of post-Communist welfare states. Throughout the 1990s, Russia maintained broad responsibilities for social provisions and entitlements originating in the Soviet system. Yet, as a result of the economic collapse and fiscal crisis at the federal and regional levels, the welfare system has not been able to deliver on many of its promises. For most of the post-Soviet period, pension and public service wages have been abysmally low and often in arrears. The health care system is crumbling, and unemployment insurance is virtually non-existent—to just name a few of the challenges of the welfare system in Russia. Policy-oriented approaches to post-Soviet welfare, thus often stress the need for the reduction of entitlements to achieve a more “efficient” and “targeted” service provision.³ With the *l'goty* reform, the government passed a law that reduces Soviet era entitlements.

What are *l'goty*, usually translated as benefits or privileges, and what does the “monetization” of benefits in kind mean? *L'goty* were a characteristic element of the Soviet-era welfare system. Benefits include entitlements to various public services, such as transport, electricity, water, heating, and telephone. They also include various health-

related benefits, such as free medication or stays in sanatoria. Recipients of *l'goty*—so-called *l'gotniki*—are grouped in social categories, such as pensioners, disabled persons, single mothers, army personnel and their families, as well as veterans of different wars. Some of these categories are similar to categories in other welfare states, while others are distinctly Soviet, such as the heroes of the worker's state, civil servants in northern and far-eastern regions of the former Soviet Union, or the *chernobyltzy*, the sufferers of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster.

L'goty were an important technology of the Soviet state. They served to encourage the movement of population to remote areas and to compensate hardship in professions or locations deemed either particularly dangerous or important for the Soviet economy. Benefits were used as rewards for distinguished contributions to the building of Socialism or to the defense against enemies of the Soviet Union. Benefits in kind were important supplements to the relatively small pensions and other monetary payments for social categories like single mothers and veterans.

The *l'got* system has always been anything but transparent. Over the decades of the Soviet era, different levels of government had granted benefits to various social categories, with little centralized accounting of who was entitled to what. The ministry of health and the ministry of labor, for example, indicate vastly different numbers of disabled persons.⁴ In the post-Soviet period, these difficulties were compounded by the fact that fewer and fewer of those who were entitled to benefits have actually received them. Prior to the recent reforms it was estimated that, based on the legal obligations of the central, regional and municipal governments, about 33 million Russians were entitled to some kind of *l'got*.⁵ It is unclear how many Russians actually receive some kind of *l'got*.⁶ This uncertainty over how many people are entitled to benefits, and how many actually receive them, has complicated attempts to reform the *l'got* system, during both the Soviet and post-Soviet periods.

Recent reforms of the *l'got* system

L'goty are thus a technology of government that was consistent with a planned economy, as it entailed the allocation of goods and services provided by state-owned enterprises. Conversely, policy advisors have been unanimous in their verdict since the early nineties that benefits in kind are an obstacle to the transition to a market economy. Nevertheless, the *l'got* system remained untouched by market reforms throughout the nineties and even during the first four years of the Putin administration. Officially, this was because high inflation and a tight government budget had made adequate compensation impossible.⁷ Given that the end of the *l'goty* was to prove highly unpopular, that

the Communists have lost their veto power in the Duma (the parliament of the Russian Federation), and that Putin has had four years to establish his famous “verticality of power” probably also account for the timing of the monetization. The zakon No.122 was tackled right after Putin's reelection to a second term, with a Duma that was securely dominated by United Russia, the party loyal to the president.

The essence of the law was the abolition of entitlements to free public services. *L'gotniki* were to receive instead cash—a so-called *soz-paket*—to defray the cost of the lost public service entitlements. The *soz-paket* was to be calculated based on previous entitlements. The proponents of monetization argued that the *l'got* system does not target the needy effectively and squanders scarce public resources. This argument refers both to “free-riders” who are entitled to benefits although they would have the means to pay for services (i.e., the rich owner of a big apartment receiving subsidized electricity) as well as to the “misallocation” of certain kinds of benefits for the poor (i.e., the disabled rural dweller with the right to free urban transport). The government also stressed that allowing large segments of the population to consume free services prevents the efficient functioning of the public service sector, such as transport and utility companies, as well as the reform of the health system.

These arguments were accompanied by a public relations campaign that communicated to *l'gotniki* that they only stood to gain from these reforms. The argument that cash is preferable was, for example, one of the selling points of the reform, a strategy that drew on the dissatisfaction with payments in kind that were part of everyday transactions in the barter-prone economy of Russia's early transition.⁸ It was argued that cash is more “modern” and more desirable because it allows recipients to choose what the money is spent on. Television advertising propagating the benefits of the new reform featured a babushka telling the audience how much she prefers cash to non-existing social benefits.

Thus the message from the executive branch of government was unambiguous: these reforms were good, necessary, and inevitable. At the same time, the way the legislation was rushed through the Duma, betrayed awareness that the reforms would be contested. Backed by United Russia, the law was swiftly passed in three readings during the summer months of 2004. While protestors gathered outside, and the nationalist Rodina and Communist parties opposed the law in the Duma, there had apparently been very little time for debate on the details of the law.⁹ Yegor Gaidar, the director of the prestigious Institute for Transition Economics, noted that it would take a whole team of economists weeks if not months to scrutinize the detailed provisions of the law.¹⁰ Media commentators noted that much remained unclear about the implementation and financing the law's provisions.

Journalists remarked, for example, that it was not clear how much the monetization would cost, nor how it would be financed.

Many of the uncertainties had to do with the fact that the law left implementation up to the regions. Governors were pressured to give their assurance that they were prepared to implement the laws, even though it was not clear where the money for the compensation of the *l'got* was to come from. During the early months of 2005 there was little doubt, however, that questions about the division of financial responsibility between the regions and the central government had not been settled and that many of the poorer regions were de facto saddled with responsibilities that were disproportionate with their budgetary means.¹¹ Other questions that were left unanswered, for example, included how the huge difference in the cost of living across Russian regions would be handled. Especially, *l'gotniki* in Moscow wanted to know how the benefits would be compensated in the capital, given that the costs of living there are much higher than in the poorer regions of the country.

Protests and the onset of the political crisis

In January 2005, many regional governments—notably not all regions—abolished benefits in kind and offered *l'gotniki* compensation payments. In many regions of Russia, the reaction to the implementation of the law was public protests and demonstrations. *L'gotniki*, joined by pensioners, civil servants, and students and others, protested, in some regions blocking streets or government buildings. The main complaint was that cash payments were too small, usually between 200 and 300 rubles, insufficient to cover the cost of the services that used to be available to *l'gotniki*.¹² Protestors demanded the restitution of the benefits in kind. While the grievances related to the monetization of benefits triggered these protests, dissatisfaction with elites and the government accompanied the complaints about zakon No.122. Protestors were mistrustful that cash payments would not keep up with inflation, as had happened in the nineties with pensions. In some regions, protests were organized by local Communist parties, pensioners' and veterans' organizations, or other groups, like the union of the Chernobyl sufferers.

It is clear that attempts to implement the *l'goty* reform led to nationwide protests, although estimates on how many people participated at protest meetings and characterizations of the nature of the protests vary widely.¹³ The media outlets close to the government, especially TV stations, sought to portray demonstrations as minor expressions of discontent by marginal social groups.¹⁴ According to the research by the Levada Center, these protests were significant and large sections of society either participated or sympathized with the protestors. In a survey

carried out by the opinion research institute of Yuri Levada, 30% of respondents said there were demonstrations in their cities. Forty-one percent said they supported the protestors, and another 40% said they did not support them but understood their motives and could relate to them.¹⁵ Yuri Levada, who is also a prominent commentator of Russian politics, thus contests the portrayal of the protestors as disgruntled marginal characters.¹⁶

The blame game

By early February, the Putin administration reacted to the protests by admitting mistakes in the implementation of the benefits reform. Putin acknowledged that neither the federal nor the regional authorities had adequately prepared for the logistical and financial details of the implementation. He sharply reprimanded the cabinet and regional governors. The government stated repeatedly that it was the task of the regional governors to prepare for the logistical and financial challenges of the monetization. Ironically, Aleksei Kudrin, the finance minister, criticized regions for failing to work with the population to find the best solutions to the challenges of implementing zakon No.122, never mind that the law was rushed through the Duma with very little democratic consultation.¹⁷ As high government officials and cabinet ministers gave interviews during the crisis, their main preoccupation was to attribute blame to each other or to regional governors.¹⁸ The immediate political reaction in the regions varied: some regional governments reinstated the benefits, while others continued with the implementation. In some regions, organizers of protests were arrested and charged for the failure to obtain the municipalities' consent for the public meetings.¹⁹

The political crisis was not confined to squabbles within the presidential administration. Political groups from across the spectrum of post-Soviet politics were united in their opposition to social reforms that they thought increase the cost of living for ordinary Russians. The nationalist Rodina party, led by Dimitry Rogozin, which had a reputation as a reliable ally of United Russia and supporter of Putin's reforms, was one of the most vocal critics. Together with the Communist party, Rodina attempted to pass a vote of no confidence in the government in the Duma in February. This was, of course, a purely symbolic measure, since the Duma is controlled by United Russia. Rogozin also took the unusual measure of a hunger strike and demanded the release of imprisoned members of the National Bolshevik party. The National Bolsheviks, a leftist ultra-nationalist group, delivered the most radical interpretation of the harmful consequences of the benefits reform and staged the most militant protest actions.²⁰ These populist oppositional forces were joined by Yabloko, the liberal party that had lost its seats in parliament in the 2003 elections. Even Mikhail Gorbachev added his voice in criticism of the benefits reform. Most vocal

among regional leaders was Yuri Luzhkov, the mayor of Moscow.²¹

The protestors in the media

The politics of the *l'goty* reform were also reflected in different accounts of why the reforms failed and of what went wrong. The way the crisis was depicted by government representatives on nationwide TV stations was very different than the portrayal by oppositional political groups, which often have to rely on websites for their media presence. The nationwide TV channels are not fully controlled by the government, but certainly are mostly favorable to the government in their coverage of political matters. The position of the government was that the reforms had been badly planned, badly implemented, and badly communicated. Commentators loyal to the government sought to convey the impression that the protestors were a marginal group and had little to say about their actual demands. They claimed that in regions where the reforms were well organized, there were no protests, as reforms were welcomed as an improvement in social service provisions.²² The debate about the faulty implementation was also accompanied by the interpretation that turned the *l'goty* reform into an ostensibly technical rather than a political problem. The solution to this problem, and by analogy to the discontent of the people on the street, was thus to improve implementation, rather than to reinstate the benefits.

Opposition commentators presented a wholly different take on why the reforms failed. The Rodina faction, the Communist party, and the National Bolsheviks represented the popular discontent as a reaction to an arrogant, corrupt government that had lost its connection to the suffering majority. This was captured by slogans like “*Putin—vrag narodov*” [“Putin—enemy of the people”], etc., that combined elements of Soviet era propaganda with anti-elite, anti-oligarch, nationalist slogans. In their interpretation, people protested against the social reforms, not against their faulty implementation. Interestingly, the two interpretations over the source of popular discontent hardly overlap, nor did they seem to enter into a conversation. While Moscow elites are absorbed in the discussion about the future of reforms, Rodina and the Communist party vie for the supposed closeness to the suffering people.

The aftermath of the crisis

The protests against *l'goty* reform may have consequences that last well beyond the immediate moment of political crisis. Despite attempts by the government to downplay the seriousness of the protests, it was clear that they had

significant political costs. A number of opinion research institutes noted that the approval ratings of President Putin had suffered in the early months of 2005.²³ Russian news commentators have referred to the law as a source of insecurity for the Putin administration—a new development after his successful establishment of the “verticality of power” in the first term.

A first consequence was a number of measures that can be seen as concessions to appease the *l'gotniki*. Pensions and salaries to *budgetniki*, public sector employees, including the armed services, were increased ahead of the scheduled date in 2005.²⁴ Secondly, especially in the area of transport, the government agreed to what was characterized as a step backwards in the benefits reform. In addition of the cash allowance for transport, it was agreed that *l'gotniki* would get reduced fares for certain means of transport. However, even though the media portrayed this as “giving in,” the law was not reversed and thereby turned *l'gotniki* into paying customers. Moreover, although reduced fares will cost the transport sector revenues, they are a much more “flexible subsidy” than the right to free transport, in the sense that they can be reduced gradually over the years.

Crucial to understanding the reaction of the government is the coincidence of the protests with the Orange Revolution in Ukraine and the events in Kyrgyzstan.²⁵ This coincidence triggered an intense public debate on the possibility for a “colored revolution” in Russia. Another interesting question was raised in response to the popular reaction against social reforms: whether economic reforms “à la Kazakhstan”—namely top-down institutional reform without the process of consensus building—are possible or desirable in Russia.²⁶

Finally, United Russia did not remain inactive in face of the mounting criticism of the president and his government. Since February, a number of “pro-Putin” rallies were organized, first to counter the demonstrations against the benefits reform and later for national holidays, such as World War II commemorations and Independence Day. United Russia and the government are sponsoring a youth movement, called “Nashi,” that uses some of the old facilities of the Komsomol, like youth camps in recreation areas, combined with the PR techniques used in Ukraine and Georgia by the oppositional youth movements. Some commentators have also noted that the police and special forces have been increasingly violent in cracking down on the National Bolsheviks in response to their role in the organization of protest actions.²⁷

Theoretical frameworks to understand the protests

The question of how to interpret the apparent widespread willingness to protest against reforms that most policymakers regard as necessary and ultimately beneficial

remains salient. It seems that political science approaches to post-Soviet politics have been limited by theoretical frameworks that cast any opposition to the policies of the executive branch either as an expression of civil society or an obstacle to reform. The starting point of a “political economy of reform” framework is that the current reforms, and anti-inflationary social policies more generally, are ultimately beneficial, which leads observers to see protests to reforms as short-sighted and damaging populism.²⁸ Interest in the outcome of the reforms also tends to be limited to making judgments on “partial” or “failed” reform and to placing countries on the reform/no-reform spectrum for the purposes of cross-country comparisons. Another approach to post-Communist politics popular among political scientists is interested in the strength and weakness of civil society. This theoretical framework exhorts the importance of expressions of societal interest independent of, and if necessary critical of, the policies of an overbearing executive branch. While this approach guides analysts to welcome opposition to the overbearing presidency, the current protests have caused consternation and silence in the face of protestors who are mobilized either by “backward” looking Communists or extremists like the National Bolsheviks.

Neither of these approaches draws attention to how the current social reforms create new institutions that fundamentally reshape many aspects of social and economic life nor sets the politics of welfare in this context. A theoretical framework that sees the politics of welfare as a reaction to the institutionalization of new social categories and new patterns of risks and responsibilities might open new ways to understand protests against welfare reforms.²⁹

Politics in the context of institutional transformation that shift risks and responsibilities

Despite concessions that followed the protests, zakon No.122 remains unchanged and has the potential to be an important step in the transformation of the post-Soviet economy. In this concluding section of the paper, I would like to suggest that the law on the monetization of *l'goty*, despite the difficulties surrounding its implementation, is an important institutional change, with significant implications for the politics of welfare in post-Soviet Russia. As mentioned above, the law turns *l'gotniki* into paying customers and consumers, which is a prerequisite for the planned reforms of the utilities and transport sectors. There are a number of other reasons why the law may mark an important step for Russia.

First, according to an expert on fiscal reforms in Russia, the law was intended to clarify the distribution of responsibilities for social spending between federal and regional authorities.³⁰ The law *relieved* the federal government of obligations towards the “federal-level” *l'gotniki*,

either by ending entitlements or by transferring them to the regional level authorities. The amount thus “saved” is estimated to be as high as two trillion rubles, although this is one of Russia’s virtual numbers, since many benefits existed only on paper and other benefits in kind were provided by (formerly) state-owned enterprises and service providers, for which the government often did not pay.³¹ At the same time, huge financial obligations were created for the regions. This year, large budgetary transfers from the center to the region were intended to compensate the regions for the expenses connected to the benefits reform. While in 2004 it had been unclear how much money would be needed for the compensation, the bill for the *l'goty* reform kept rising both for the central and regional governments throughout the summer months of 2005.³² Clarifying the so-called “interbudgetary relations”—the question of how much of the regionally collected taxes is sent to the center and how much money the regions get from the center—is crucially important, as they are currently notoriously murky and “inefficient,” to use President Putin’s own assessment.³³ Especially in the area of social policy, many regions have been made responsible for social spending without the corresponding fiscal powers or capacities.³⁴

Moreover, anthropologists studying the post-Soviet transformation have been concerned with changing subjectivities and identities. Seeing the current transformation of the economy as a transition towards a neo-liberal order, the law on the monetization of benefits may mark an important step in this transition. It has been argued that the neo-liberal order relies on technologies that produce subjects who are “responsible individuals” while at the same time shifting the “responsibility for social risk such as illness, unemployment, poverty, etc. . . . into the domain for which the individual is responsible and transforming it into a problem of self-care.”³⁵ The monetization of the *l'goty* amounts not only a shift of *responsibilities* to lower levels of government, but a shift of *risks* to the individual with important implications for the kind of person/subject thereby produced.³⁶

Lastly, the *l'goty* reform will mark an important step in the institutional change of the Russian social welfare provision because it formally abolishes Soviet-era social categories. While at the moment the same categories of citizens—pensioners, veterans, mothers, heroes—remain recipients, the intent of the reforms is to target the most needy, rather than particular social categories. This is important, because it creates a new social category of the needy or the poor, while undercutting social categories that rest on the logic of the Soviet system, such as northerners, veterans, or *l'gotniki* more generally.³⁷ As these old categories once signified a certain positive distinction for enduring hardship or special contributions, they are socially meaningful and confer a positive status on the bearer in a way that the new category “the poor” does not.³⁸ Because many of the *l'gotniki*’s protests centered on the

violation of their human dignity, this “downgrading” from the social category of *l’gotnik* to a pauper plays a role in the willingness to demonstrate against social policies. Moreover, in the long run the institutionalization of new categories of welfare recipients creates not only social categories, but may create political constituencies.

Ultimately, understanding how the institutional changes and transformations of the post-Soviet social service provision shape political responses requires further research. The claim here has been that the events surrounding the implementation of this law present an opportunity to move beyond the schematic presentation of protests as old Communists against the necessary reforms of outdated welfare institutions and instead see them as a reaction to post-Soviet institutional transformation.

Notes

¹ See for example the presidential address to the Duma, “Poslanie Federal’nomu Sobraniuu Rossiskoi Federatsii,” 26 May 2004, available at: <http://www.kremlin.ru/sdocs/appears.shtml?type=63372>.

² See David Woodruff, *Money Unmade: Barter and the Fate of Russian Capitalism*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University (1999): 7–11 for a forceful critique of the reform framework.

³ For example in World Bank, *Making the Transition Work for Everyone: Poverty and Inequality in Europe and Central Asia*, Washington: World Bank (2000).

⁴ About 13 to 14 million Russians are grouped in different categories of disabled persons and have the right to health-related *l’goty*, financed through the federal levels of the *l’goty* system. See, for example, Marina Kirilenko, *ISI – IntelliNews: CIS Sector Updates* (April 25, 2005).

⁵ For example in “Kak *l’goty* prevratiatsia v deneshnye kompensatsii,” *Komsomolskaia Pravda* (December 18, 2004).

⁶ Susanne Nies calls these “virtual benefits” in “Die Vier Problemkreise Russischer Sozialpoliti,” *Welttrends* 39 (2003): 66.

⁷ According to Finance Minister Aleksei Kudrin in *Kommersant’ Vlast’* (January 31, 2005): 29.

⁸ Woodruff, *Money Unmade*.

⁹ Commentaries on the passing of the law, e.g., *Kommersant* (July 3, 2004), “Mikhail Zurabov prodast sozpaket za 500 rublei.” In *Vedomosti*, “Kommentarii ot redaktsii: Triumf voli” (August 3, 2004), or *Moscow Times*, “Benefits Bill Steamrollered Through” (August 4, 2004): 1.

¹⁰ Interview with Yegor Gaidar in *Itogi*, June 28 (2005): 15–18

¹¹ Galina Kurliandskaia, “Monetizatsia *l’got* pozvoliaet federal’nomu tsentru spravit’sia s novymi

polnomochiiami,” *Beyond Transition – Ekonomicheskii vestnik o voprosakh perekhodnoi ekonomiki*, 5 (2005): 30. Available at <http://www.cefir.ru/transition.html>.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ For example, after one of the earliest protests in June 2004, the Communist party said 1.5 thousand participated, while Moscow police estimated fewer than 500 participants. “Profsoiuz vstupilis za *l’goti*,” *Vedomosti* (June 11, 2004).

¹⁴ According to Aleksei Kudrin, interview in *Kommersant’ Vlast’* (January 31, 2005): 29.

¹⁵ These numbers are quoted by Yuri Levada in an interview in *Kommersant’ Vlast’* (January 31, 2005): 32. A number of surveys on public opinion regarding *l’goty* reform have been carried out by the Levada-Tsentr in 2005. It appears that the numbers Levada is quoting stem from a survey carried out in late January 2005, with 1,600 respondents in 128 residential areas in 46 regions of Russia. Surveys are available at <http://www.levada.ru/>.

¹⁶ Interview with Levada in *Kommersant’ Vlast’* (January 31, 2005): 32

¹⁷ Interview with Kudrin in *Kommersant’ Vlast’* (January 31, 2005).

¹⁸ While everybody agreed that the President was not to blame, Prime Minister Fradkov blamed Health Minister Zurabov, the main architect of the reforms, c.f. “Pravitel’stvo “lish’ pytaetsia kontrolirovat’ situatsiu” s monetizatsiei” in *Nezavisimaia gazeta* (February 15, 2005).

¹⁹ Court case against initiators of protests, for example, in the town of Togliatti, see Regnum Informatsionnoe Agentsvo, <http://www.regnum.ru/news/472620.html>.

²⁰ The National Bolsheviks had occupied the Russian Health Ministry in Moscow (see “Radicals stage protest during Russian health minister’s speech against benefits,” *BBC Monitoring* (December 18, 2004), and a few months later they blocked the Kremlin’s presidential administration building.

²¹ On Luzhkov’s politics, see for example, *Kommersant* (February 28, 2005). Being critical of the government is problematic for regional governors who are dependent on executive since they are appointed by the President.

²² Interview with Aleksei Kudrin in *Kommersant’ Vlast’* (January 31, 2005): 30.

²³ According to *Agence France-Presse* (February 23, 2005), President Putin’s popularity slid to a record low of 42% in February 2005.

²⁴ The IMF opposed these measures, arguing that the Central Bank is unable to control inflation that is fuelled by increased public spending on wages and pensions, in “MVF nedovlen rossiskim chinovnikami,” *Vedomosti* (June 24, 2005).

²⁵ It should be noted that attitudes in Russia towards the

“revolutions” in Georgia, Ukraine, and Kyrgyzstan are highly ambiguous. These events, in the Russian press called the “colored revolutions,” are often seen as the “exploiting” popular discontent by foreign powers.

²⁶ This discussion was initiated for example by a journalist of *Vlast* (January 31, 2005) and by Yevgeni Yasin, director of the prestigious Higher School of Economics in Moscow, in *Novoe Vremya* 6 (February 13, 2005): 10–12.

²⁷ For an opinion about the National Bolsheviks, see Masha Gessen, “Eviction for Convictions,” *Moscow Times* (June 20, 2005): 8; or “Different Ends, Same Violent Means,” *Moscow Times* (September 1, 2005): 9.

²⁸ Janos Kornai, one of the most prominent observers of the post-Communist welfare reforms, tends to cast opposition to reform in this way; e.g., in “Reforming the Welfare State in Postsocialist Societies,” *World Development* 25:8 (1997): 1183.

²⁹ Stephen Collier and Lucan Way offer an interesting way to understand the transition of welfare institutions in terms of changing regimes of access and the logic of distribution, in “Beyond the Deficit Model: Social Welfare in Post-Soviet Georgia” *Post-Soviet Affairs* 20:3 (2004): 258.

³⁰ See Stephen J. Collier, “Budgets and Biopolitics,” in Ong and Collier (eds.), *Global Assemblages: Technology, Politics and Ethics as Anthropological Problems* (2005): 373 for an investigation of budgets as a technology of neo-liberal reform.

³¹ See Kurliandskaia.

³² This is also reflected in the Russian government’s budget for 2006, where social expenditure is up by about 28% in comparison with last year’s. *Vedomosti* (August 19, 2005).

³³ Interbudgetary relations are based on past deals between regions and the center and often reflect more the bargaining power of a region rather than the level of budgetary obligations. For interbudgetary relations in social policy, see Nies, 64.

³⁴ Beginning in the late 1980s, a highly centralized regime of social provision was extensively decentralized, leaving regions with responsibility for much of the funding of social provision and de facto autonomy in social policy and regulation, c.f. for example, Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, “Central Weakness and Provincial Autonomy: Observations on the Devolution Process in Russia,” *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 15:1 (1999): 87–106.

³⁵ Thomas Lemke, “The Birth of Bio-politics,” *Economy and Society*, 33:2 (2001) 201.

³⁶ In the Socialist system, the state guaranteed employment and provided social services, and many economic risks were assumed or mitigated by the state.

³⁷ Lynne Haney’s study of welfare reform in Hungary documents how this is important for recipients of welfare. See “Global Discourses of Need: Mythologizing and Pathologizing Welfare in Hungary” in Michael Burawoy (ed.), *Global Ethnography*, (2000) 48–73.

³⁸ The social category of the “poor” is new in Russia, as officially in the Soviet Union nobody was poor; the word for poor in official discourse since Stalin’s era was “under-provisioned” (*maloobespetchen*), and statistics have only started to locate the poor as a distinct category since the late 80s. Mervyn Matthews, *Patterns of Deprivation in the Soviet Union under Brezhnev and Gorbachev* (1989).

A Digital Map of Petersburg at the Beginning of the 20th Century

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Saint Petersburg celebrated its tercentenary in 2003. The anniversary resulted in extensive renovation of the city center, partly with the purpose of restoring the pre-revolutionary capital to its former appearance. The restoration has involved not only palaces, churches, and museums, but also pre-revolutionary restaurants, movie houses, and commercial buildings. Like at the beginning of the 20th century, Nevsky Prospect and some of the adjacent streets have become virtual havens of capitalist consumerism, featuring upscale Western goods, hotels, and Internet cafes. The famous Palkin restaurant at 47 Nevsky, which caters to the rich and famous, was restored with the assistance of all places the Hermitage Museum, although unlike in the old days, Palkin now features a Las Vegas style casino on the first floor (ill. 1). The movie theater October (80 Nevsky) has reclaimed its pre-revolutionary name Parisiana; its current director proudly showed off a large scrapbook of the history of the establishment that she keeps in her office, replete with old documents, photographs, and



1. Palkin Restaurant (Karl Bulla, before 1914)

architectural plans (ill. 2). There has been a heated polemic in the Russian press and city government regarding the restoration of the House of Singer (28 Nevsky), a high-end commercial building from before the revolution which



2. Film Theater Parisiana (Karl Bulla, 1915)

became the House of Books (*Dom knigi*) in 1919. Built by the Singer Sewing Machine Company in the *style moderne* and finished in 1904, the House of Singer was Russia's first modern office building; besides its own workspaces and offices, it housed, among others, those of the US consulate, Russian-American Bank, and Crucible Steel Company of America (ill. 3). The newly restored building will in all likelihood be leased to profitable Russian and Western financial and commercial enterprises, not to the House of Books, which has been relocated to another site (ill. 4).

What strikes a visitor to Petersburg today is the self-conscious recycling of its successful entry into modernity at the turn of the 20th century, when the imperial capital experienced an unprecedented economic and technological boom associated in part with large-scale foreign investment. The attempt to recover that past can be read against a historical paradigm of rupture and restoration, according to which the past that had been erased is then reclaimed and celebrated later. Only in the case of post-Soviet Petersburg—Russia in general—the time gap between the two stages lasted an extraordinarily long time. Most inhabitants of today's Petersburg are happy with the restoration of museums, palaces, churches, and pre-revolutionary

apartment buildings, but many resent post-Soviet venture capitalism and the visible presence of Western companies in their city. Although its growing commercialization may be seen as a general cycling back to pre-revolutionary capitalist practices, few seem to see it as such, attributing it instead to the cutthroat practices of the New Russians and to Western business. A case in point is the House of Books, whose reversion to the House of Singer appears unacceptable to many of the city's citizens; they are upset by the destruction of an emblematic Soviet institution and its replacement by a capitalist one. What they seem less aware of is the building's reclamation not only of its former name but also its commercial function from before the revolution.

In the spirit of restoring the history of the city, I have established a working group that is designing and producing a web-based map of Petersburg at the beginning of the 20th century. The group currently consists of Russian literature, comparative literature, and history graduate students at Berkeley and an independent scholar, all of whom are designing their own maps of Petersburg. Instead of its 18th and 19th century architecture and monuments, we are mapping the city as the site of modernity and modernism, documenting each individual project with historical images and textual evidence. Although the map will certainly include some of the important historical landmarks and stationary sites, it will focus on charting itineraries through the city. It will trace such previously uncharted pathways as the first tram lines in Petersburg; shopping; going to the movies and restaurants; distribution of meat (from train station to slaughterhouse, meat shop, and table); going to work in the factory and factory life;



3. House of Singer (Karl Bulla, 1904)

terrorist acts and revolutionary demonstrations; city outskirts as sites of modernity where expensive homes and slums exist side by side; prostitution; a funeral that follows



4. House of Singer (Olga Matich, 2005)

the cortege to a cemetery located on the city's margins; and more. The map will chart more familiar itineraries as well, for instance, tours to the Bronze Horseman and of Nevsky Prospect. In other words, the map will document the everyday life of the city by representing the kinds of itineraries that its inhabitants and visitors took during their daily lives at the beginning of the 20th century.

The project is premised on the concept of a map as narrative text that has directionality, even though some of the itineraries reflect undirected navigation of the city; that each of the selected itineraries is defined by a complex set of historical, social, and economic relations. Like 19th-century Paris, Petersburg at the turn of the 20th century was Russia's window on modernity, with its attendant commodification of the everyday and growing poverty on the margins. With its glass-roofed arcades that reproduced the city in miniature, Petersburg also became the space for flânerie or undirected walking, such as window-shopping and people-gazing. Most of the navigation of urban space by its inhabitants and visitors, however, was goal oriented. We hope to chart both kinds of movement through the imperial capital of Russia.

Among the theoretical models that inform the project are Walter Benjamin's *Paris Arcades*, Guy Debord's

Psychogeographic Guide to Paris, and Michel de Certeau's *Practice of Everyday Life*. An important distinction for mapping Petersburg is the one made by Certeau between viewing the city from above (panoramic view) and walking it (fragmentary view). We will produce panoramic maps of Petersburg as well as "situationist" ones, modeled on Debord's map of Paris (1957), which consists of randomly collaged fragments of the city map based on carefully selected navigation of urban space; the underlying narrative structure of Debord's individual maps is that of detective fiction. Benjamin's *Paris Arcades* serves as the model of the hypertext commentary on the individual sites of each itinerary. The hub of the map will be a domestic space in which a typical Petersburg family lives. Its members will be linked to the various itineraries traced on the city map.

Following are descriptions of some of the itineraries:



Alyson Tapp (Russian literature)

A successor to the horse-drawn *konka*, the first electric tram ran in St. Petersburg on September 15, 1907. It made its feted first journey from the Alexander Garden by the Admiralty, sent on its way in celebratory style by the assembled crowds and bearing the blessings of Orthodox priests. The occasion was captured by the photographer Karl Bulla, whose many shots of Petersburg's burgeoning urban life in the early 20th century document the history of the city.

My mapping project will include a tram journey made on the network of lines which existed in 1912. The lines provide a means of both circulating and dissecting the city's anatomy; by 1912 there were fourteen routes traversing and newly organizing this territory. I will follow the tram from the tram-park on Vasil'evskii Island, over the River Neva, down Nevsky Prospect, and out to the southern edge of the city, beyond the slaughterhouse to the Moscow Triumphal Arch.

The itinerary moves between center and periphery, and between everyday and literary culture, considering the tram's entry into the urban fabric of modernity and into the literary imagination of modernism. As the tram moves through space, through the geography of Petersburg, on the path dictated by the newly constructed iron rails, it also strays into a more fluid and fantastic temporal dimension. Nikolai Gumilev, in his poem "*Zabludivshiisia tramvai*," has an enigmatic and mystical tram lose itself in the "abyss of times." The city of 1905 in Bely's novel *Petersburg* is populated with colorful, noisy trams, brought to our attention when the narrator later corrects his playful anachronism. Nabokov, meanwhile, detects anachronism and the potential to be an object of future nostalgia in the tram from the very outset. Reaching the edge of the city, my virtual tram will disappear off the map, just, as

Nabokov says, as "the tram will disappear in about twenty years, like *konka* has already disappeared."

Mieka Erley (Russian Literature)

The bull's body, in its journey from the field to the dinner table, creates a map of a peculiar sort—one that reveals rather surprising connections between social, economic, and commercial organs within the city. The rendering of the animal's body, in this selective map, exemplifies the product-oriented dominion of the industrial-age city; a zone in which raw materials are processed into value-added products, human labor becomes mechanized, and

the natural world is the substance of synthesis. The hide goes to the tannery, the best meat to upscale shops, the



6. Butchers of the food shop of Aux Gourmets Company, St. Petersburg, 1905

hooves to the glue factory, the waste to the Neva river, offal to the sausage factories, the blood to chemical plants, and each product follows a path that strays further from the origin of the bull, inexorably towards the refined products of which the city is uniquely generative. Here industrial, commercial, and social organs may be correlated with the body of the animal through its progress from the field to the dinner table. Contemporary urban beefeaters, like other consumers, had little notion of the origin of their meat; most had never killed, butchered, or witnessed the butchering of livestock, nor ventured into the quarters of the city where the cottage industries around the abattoirs huddled. Slaughter and industry have been treated as taboo spaces in urban life, both spatially and thematically.

“We return the skin to the bull,” proclaimed Dziga Vertov in his 1924 film *Kino-Eye*. My multimedia map takes up Vertov’s project of “returning the skin to the bull” by demystifying the origin of consumer products, exploring taboo neighborhoods and themes, and throwing light upon a stigmatized industry, its workers, and its politics. Choosing themes or neighborhoods to navigate, the map user will have the chance to trace a path through the neglected margins of city life and explore the very underbelly of St. Petersburg at the turn of the 20th century.

Mikhail Avrekh (Independent Scholar)

Prostitution stood at the intersection of several problems facing Russian society at the turn of the 20th century: the conflict between the patriarchal past and the increasingly unstructured, decentralized present, between village life, with its absence of private space, and the city, with its obsession with privacy; finally, between the tendency of the “custodial state” to regulate, discipline, and control the private lives of its citizens and the contemporary Western model where state regulation generally assumed a secondary role to local and private initiative. Informed by socio-anthropological works such as Laura Engelstein’s *Keys to Happiness: Sex and the Search for Modernity in Fin-de-Siècle Russia*, N. B. Leбина’s and M. V. Shkarovsky’s *Prostitutsiia v Peterburge*, Walter Benjamin’s *Arcade Project*, and others, my itinerary will map prostitution in St. Petersburg from the points of view of several fictional characters.

The prevalent opinion among the Russian intelligentsia of the period held that city prostitutes were mainly recruited from among the rural poor; thus, one virtual pathway will follow a village girl who is recruited by an illegal (i.e., officially unregistered) St. Petersburg brothel. Another pathway will trace an attempt by a member of the city’s upper class to alleviate what he perceives as victimization of innocent women by the merciless and corrupt society. Finally, we will accompany an official of the medical-police

committee (*vrachebno-meditsinskii komitet*) on his crusade to enforce tighter regulation and better surveillance of the city’s sex industry. The pathways of these characters will be traceable on a virtual map of St. Petersburg, together with other pathways developed as part of the Mapping Petersburg project.

Polina Barskova (Russian Literature)

One of the most significant figures of Russian modernism, the poet Alexander Blok called this humble little river on the outskirts of Petersburg “My quiet Karpovka.” My itinerary aims to show that Karpovka was not only a topos of urban nostalgia and calm, but represented and even collapsed contrasts that were typical of fin-de-siècle Petersburg.

Karpovka runs across Petrogradskaia storona, the northern part of the city, a section known for centuries as a locale where the antithetical extremes of urban society met and mixed. When the citizen of modernist Petersburg strolled the banks of the Karpovka, the views varied wildly. Decrepit slums, modernist houses of the new bourgeoisie, aristocratic mansions, and impressive facades of the new industrial giants coexisted in surprising proximity. In my project, I will map this phenomenon of social admixture along the Karpovka.

Besides placing such sites on the map, I will also recreate the experience of the inhabitant of that area by locating some of the emblematic figures of Petersburg modernism on it, who, like Blok, were drawn to the marginal charms of Karpovka. Among the notables living in this neighborhood were the sensational journalist V. Mikhnevich, “Russian Aubrey Beardsley” D. Mitrokhin, famed actress Maria Savina, and wealthy heir V. Golubev, inventor and close friend of August Rodin. The creation of a “Map of Personalities” of the Karpovka constitutes the



7. Dmitrii Mitrokhin, Banks of Karpovka, 1927

second part of my plan to represent the modernist scene in this dynamic section of Petersburg at the beginning of the 20th century.

Victoria Smolkin (**Russian History**)

The symbolist poet Alexander Blok has been called a bridge between epochs, a cultural intermediary between different generations of the Russian intelligentsia, a man who tied together the past, present, and future of a tumultuous age. His death on August 7, 1921, was understood by his contemporaries as the end of an era, and his funeral three days later brought together the Petersburg intelligentsia. For many of those in attendance, this funeral was the last time they would all be together. "By the gateway out in the street a crowd was waiting ... all that remained of literary Petersburg," wrote the writer Evgenii Zamiatin, one of the six men who carried Blok's coffin. "And only there did it become evident how few remained." Blok's friends, the writer Andrei Bely among them, carried his open coffin in a long procession from his Petersburg apartment on the Priazhka River embankment, on 57 Ofiterskaia ulitsa (later renamed ulitsa Dekabristov), to Smolenskoe Cemetery on Vasil'evskii Island. Later, some of them emigrated; some perished, victims of the political persecution of the time; and others survived to become the new Soviet intelligentsia. My project is a reconstruction of Alexander Blok's funeral through the memoirs, diaries, and reminiscences of his contemporaries. By following the linear movement of the procession, the navigation becomes a trajectory not only through space but also through time, as traces of the material past are superimposed over the familiar urban streets in order to reveal a phantom Petersburg, the Petersburg of the often mythologized summer of 1921.



8. Main gate of Smolenskoe Cemetery. Funeral of Alexander Blok.

A Townsend Center working group, Mapping Petersburg has received funding from the Dwinelle Computer Research Facility, which has provided us with all the necessary hardware and software to design and produce the project. The working group is open to other faculty and students interested in contributing to the project. Our first presentation of the project will take the form of a roundtable at this year's annual AATSEEL conference in Washington, DC, in December. Besides Berkeley speakers, the roundtable will feature two young faculty members from two other universities who have written books on the history of Petersburg at the beginning of the 20th century and who are interested in collaborating with us.

Mapping Petersburg is part of Russian Modernism On-Line, an ambitious digital project directed by Professor Marsha Kinder and Scott Mahoy at the Annenberg Center for Communications at the University of Southern California. This is an interactive course on Russian modernism, conceptualized and designed by John Bowlt (visual arts, USC), Olga Matich (literature, UCB), and Yuri Tsivian (film, University of Chicago). The courseware consists of three primary components: archive, lecture units, and role-playing history game:

- 1) An on-line archive with searchable and expandable databases that provide annotated multimedia resources for teachers and students; and an accompanying notebook in which users can save, annotate, and re-edit these materials for their own assignments and purposes.
- 2) A series of "pathways" (lectures) that present interactive lectures authored by Bowlt, Matich, and Tsivian, with accompanying student assignments that draw on the resources in the archive; some of the pathways are Andrei Bely's *Petersburg*, bomb, theater production of Oscar Wilde's *Salome*, velocity (avant-garde), nothingness (avant-garde), and Dziga Vertov's films.
- 3) A role-playing game in which students customize avatars that interact with historical figures within authentic representations of historical sites; the first site is the 1896 expo in Nizhnii Novgorod where the first films were shown in Russia; second site, "Bloody Sunday" in Petersburg of 1905.

My contribution to the interactive course so far has been the construction of the pathway on Bely's *Petersburg*, an on-line set of course materials introducing students to what is standardly considered the most important modernist novel in Russian literature. So far I have designed three illustrated hypertext lectures on *Petersburg*, which approach it through the city map, detective fiction, and contemporary painting. The text of the novel has been placed on-line, so that it is fully

searchable by the user; I have designed assignments, using the on-line archive and based on my lectures.

My work on the *Petersburg* pathway, in which I make the connection between urban space and literature explicit and visible, served as the starting point of Mapping Petersburg. Many critics of the novel have claimed that the city is its main hero, based on Bely's masterful creation in *Petersburg* of an expressive psychogeographic urban environment. The focus of the novel, set during the 1905 revolution, is the imperial capital in the throes of modernity, war, revolution (defined as terrorist activity), and generational conflict. The novel's narrative content and structure resemble detective fiction, replete with police agents and double agents that spy on each other, making the application to it of "situationist" mapping particularly apt. The characters travel the city, on foot or by other modes of transportation; they appropriate its topography as they trace their itineraries through Petersburg's historical, administrative, commercial, proletarian, and domestic spaces.

As part of the Mapping project, I am constructing a map of Bely's *Petersburg*, locating its references to actual streets, monuments, buildings, commercial establishments, pubs, and more on a city map of 1905. The user will be able to click on the sites and view each one and read about it. Since Bely's novel is the literary hub of our project, linking literature and urban space, many of the itineraries through the city will intersect with the map of *Petersburg* and make reference to it by citing relevant passages from the novel. The map of the novel in turn will do the same wherever possible.

The working group will meet regularly during the year. Visitors are welcome. If you would like more information about the project, please get in touch with Olga Matich, omatich@berkeley.edu, or Polina Barskova, polibars@yahoo.com.

Upcoming Events

Events are subject to change. For current information on ISEEEES-sponsored events, please call (510) 642-3230.

Through October 20, 2005. *Art Exhibit:* "Kazakh: Paintings by Saule Suleimenova," contemporary Kazakh artist. In the Geballe Room, Townsend Center for the Humanities, 220 Stephens Hall. Since this room is used for private events, interested parties should contact the Townsend Center at (510) 643-9670 to schedule a visit. Sponsored by ISEEEES, BPS, CCASP, the Doreen B. Townsend Center for the Humanities, the Silk Road Working Group, and the Al-Falah Program of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies.

Through October 29, 2005. *Film Series:* Farewell: A Tribute to Elem Klimov and Larissa Shepitko. At the Pacific Film Archive Theater, 2575 Bancroft Way, Berkeley. Fees: \$8 general, \$4 UCB students, \$5 UCB staff & faculty/seniors/other students/disabled. Contact: PFA, <http://www.bampfa.berkeley.edu>, (510) 642-1124.

October 4–14, 2005. *Art Exhibit:* "Modern Visions from Mongolia," featuring the work by contemporary artists S. Tugsoyun, J. Munkhtsetseg, and M. Erdenebayar. In the Worth Ryder Gallery, 116 Kroeber Hall, Monday–Saturday, 12 noon–4 p.m. Sponsored by ISEEEES, BPS, CCASP, the Silk Road Working Group, the Art Council of Mongolia, and the Department of Art Practice.

Opening reception with the artists: Tuesday, October 4 at 4 p.m., in the gallery.

Join us for the annual
ISEEEES Fall Reception—

Monday, October 10, 2005
in the Toll Room, Alumni House, 4 p.m.
UC Berkeley campus



Wednesday, October 5, 2005. *Brown Bag Talk:* Gyorgy Vlasenko, independent Russian film director and poet, will speak on "Russian-American Neo-Conservatism vs. Liberal Traditions of the Arts." In 270 Stephens Hall, 12 noon. Sponsored by ISEEEES.

Friday, October 7, 2005. *Conference:* "China, Russia, India: Investing in Emerging Markets." In the UC Berkeley Art Museum Theater, 2621 Durant Avenue, Berkeley, 8:30 a.m.–5:30 p.m.; reception 5:30–7 p.m. Advance registration is requested. There is a fee to attend. Sponsored by the Haas School of Business; the Clausen Center at Haas; the Institute of Management, Innovation and Organization; the US-Russia Technology Symposium at Stanford; the Center for South Asia Studies; Stephen B. Herrick; URS; Wilson Sonsini Goodrich & Rosati; Technet; Acteva; Tom Qi Zhang - SCEA; ISI Emerging Markets; ISEEEES, St. Supery Vineyard and Winery; Bison Brewing; Scharffenberger. For information, please contact: Erin Smith, (510) 643-1048.

Friday, October 7, 2005. *Performance:* Zagreb Folk Dance Ensemble. At the Croatian American Cultural Center, 60 Onondaga Ave, San Francisco, 8 p.m. Fees: \$25. Contact: Croatian American Cultural Center, (510) 649-0941 or <http://www.slavonicweb.org/>.

Sunday, October 9, 2005. *Performance:* Takacs Quartet and Garrick Ohlsson, piano. At Hertz Hall, UC Berkeley, 3 p.m. Fees: \$30-52. Contact: Cal Performances, <http://www.calperfs.berkeley.edu/> or (510) 642-9988.

Monday, October 10, 2005. *Annual Fall Reception.* Please join us in celebration of a new academic year. In the Toll Room, Alumni House, 4 p.m. Sponsored by ISEEEES.

Tuesday, October 11, 2005. *Colloquium:* Robin Feuer Miller, the Edytha Macy Gross Professor of Humanities and Professor of Russian and Comparative Literature, Brandeis University, will speak on "The Elephant in the Garden: *Crime and Punishment* in the Classroom." In 270 Stephens Hall, 4 p.m. Sponsored by the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures and ISEEEES.

Wednesday, October 12, 2005. *Panel Discussion:* "Modern Art from Mongolia." In the Worth Ryder Gallery, 116 Kroeber Hall, 5 p.m. Panelists: Patricia Berger, Associate Professor, History of Art Department; Ts. Uranchimeg, Ph.D. Candidate, History of Art Department; and S. Tugsoyun, J. Munkhtsetseg, and M. Erdenebayar, visual artists. Sponsored by ISEEEES, BPS, CCASP, the Townsend Center for the Humanities, the Department of Art Practice, the History of Art Department, the Art Council of Mongolia, and the Silk Road Working Group.

Wednesday–Sunday, October 12–16, 2005. *Performance:* The Kirov Ballet and Orchestra of the Mariinsky Theatre will perform *The Sleeping Beauty*. At Hertz Hall, UC Berkeley. Fees: \$48-110. Contact: Cal Performances, <http://www.calperfs.berkeley.edu/> or (510) 642-9988.

Friday, October 14, 2005. *Conference:* "Petipa, Tchaikovsky, and the *Sleeping Beauty*." Speakers: Richard

Taruskin, Professor, Department of Music; Tim Scholl, Oberlin College; Roland John Wiley, University of Michigan. In Hertz Hall, 2 p.m. Sponsored by Cal Performances, ISEEEES, and the Department of Music.

Friday, October 14, 2005. *Performance:* The Yuri Yuakov Ensemble, featuring Ivo Papisov, will perform Bulgarian Be-Bop. In Wheeler Auditorium, 8 p.m. Fees: \$32. Contact: Cal Performances, <http://www.calperfs.berkeley.edu/> or (510) 642-9988.

Sunday, October 16, 2005. *Film Screening:* *The Damned and the Sacred* (Jos de Putter, The Netherlands, 2002), a documentary on a children's dance troupe from strife-torn Chechnya. In Chechen and Russian with English subtitles. At Pacific Film Archive Theater, 2575 Bancroft Way, Berkeley, 4 p.m. Fees: \$8 general, \$4 UCB students, \$5 UCB staff & faculty/seniors/other students/disabled. Contact: PFA, <http://www.bampfa.berkeley.edu/>, (510) 642-1124.

Sunday, October 23, 2005. *Recital:* Andras Schiff, Hungarian pianist, will perform works by Haydn and Beethoven. At Zellerbach Hall, UC Berkeley, 3 p.m. Fees: \$34-58. Contact: Cal Performances, <http://www.calperfs.berkeley.edu/> or (510) 642-9988.

Monday, October 24, 2005. *Colloquium:* Brian Horowitz, Associate Professor of Russian and Director of Jewish Studies Program, Tulane University, will speak on "Jewish Intellectuals in Late-Czarist Russia: Culture, Education, and Politics." In 160 Dwinelle Hall, 4 p.m. Sponsored by the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures and ISEEEES.

Thursday–Saturday, October 27–29, 2005. *Performance:* The San Francisco Symphony, Kurt Masur, conducting, will perform Tchaikovsky's Fifth Symphony. At Davies Symphony Hall, 201 Van Ness Ave, San Francisco; Thurs. 2 p.m.; Fri.–Sat. 8 p.m. 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.

Sunday, October 30, 2005. *Concert:* The Russian Chamber Orchestra will perform works by Handel, Tchaikovsky, Glazunov, and Prokofiev. At St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, Belvedere, 5 p.m. Fees: \$20 general, \$17 students/seniors, ages 12 and younger free. Contact: Russian Chamber Orchestra Society, <http://www.russianchamberorch.org/> or (415) 453-3116.

Friday–Saturday, November 4–5, 2005. *Concert:* "Lux aeterna." The University Chorus and Chamber Chorus, Marika Kuzma, director, will perform Stravinsky's *Requiem canticles*, among other works. At Hertz Hall, UC Berkeley, 8 p.m. both dates. Fees: \$10/7/3. Tickets are

available by calling (510) 642-9988. Contact: Department of Music, (510) 642-4864 or <http://music.berkeley.edu/>.

Sunday, November 6, 2005. *Recital:* Christopher Taylor, piano, will perform works by Gyorgy Ligeti. At Hertz Hall, UC Berkeley, 6 p.m. Fees: \$32. Contact: Cal Performances, <http://www.calperfs.berkeley.edu/> or (510) 642-9988.

Wednesday, November 9, 2005. *Concert:* Slavyanka, San Francisco Men's Russian Chorus. At San Francisco City Hall, 300 Van Ness Ave, San Francisco, 12 noon. Tickets may be in purchased in advance through Ticket Web, <http://www.ticketweb.com> or (866) 468-3399. Contact: Slavyanka, <http://www.slavyanka.org/> or (415) 328-4121.

Thursday, November 10, 2005. *Brown Bag Talk:* Pavel Polian, Institute of Geography of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, will speak on "Soviet Prisoners of War as Victims of Two Dictatorships and Several Democracies." In 270 Stephens Hall, 12 noon. Sponsored by ISEES and the Institute of European Studies.

Thursday–Sunday, November 10–13, 2005. *Concert:* Kitka, Women's Vocal Ensemble, will perform *The Rusalka Cycle*, a futuristic folk opera. At the Malonga Casquelourd Center for the Arts, Alice and 14th Streets, Oakland. Fees to be announced. Contact: Kitka, <http://www.kitka.org/> or (510) 444-0323.

Saturday, November 12, 2005. *Performance:* Borodin Quartet. At First Congregational Church, 2345 Channing Way, Berkeley, 8 p.m. Fees: \$42. Contact: Cal Performances, <http://www.calperfs.berkeley.edu/> or (510) 642-9988.

Saturday, November 12, 2005. *Performance:* Slavyanka, San Francisco Men's Russian Chorus. At Notre Dame des Victoires Church, 566 Bush St, San Francisco, 8 p.m. Tickets may be in purchased in advance through Ticket Web, <http://www.ticketweb.com> or (866) 468-3399. Contact: Slavyanka, <http://www.slavyanka.org/> or (415) 328-4121.

Friday, November 18, 2005. *Concert:* The Oakland East Bay Symphony's Opening Night Concert will feature works by Mussorgsky, Guillermo Galindo, and Rachmaninoff. At Paramount Theatre, 2025 Broadway, Oakland, pre-concert talk 7 p.m., concert 8 p.m. Fees: \$15-312. Contact: Oakland East Bay Symphony, <http://www.oeps.org/> or (510) 444-0801.

Sunday, November 20, 2005. *Concert:* The Russian Chamber Orchestra will perform works by Schubert, Mendelssohn, and Grieg. At Mt. Tamalpais United Methodist Church, Mill Valley, 5 p.m. Fees: \$20 general, \$17 students/seniors, ages 12 and younger free. Contact:

Russian Chamber Orchestra Society, <http://www.russianchamberorch.org/> or (415) 453-3116.

November 20, 2005 through February 27, 2006. *Exhibit:* "Matrix 219: Wilhelm Sasnal," Polish artist. At Berkeley Art Museum, 2625 Durant Avenue. Fees: \$8 general, \$5 youth/seniors/disabled, free for members and UCB faculty/staff/students. Contact: BAM, 510-642-0808, <http://www.bampfa.berkeley.edu/>.

Friday–Saturday, December 2–3, 2005. *Concert:* The University Symphony Orchestra, David Milnes, conductor, will perform Rachmaninoff's *Isle of the Dead*, among other works. At Hertz Hall, UC Berkeley, 8 p.m. both dates. Fees: \$10/7/3. Tickets are available by calling (510) 642-9988. Contact: Department of Music, (510) 642-4864 or <http://music.berkeley.edu/>.

Sunday, December 4, 2005. *Recital:* Artists of the Mariinsky Academy, St. Petersburg. At Hertz Hall, UC Berkeley, 3 p.m. Fees: \$42. Contact: Cal Performances, <http://www.calperfs.berkeley.edu/> or (510) 642-9988.

Wednesday, December 7, 2005. *Art Exhibit and Seminar:* "Art, Artists, and Popular Culture in Contemporary Russia." Speakers: Alexei Yurchak, Associate Professor, Department of Anthropology; Viktor Mazin, Art Critic and Chair of the Department of Theoretical Psychoanalysis at the East European Institute of Psychoanalysis, St. Petersburg; and Olesya Turkina, Art Critic, Curator, Senior Research Fellow, Department of Contemporary Art, State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg. In the Geballe Room, Townsend Center, 2 p.m. Sponsored by ISEES.

Thursday, December 15, 2005. *Music Salon:* Stu Brotman and Josh Horowitz will perform Klezmer music and discuss Jewish music and Central Europe. This performance is given in conjunction with the Danube Exodus exhibit. At the Judah L. Magnes Museum, 2911 Russell Street, Berkeley, 6:30 p.m. Fees: \$6 adults, \$4 students/seniors. Contact: Magnes Museum, <http://www.magnes.org/> or (510) 549-6950.

Outreach Programs

Personal Narratives in the Classroom

ORIAS, the cross-regional outreach effort of International and Area Studies, held its annual weeklong summer institute for teachers at the end of July. This year's interdisciplinary theme, Personal Narratives, attracted a group of teachers mostly from middle and high schools. The presentations were organized around the use of personal narratives—in written accounts and other media—as primary sources in the classroom, be it social science, language arts, or visual arts.

On behalf of ISEEEES, Sener Akturk, a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Political Science, gave a presentation on Communism that proved to be very popular among the audience. Addressing “What Was Communism and What Did It Mean to Different People,” Sener not only covered those two points, he put human faces to life in the USSR. We had very positive feedback from the teachers, many of whom said that they better understood the Soviet experience, putting Soviet history into a frame of reference. The following summary includes references to some of the primary sources that Sener presented.

Getting a clear picture of Communism requires taking into account geographic, temporal, and social factors. The Soviet Union spanned some three generations, who witnessed a long history of world events and underwent significant social and economic changes. So there is no eternal, monolithic Soviet experience to uncover, but we can make an educated guess at people's experiences by piecing together many parts. In studying a place where the official narrative was often well controlled, the personal narrative is an excellent tool.

Geography, both physical and political, factors heavily in the Soviet experience. Like the United States, the USSR was a multicultural, multiethnic country, but unlike the US, it was divided into ethnic republics, in which titular ethnic groups formed a majority. Sener shared statistical tables that showed the populations of republics. To counter the stereotype that Soviet people were only Russians, we saw some photos of Kazakhs from Edward Allworth's *Central Asia: 130 Years of Russian Dominance* (Duke UP, 2002). It is important for students to know of the diversity of languages, religious faiths, and ethnicities. Since Russia was the largest republic and the center of political power and Russian language was the common language among republics, the Soviet experience was very different for ethnic Russians and for non-Russians. In fact, many non-Russians saw Soviet rule as an extension of Russian Imperial domination.

Finding reliable sources of primary materials is always a challenge in this type of endeavor. Sener stressed that one

should not simply discount opinions expressed in official Soviet media as not freely open and honest. (We should even consider that some people internalized and believed the official rhetoric that they used.) Instead, one should augment these with personal letters, memoirs, and so on to get a fuller view. Sener advised us to compare polar opposites in order to avoid being one-sided, for example, reading anti-Soviet sentiments shared in émigré memoirs along with reports in the official media, plus unofficial memoirs of Soviet citizens. Use a chronology to choose a major event and look for reports of it by differing sides. To get a view of the USSR as a whole, pick samples spanning time, space, occupation, age, and ethnicity. For example, balance a discussion of the Great Terror in the 1930s with the happier times of the 1970s.

Primary sources can be visual as well as textual. For example, official propaganda posters tell us what the Soviet Union valued—see Victoria Bonnell's *Iconography of Power* (UC Press 1997) for a thorough collection of images. We compared *Iconography's* idealized workers (figures 1.4, 1.13, 1.16, and 2.9) with the photographs of actual life (workplaces, workers' barracks, a public canteen, a school, and so on) that were reproduced in Stephen Kotkin's *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as a Civilization* (UC Press, 1995). We also compared the poster proclaiming “Thank you, Dear Stalin, for a happy childhood!” with some memoirs of happy childhoods that were recounted in Yuri Slezkine's *The Jewish Century* (Princeton UP 2002), such as pages 256–257 and the passage on page 317.

Propaganda posters can also be used to explore the status of women in the USSR (for example, Bonnell figs. 2.12, 3.4, 3.7–3.9, 6.1). The Soviet goal to put women on an equal footing as men was met in many ways. Sener presented a passage from Sheila Fitzpatrick's *The Cultural Front: Power and Culture in Revolutionary Russia* (Cornell UP, 1992) that described one woman's feeling of liberation on a collective farm (pg. 235). Another result was the sexual revolution that took place during the 1920s and 30s (Fitzpatrick, pp. 73, 74). Some efforts, such as the forcible unveiling of Muslim women, were not appreciated by their targeted audiences.

Another area of exploration is the treatment of minorities. Sener described the category of “punished peoples” and presented some personal accounts of the deportation of the Crimean Tatars (Alan W. Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars*, Hoover Institution Press, 1978, pp. 166–171). We got a glimpse of the sudden and seemingly arbitrary deportation,

continued on the next page

Faculty and Student News

Sener Akturk, graduate student in political science, published a review of Shireen Hunter's book, *Islam in Russia: The Politics of Identity and Security*, in the June 2005 issue of *Eurasian Geography and Economics*.

In July, Sener spoke at the ORIAS Summer Institute for Teachers on "What Was Communism and What Did It Mean To Different People?" and "Ethnic and Religious Minorities in Eastern Europe: From Bosnia to Bulgaria." His Communism presentation is summarized in this issue.

Polina Barskova, graduate student in the Slavic department, received a fellowship from Berkeley's Townsend Center for the Humanities for 2005–06. Her dissertation project is "Writing the End: In Search of Lost Plot in Leningrad Literature of the 1920s."

Diana Blank will spend the 2005–06 academic year on a postdoctoral fellowship at the Columbia University's Harriman Institute. Diana filed her Ph.D. with the Department of Anthropology in May 2005.

Stephen Brain, graduate student in history, received a Fulbright award for 2005–06.

George Breslauer, professor of political science, began the fall semester newly appointed as executive dean of the College of Letters and Science. George has been serving as dean of social sciences for the past five years and will continue in that capacity.

Jeremy Darrington, graduate student in the Department of Political Science, received funding from the Hertelendy Graduate Fellowship in Hungarian Studies this year.

Polina Dimova presented "The Magical Doubling of Life and Reality in Iordan Radichkov's Play *January*" at a conference entitled "Europe—Our Common Home?" that

was sponsored by the International Council on Central and East European Studies and held in Berlin in July 2005. In addition, **Anne Dwyer** presented "Runaway Texts: The Many Life Stories of Iurii Trifonov and Christa Wolf," and **Stiliana Milkova** presented "Reading Games, Games of Reading in Iurii Trifonov's *House on the Embankment*" at the conference. All three are graduate students in the Department of Comparative Literature.

Steve Fish, professor of political science, authored *Democracy Derailed in Russia: The Failure of Open Politics*, which is being published by Cambridge University Press this fall.

Theodore P. Gerber (Ph.D. sociology 1995) coauthored "Crisis Among Crises Among Crises: Public and Professional Views of the HIV/AIDS Epidemic in Russia," which was recently published in *Problems of Post-Communism* (July/August 2005). Ted is a professor of sociology at the University of Wisconsin, Madison.

Eleonory Gilburd, graduate student in history, received a Title VIII Research Scholar fellowship from American Councils in the summer of 2004. Her project was entitled *Foreign Culture in the Soviet Union, 1956–1968*.

Cindy Huang, graduate student in anthropology, is the recipient of a Paul & Daisy Soros Fellowship for New Americans for two academic years, 2005–2007.

James Krapfl, graduate student in history, received an ACLS Dissertation Fellowship in East European Studies this year for his project "Velvet Czechs, Gentle Slovaks: The Geography of Political Culture in Revolutionary Czechoslovakia, 1989–1992."

James also received a Hertelendy Graduate Fellowship in Hungarian Studies this year.

which also hints at the roots of the current war in Chechnya.

Of course, Russians were not immune to Stalin's purges. Sener explained how there was more surveillance and individual persecution at the center than in the periphery. We saw an account by Nadezhda Mandelstam of her husband's arrest for reciting a poem against Joseph Stalin (reprinted in Ronald Suny, ed., *The Structure of Soviet History: Essays and Documents*, Oxford UP, 2003, pp. 232–240). On the other hand, a dramatic description of Stalin's funeral by the poet Evgenii Evtushenko (Suny, pp. 338–340) showed the power and popularity of the Soviet leader. Other sources in the Suny volume, such as a letter

by Vladimir Vysotskii (pp. 397–399) and a letter by Nina Andreyeva (pp. 438–445), touch on the freedom of expression in later periods of Soviet history.

Finally, there has been nostalgia for Communism among some during the post-Soviet transition. A photo from Nancy Ries' *Russian Talk: Culture and Conversation during Perestroika* (Cornell UP, 1997, pg. 99) shows two older women—characteristic Communist Party supporters—crying, with the caption "Lamenting at a Communist Rally." The long and complex topic of Soviet history is best understood through personal narratives in many voices.

Stella Bourgoin is the ISEEEES outreach coordinator.

Naomi Levy, graduate student in political science, is receiving an ACLS Dissertation Fellowship in East European Studies this year for her project “Learning National Identity: Formal and Informal Education in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.”

Brian McCook (Ph.D., history, 2004) has been awarded a Thyssen-Heideking postdoctoral fellowship by the German Historical Institute to spend AY 2005–06 at the University of Cologne. His dissertation was entitled “The Borders of Integration: Polish Migrant Workers in the Ruhr Valley of Germany and the Pennsylvania Anthracite Regions of the United States, 1870–1924.”

Anna Nisnevich, graduate student in the music department, received a Townsend Center Fellowship for the current academic year. Her dissertation is entitled “The Silver Age and Its Echo: St. Petersburg Classicism at Home and Abroad, 1897–1922.”

In August, Anna presented a paper entitled “Opera as Mechanism: The Case of Prokofiev’s *Love for the Oranges*” at the International Conference for Twentieth-Century Music at the University of Sussex, England.

Harsha Ram, associate professor in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, contributed a chapter entitled “Pushkin and the Caucasus” to *The Pushkin Handbook*, edited by David M. Bethea, which will be published by the University of Wisconsin Press this fall.

In 2005, two of his recent articles were accepted for publication: “*Ne ia pishu stikhi*: Boris Pasternak’s translations from T’itsian T’abidze” is included in the conference volume, *Hostage of Eternity. An International Conference on Boris Pasternak*; and “Andrei Bely and Georgia: Georgian modernism and the reception of the ‘Petersburg text’ in peripheral space” will appear in the journal *Russian Literature*.

Yuri Slezkine’s book *The Jewish Century* won the Association of American Publishers’ 2004 Award for Best Scholarly or Professional Book on Religion. Yuri is a professor of history and the director of ISEEEES.

Rachael Stryker (Ph.D. in anthropology, 2004) is now on the faculty in the Activism and Social Change Program at New College of California in San Francisco. She was previously at Fort Lewis College in Durango, CO.

Lisa K. Walker (Ph.D., history, 2003) has been appointed to the position of DeWitt Stetten, Jr., Memorial Fellow in the History of Biomedical Sciences and Technology for 2005–06 by the National Institutes of Health’s Office of NIH History. She will work with the National Institute on Allergy and Infectious Diseases researching “US- Soviet Collaboration in the Fight Against Polio: NIAID, Attenuated Vaccines, and the Prevention of Viral Diseases in the Twentieth Century.”

Deborah Yalen, graduate student in the Department of History, received the Alan Sharlin Memorial Fellowship from Berkeley’s Institute of International Studies for the current academic year. Her project is entitled “Face to the Shtetl! The Sovietization of the Jewish Pale of Settlement, 1917–1939.”

Alexei Yurchak, assistant professor of anthropology, authored *Everything Was Forever, Until It Was No More: The Last Soviet Generation*, which was published by Princeton University Press in 2005.

This academic year, Alexei will be a fellow in the International Center for Advanced Studies at NYU. The center’s theme for the year is Politics of the Unprivileged, and Alexei will be working on a new book project concentrating on the political, economic, and aesthetic developments in the formerly “alternative” artistic and musical communities in St. Petersburg between the late 1980s and today.

Kujachich Endowment Funding

Grants from the Peter N. Kujachich Endowment in Serbian and Montenegrin Studies were awarded to support the following projects during the 2005–06 academic year. A competition for funding from the endowment is announced each spring and is administered through ISEEEES. For more information, please consult <http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~iseees/kujachich.html>.

One award was made to Prof. David Frick as chair of the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures. This will assist the funding of Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian language for two years.

A second award was made to Prof. Ronelle Alexander for the publication of a two-volume textbook for Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian language and an accompanying DVD.

Finally, ISEEEES will receive an annual grant to support the Annual Peter N. Kujachich Lecture in Serbian and Montenegrin Studies. Five endowed lectureships have been sponsored since 2001.

FLAS Fellowship Awards

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

FLAS Awards for Summer 2005

Neil Abrams, political science, for Russian
Jennifer Carlson, sociology, for Russian
Lisa Jakelski, music, for Polish
Anastasia Kayiatos, Slavic, for Russian
Sarah Macdonald, sociology, for Russian

FLAS Awards for AY 2005–2006

David Beecher, history, for Russian
Sarah Garding, political science (incoming), for Russian
Larisa Kurtovic, anthropology (incoming), for Serbian/Croatian
Sarah Macdonald, sociology, for Russian
Jessica Merrill, Slavic (incoming), for Czech
Jillian Porter, Slavic, for Serbian/Croatian
Jamie Rowen, jurisprudence (incoming), for Serbian/Croatian
Erik Scott, history, for Georgian
Susanne Wengle, political science, for Hungarian and Turkish

BPS Fellowship Awards

Graduate students affiliated with the Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies (BPS) are eligible to apply for funding for graduate training, language training, field research, and dissertation writing. For information on BPS, consult <http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~bsp/> or contact Kalynn Yastro, program assistant, at (510) 643-6737.

Recipients for Summer 2005

Neil Abrams, political science, for Russian language training in Russia
Sener Akturk, political science, for summer research conducted in Berkeley
Nicole Eaton, history, for Russian language training in Russia
Eleonory Gilburd, history, to conduct field research in Russia
Cindy Huang, anthropology, for Uyghur language training in Central Asia
Anaita Khudonazar, Near Eastern studies, to conduct field research in Russia
James Krapfl, history, for Hungarian language training in Hungary
Tatyana Mamut, anthropology, to conduct field research in Russia
Miriam Neirick, history, for summer research conducted in Berkeley

Alexis Peri, history, for Russian language training in Russia
Victoria Smolkin, for Polish language training at the University of Pittsburgh
Regine Spector, political science, to conduct field research in Russia and Central Asia
Zhivka Valiavicharska, rhetoric, for Serbian language training in Serbia
Susanne Wengle, political science, to conduct field research in Russia
Deborah Yalen, history, for summer research conducted in New York

Recipients for AY 2005–2006

Neil Abrams, political science, graduate training fellowship
Sener Akturk, political science, graduate training fellowship
Nicole Eaton, history, graduate training fellowship
Elif Kale, sociology, graduate training fellowship
Jody LaPorte, political science, graduate training fellowship

Associates of the Slavic Center

ISEEES acknowledges with sincere appreciation the following individuals who have contributed to the annual giving program, the Associates of the Slavic Center, between June 1, 2005, and September 30, 2005.

SPONSORS

Shirley Thurston Lee

John P. and Mary Macmeeken *

Jane McCoy *

MEMBERS

Ralph T. Fisher, Jr. and Ruth Fisher *

Eric and Paula Gillett

Monique Nowicki *

* gift of continuing membership



ISEEES NEEDS YOUR HELP. The cuts in our state funding have seriously impacted our programs, such as student fellowships and grants. We recently have received a generous bequest of \$200,000 from one of our long-time and well-loved donors. If we can raise donations to double that amount, we will be able to establish a special endowment to ensure our ability to provide student travel and graduate training grants in the future. Renewing your ASC membership at any level will help us to meet this goal. Membership in ASC entails the following privileges:

Members (Gifts to \$100). Members receive Monthly Updates to the Newsletter so that they can attend all ISEEES events. Members are also notified in writing about newly-added events.

Sponsors (Gifts above \$100). ASC Sponsors also receive specially designed gifts that bear the ISEEES logo, promoting Slavic and East European Studies at Berkeley.

Benefactors (Gifts above \$500). ASC Benefactors receive a complimentary copy of a book authored by ISEEES faculty. In addition, ISEEES will hold an annual reception and tea at which Benefactors will meet the graduate students who have been assisted by these funds.

Center Circle (Gifts above \$1,000). Members of the Center Circle are invited to evening programs associated with our events, such as the annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference in the spring.

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

Pay on-line at <https://colt.berkeley.edu/urelgift/index.html>. Click "A-Z Giving," then "Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies, Institute of."

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Fellowship and Other Opportunities

ISEEES Travel Grants provide limited travel support for academics and ISEEES-affiliated graduate students. Up to \$400 is awarded to those presenting a paper at a meeting of a recognized scholarly organization. Awards are made on a first-come, first-served basis, and priority is given to those who did not receive ISEEES funding in AY 03–04 or 04–05. To apply send request with budget to: Barbara Voytek, ISEEES, UC Berkeley, 260 Stephens Hall # 2304, Berkeley CA 94720-2304.

American Association of University Women

American Fellowships provide \$20,000 (grad), \$30,000 (postdoc) in support to women doctoral candidates completing dissertations, or scholars seeking funds for postdoc research leave or for preparing completed research for publication. Applicants must be US citizens or permanent residents. Deadline: 11/15/2005.

International Fellowships provide \$18,000 (MA), \$20,000 (Ph.D.), \$30,000 (postdoc) for full-time study or research in the US by women who are not US citizens or permanent residents. Deadline: 12/1/2005.

Contact: AAUW Educational Foundation, Department 60, 2201 N Dodge St, Iowa City IA 52243-4030; Tel: 319-337-1716, ext. 60; info@aauw.org; <http://www.aauw.org/>.

American Council of Learned Societies

The **Southeast European Studies Program** offers **Dissertation Fellowships**, up to \$17,000, for one year of dissertation research and writing on Southeast Europe. Funding is for work in the US and is available to US citizens and permanent residents.

The **Southeast European Studies Program** offers **Postdoctoral Fellowships**, up to \$25,000, for US citizens or permanent residents who hold a Ph.D. Fellowships fund 6-12 consecutive months of full-time research or writing related to Southeast Europe.

Deadline: 11/10/2005. Contact: ACLS, Office of Fellowships and Grants, 228 E 45th St, New York NY 10017-3398; Tel: 212-697-1505; Fax: 212-949-8058; grants@acsls.org; <http://www.acsls.org/seguide.htm>.

American Councils (ACTR/ACCELS)

The **Eurasian Regional Language Program** is a fee-based program, although some fellowships are awarded. It allows grad students to study the languages of the former Soviet Union abroad. Deadline: 10/1/05 for spring/summer; 1/15/06 for fall/AY.

The **Special Initiatives Central Asia Fellowship** provides up to \$35,000 to postdocs for at least four months of field-based, policy-relevant research in Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, and Tajikistan. Deadline: 10/1/05 for spring; 1/15/06 for summer, fall, AY.

The **Title VIII Research Scholar Program** offers \$5,000 to \$25,000 to grad students, faculty, and independent scholars seeking to conduct 3-9 months of research in Belarus, Central Asia, Russia, the South Caucasus, Ukraine, and Moldova. Deadline: 10/1/05 for spring/summer; 1/15/06 for fall/AY.

The **Title VIII Southeast European Language Program** awards grants to grad students for advanced language study in Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Romania, Croatia, Macedonia, and Serbia-Montenegro. Applicants must be Ph.D. candidates and US citizens or permanent residents. Deadline: 10/1/05 for spring/summer; 1/15/06 for fall/AY.

The **Title VIII Southeast European Research Scholar Program** funds up to 9 months of research or research plus language study in Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Romania, Croatia, Macedonia, and Serbia-Montenegro. Applicants must be Ph.D. candidates and US citizens or permanent residents. Deadline: 10/1/05 for spring/summer; 1/15/06 for fall/AY.

Contact: Outbound Programs, American Councils, 1776 Massachusetts Ave NW Ste 700, Washington DC 20036; Tel: 202-833-7522; outbound@americancouncils.org; <http://www.americancouncils.org/>.

Brookings Institution

Residential Fellowships provide a stipend for doctoral research in foreign policy or governmental studies. Candidates must be nominated by their departments. Deadline: 12/15/2005 for nominations. Contact: The Brookings Institution, 1775 Massachusetts Ave NW, Washington DC 20036; Tel: 202-797-6000; Fax: 202-797-6004; <http://www.brook.edu/admin/fellowships.htm>.

Fulbright-Hays

Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad Grants fund 6-12 months of full-time dissertation research overseas in modern foreign language and area studies by US citizens and permanent residents. Grants are not awarded for projects focusing on Western Europe or for research in countries where the US has no diplomatic representation. Deadline: 10/5/2005; Estimated by Grad Division; check for the correct date! Contact: Graduate Fellowships Office, 318 Sproul Hall # 5900; Tel: 510-642-0672; http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/fellowships/fellowships_deadlines.shtml.

Harvard University

The **Academy for International and Area Studies** offers **Dissertation and Postdoctoral Fellowships** of \$25,000 (dissertation), \$42,000 (postdoc) for advanced work while in residence at Harvard University, although travel for research is allowed. Deadline: 10/14/2005. Contact: The Academy Scholars Program, Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies, 1033 Massachusetts Ave, Cambridge MA 02138; Tel: 617-495-2137; Fax: 617-384-9259; <http://www.wcfia.harvard.edu/academy/>.

The **Davis Center for Russian Studies** offers **Postdoctoral and Senior Research Fellowships**, up to \$34,000 for postdocs, up to \$22,000 as salary supplement to faculty, for research in the humanities and social sciences on Russia, the Soviet Union, and the Soviet successor states. Applicants may be either US or foreign citizens and must have received their Ph.D. within the past five years or must receive it by the end of the academic year. Fellows must be in residence for the duration of the award. Deadline: 12/16/2005. Contact: Fellowship Program, Davis Center for Russian Studies, Harvard University, 1737 Cambridge St, Cambridge MA 02138; Tel: 617-495-4037; Fax: 617-495-8319; davisrcs@harvard.edu; <http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~davisrcs/>.

Human Rights Watch

Fellowships in International Human Rights provide a \$43,000 salary plus benefits for one year of fulltime employment with one or more divisions of Human Rights Watch, based in New York or Washington, DC. Deadline: 10/7/2005. Contact: Human Rights Watch, Attn: Fellowship Committee, 350 Fifth Ave 34th Fl, New York NY 10118-3299; Tel: 212-290-4700, ext. 312; <http://www.hrw.org/about/info/fellows.html>.

Institute for Advanced Study

Membership in the School of Historical Studies is eligible to Ph.D.s with a significant record of publication. Members are provided with a stipend, library access, offices, and some administrative services. Residence during term time is required. Deadline: 11/15/2005. Contact: Administrative Officer, School of Historical Studies, Institute for Advanced Study, Einstein Drive, Princeton, New Jersey, 08540; mzelazny@ias.edu; <http://www.hs.ias.edu/>.

IREX

Individual Advanced Research Opportunities provide funding for 2-9 months to pre- and postdoctoral scholars for research at institutions in Central and Eastern Europe and Eurasia. US citizens and permanent residents are eligible to apply. Deadline: 11/15/2005. Contact: IREX, 2121 K St NW, Ste. 700, Washington DC 20037; Tel: 202-628-8188; Fax: 202-628-8189; irex@irex.org; <http://www.irex.org/>.

Leo Baeck Institute

The **Fritz Halbers Fellowship** provides up to \$3,000 to Ph.D. candidates whose projects are connected with the culture and history of German speaking Jewry. Funding covers research but not travel. Deadline: 11/1/2005. Contact: The Leo Baeck Institute, Attn: Halbers Fellowship, 15 W 16th St, New York NY 10011; Tel: 212-744-6400; Fax: 212-988-1305; lbaeck@lbi.cjh.org; <http://www.lbi.org/>.

Miami University

The **Havighurst Center for Russian and Post-Soviet Studies** offers a **Postdoctoral Fellowship** for research on the post-Soviet countries, focusing on the Silk Road, the theme for the next two AYs. Deadline: 11/1/2005. Contact: Havighurst Center for Russian and Post-Soviet Studies, Department of Political Science, Miami University, Oxford OH 45056; Tel: 513-529-3303 or -3383; Fax: 513-529-1709; havighurstcenter@muohio.edu; <http://www.muohio.edu/havighurstcenter/>.

National Research Council

Ford Foundation Predoctoral Fellowships for Minorities provide a \$17,000 stipend plus tuition and fees for three years to US citizens who are belong to specified minority groups. Deadline: 11/1/2005. Contact: Graduate Fellowships Office, 318 Sproul Hall # 5900; Tel: 510-642-0672; http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/fellowships/fellowships_deadlines.shtml.

Princeton University

The **Society of Fellows in the Liberal Arts** offers a **Postdoctoral Fellowship** that provides a stipend for 3 years. Fellows pursue their research and teach half time. Deadline: 10/3/2005. Contact: Princeton University, Society of Fellows in the Liberal Arts, Joseph Henry House, Princeton NJ 08544; Tel: 609-258-4717; Fax: 609-258-2783; fellows@princeton.edu; <http://www.princeton.edu/~sf/>.

Social Science Research Council

The **International Dissertation Field Research Fellowship** provides up to \$20,000 to full-time Ph.D. candidates in US programs studying in the social sciences or humanities. Funding provides support for 9-12 consecutive months of dissertation field research on all world regions. Deadline: 11/10/2005. Contact: IDRF, Social Science Research Council, 810 7th Ave, New York NY 10019; Tel: 212-377-2700; Fax: 212-377-2727; idrf@ssrc.org; <http://www.ssrc.org/>.

The **Eurasia Program** offers **Predissertation Training Fellowships, Dissertation Write-Up Fellowships, and Postdoctoral Fellowships**. Deadline: 11/15/2005. Contact: Eurasia Program, Social Science Research Council, 810 Seventh Ave, New York NY 10019; Tel: 212-377-2700; Fax: 212-377-2727; eurasia@ssrc.org; <http://www.ssrc.org/>.

Soros Foundations Network

Paul and Daisy Soros Fellowships for New Americans offers an annual stipend and one-half tuition for up to two years of graduate study in the US. Fellowships are for individuals who have applied for naturalization, have been naturalized as US citizens, or are the children of two parents who are both naturalized citizens. Applicants must have Bachelor's degree, be pursuing graduate study, or be in their final year of undergraduate studies at the time of application. Applicants must be at least 20-28 years old. Deadline: 11/1/2005. Contact: Paul and Daisy Soros Fellowships for New Americans, 400 W 59th St, New York NY 10019; Tel: 212-547-6926; Fax: 212-548-4623; pdsoros_fellows@sorosny.org; <http://www.pdsoros.org/>.

Spencer Foundation

Dissertation Fellowships support the completion of dissertations on topics concerning education. Applicants must be candidates for the doctoral degree in any field of study at a graduate school in the US but need not be US citizens. Deadline: 11/1/2005. Contact: Spencer Foundation, 875 N Michigan Ave Ste 3930, Chicago IL 60611-1803; Tel: 312-337-7000; Fax: 312-337-0282; fellows@spencer.org; <http://www.spencer.org/>.

Townsend Center for the Humanities

Dissertation Fellowships provide a stipend of \$18,000 to grad students in the humanities who will be advanced to candidacy by the next June. Fellows will participate in the Townsend Fellowship Group, meeting weekly. Deadline: 12/5/2005. Contact: Townsend Center for the Humanities, 220 Stephens Hall # 2340; <http://ls.berkeley.edu/dept/townsend/>.

UC Berkeley

Graduate Division Summer Grants provide financial assistance to doctoral students in the humanities, social sciences, and professional schools during the summer months. Deadline: 10/26/2005.

Jacob K. Javits Fellowships provide up to four years of support for graduate study at the doctoral or MFA level in a selected field of the arts, humanities, or social sciences. Eligibility is limited to US citizens and permanent residents. See funding Web site at <http://www.ed.gov/programs/jacobjavits/>. Deadline: 10/3/2005.

Contact: Graduate Fellowships Office, 318 Sproul Hall # 5900; Tel: 510-642-0672; http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/fellowships/fellowships_deadlines.shtml.

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

The **Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies** offers **Fellowships** to support research and writing projects for which the sponsor's archival and other resources are critical, or for

which there is a special justification to undertake the project in residence. Eligible applicants are Ph.D. candidates, postdocs, and senior scholars. Up to \$3,500 per month is available for three months to one full academic year in residence. Deadline: 11/25/2005. Contact: Visiting Scholar Programs, 100 Raoul Wallenberg Place SW, Washington DC 20024-2126; Tel: 202-314-0378; Fax: 202-479-9726; wlower@ushmm.org; <http://www.ushmm.org/research/>.

University of California

The **President's Postdoctoral Fellowship** provides a stipend plus benefits for the first year, renewable for a second year, to enhance one's prospects for appointment to faculty positions at UC or other institutions. Applicants must obtain the sponsorship of a UC faculty member, other than their thesis advisor, to serve as a mentor during the fellowship. Deadline: 11/15/2005. Contact: Office of the President, University of California, 1111 Franklin St 11th Fl, Oakland CA 94607-5200; Tel: 510-987-9500; <http://www.ucop.edu/acadadv/>.

Washington University

The **Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Postdoctoral Fellowship** awards \$40,700 per year for a 2-year appointment of research and teaching. Deadline: 12/1/2005. Contact: Steven Zwicker, Department of English, Washington University Campus Box 1122, One Brookings Drive, St Louis MO 63130; Tel: 314-935-5190; szwicker@artsci.wustl.edu; http://www.artsci.wustl.edu/~szwicker/Mellon_Postdoctoral_Program.html.

Wenner-Gren Foundation

Individual Research Grants fund basic research in all branches of anthropology. The program offers Dissertation Fieldwork Grants, Post-Ph.D. Grants, and Richard Carley Hunt Postdoctoral Fellowships. Deadline: 11/1/2005. Contact: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research Inc., 220 Fifth Ave 16th Fl, New York NY 10001-7708; Tel: 212-683-5000; Fax: 212-683-9151; <http://www.wennergren.org/>.

Woodrow Wilson Center

East European Studies Research Grants fund 2-4 months of research in Washington, DC. Applicants must be US citizens and permanent residents in the early stages of their academic careers, between Ph.D. and tenure. Deadline: 12/1/2005. Contact: East European Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center, One Woodrow Wilson Plaza, 1300 Pennsylvania Ave NW, Washington DC 20523; Tel: 202-691-4000; Fax: 202-691-4001; kneppm@wwic.si.edu; <http://wwics.si.edu/ees/>.

East European Studies Short Term Grants provide a stipend for grad students and postdocs to conduct up to one month of specialized research in East European and Baltic studies in Washington, DC and its research institutions. Grants do not include residence at the Wilson Center. Deadline: 12/1/05; also 3/1, 6/1, 9/1 each year. Contact: East European

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Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center, One Woodrow Wilson Plaza, 1300 Pennsylvania Ave NW, Washington DC 20523; Tel: 202-691-4000; Fax: 202-691-4001; kneppm@wwic.si.edu; <http://wwics.si.edu/ees/>.

Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation

Charlotte W. Newcombe Doctoral Dissertation Fellowships fund 12 months of full-time dissertation writing to encourage the study of ethical or religious values in all fields of the humanities and social sciences. Applicants must be candidates for Ph.D. or Th.D. degrees, and have fulfilled all pre-dissertation requirements and expect to complete their dissertations by the end of the award term. Deadline: 11/7/2005. Contact: Charlotte Newcombe Dissertation Fellowships, Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, CN 5281, Princeton NJ 08543-5281; Tel: 609-452-7007; Fax: 609-452-7828; charlotte@woodrow.org; <http://www.woodrow.org/newcombe/>.

Dissertation Grants in Women's Studies provide \$3,000 to encourage original and significant research about women that crosses disciplinary, regional, or cultural boundaries. Deadline: 10/11/2005. Contact: Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, Dept WS CN 5281, Princeton NJ 08543-5281; Tel: 609-452-7007; Fax: 609-452-0066; wsw@woodrow.org; <http://www.woodrow.org/womens-studies/>.