



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

Spring 2006  
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## Newsletter of the Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies

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

## Notes from the Director

Welcome back to campus and a happy new year to you all! ISEEEES has a full calendar of events for all interests and tastes.

The brown bag talk series will be kicked off by one of our graduates, Ilya Vinkovetsky, who will pose the question, “Was There Such a Thing as Russian Colonialism?” My guess is that the answer is a qualified yes, but we will have to come to know for sure. Other topics this spring include Russian spy-mania, Ossetian origins, Ukrainian language policies, Orthodox holy fools, and Trotsky’s role in Soviet state building, among many others.

February is a busy month for those interested in Southeast Europe. Our Lecture Series on the Balkans continues with a talk by Keith Brown, assistant professor of international studies at the Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University. The title of his talk is “Macedonia, Global Citizenship, and the Clash of Civilizations.” Professor Brown is the author of an acclaimed book, *The Past in Question: Modern Macedonia and the Uncertainties of Nation*.

On February 15, we will hold our Sixth Annual Peter N. Kujachich Lecture in Serbian and Montenegrin Studies. Lenard J. Cohen, professor of political science at Simon Fraser University, British Columbia, will speak on “Embracing Democracy: Political Change in Southeast Europe.” Professor Cohen’s most recent book is *Serpent in the Bosom: The Rise and Fall of Slobodan Milosevic*.

Another February event is a co-presentation of a film at the San Francisco Jewish Film Festival. The film is called *66 Seasons*, comes from Slovakia, and is directed by Peter Kerekes. You can read more about it in the Newsletter.

On March 3, Berkeley and Stanford join once again to bring you the Annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference. This year’s meeting will take place at Stanford, and the topic is “Glasnost Evaluated: 1986–2006.” Yes, it really has been that long.

On Friday, April 7, we invite you all to our Annual Colin Miller Memorial Lecture. This year it will be held in the Heyns Room of the Faculty Club. The speaker is Stephen Kotkin, professor of history and director of the Program in Russian and Eurasian Studies, Princeton University. Professor Kotkin is one of the world’s most prominent historians of the Soviet Union. He is also, not surprisingly, a Berkeley Ph.D.

On Saturday, April 29, we will hold our Annual Teacher Outreach Conference. This year’s topic is classical Russian literature: why it is so famous; why Russians worship it so passionately; why the great novels are so long; and how they can be taught in the classroom.

Having successfully concluded our Carnegie-funded initiative on *Extremism in the New Eurasia*, we are now launching a similar faculty/student seminar on *Private Wealth and Public Power: Oligarchs, Tycoons, and Magnates in Comparative Perspective*. The goal of the series, funded by the Mellon-Sawyer Seminar Program, is to explore the rise (and, in some cases, fall) of Russian and Ukrainian “oligarchs” in comparative perspective.

We have several new visitors this semester. Denis Alexeev is a Carnegie Scholar from Saratov State University, Russia; Sorina Chiper is a visiting researcher and instructor from the University of Iasi, Romania; and Denis Kozlov is a postdoctoral scholar sponsored by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. Three more visitors come to ISEEEES through the American Councils’ Junior Faculty Development Program (JFDP).

They are Zoran Cirovic (Serbia), Kresimir Krnic (Croatia), and Sanja Potkonjak (Croatia). Please read more about them inside the Newsletter.

Finally, I would like to thank all of you who have helped us raise funds for a new graduate student endowment by renewing your membership in or joining the Associates of the Slavic Center. As you can see in the Newsletter, the response has been heartening, but we have not yet reached our goal of \$200,000. All contributions are greatly appreciated.

Again, I would like to wish you a happy 2006. Hope to see you at some of our events.

Yuri Slezkine  
Director of ISEEEES  
Professor of History

## Campus Visitors

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

**Denis Alexeev** comes to ISEEEES this spring from Saratov State University, Russia, where he is an associate professor. Denis holds a Ph.D. in history and will be a Carnegie Scholar at Berkeley this semester.

**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.

**Sorina Chiper** is a visiting researcher in the Department of Linguistics this spring. She is teaching a course in Romanian language through the Slavic department. She joins us from the University of Iasi, Romania.

**Zoran Cirovic** comes to Berkeley this spring through the American Councils’ Junior Faculty Development Program. He teaches finance at the University BK in Belgrade where he is with the Faculty of Management.

**Izabela Filipiak**, author and historian, is affiliated with the Beatrice M. Bain Research Group at Berkeley. She holds a Ph.D. in humanities 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 conducting research on Soviet social services in the post–World War II period.

**Kresimir Krnic** is also a visiting scholar this spring through the American Councils’ Junior Faculty Development Program. He comes from the Department of Linguistic and Oriental Studies at the University of Zagreb, where he teaches courses in Sanskrit and Hindi.

**Saori Kondoh** is visiting Berkeley this year as a visiting scholar. A recent Ph.D. from Tokyo Metropolitan University, she researches the archaeology of the former Soviet Union, particularly Central Asia.

**Denis Kozlov** is a postdoctoral scholar at ISEEEES this year with a two-year fellowship from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. Denis recently received a Ph.D. in Russian history from the University of Toronto.

**Sanja Potkonjak** also joins ISEEEES this spring through the American Councils’ Junior Faculty Development Program. She is with the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Zagreb, where she works on gender studies.

**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.

# Towards a New Literature of Cultural Liminality: Figuring In-Betweenness in Contemporary Polish Poetry

*Magdalena Kay*

*Magdalena Kay is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Comparative Literature. Her research focuses on belonging and identity, with a particular interest in the experience of marginality, travel, and liminality. Her dissertation examines five contemporary poets writing in Polish and English.*

My idea for this brief analysis of changing modes of cultural identification in Poland began with a quote from British author John Fowles:

Students nowadays seem to want to 'place' precisely, to locate precisely, everything about a writer's work: what he is, what has made him or her what they are, and so on. It seems to me that to imprison it is to deny something very essential about writing . . . . The world wants us caged, in one place, behind bars; it is very important we stay free.

This language of incarceration is strong. It is unsettling to consider that a concern with place might equal an urge to imprison. The theme of place and identity has been popular for many years, and explorations of this theme often fall under the rubric of postcolonial studies. Poland is not a colony, yet its long history of subjugation (since 1772) has created a situation that may be discussed using some of the terms of postcolonial scholarship. The kinds of conditions that Polish poets respond to are also present in the postcolonial world. The desire to "place" writing is especially strong in postcolonial scholarship, yet I believe that it is imperative to recognize the forceful manner in which belonging is *questioned* by Polish writers. The urge to affirm one's place, to celebrate home, is counterbalanced by an equally strong urge to reject a single home, to speak from a position in between the defined locations of culture.

Since 1989, Poland has been undergoing a poetic revolution. Its main literary paradigm, since the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, has been Romantic and Messianic. In this model, the poet is seen as a spiritual leader of the people, giving voice to the people's desire for nationhood and freedom. He has the gift of prophetic vision, and this vision is capable of guiding the people on their quest for salvation. The past is part of an unresolved historical process that engulfs the present too, and forms a sort of national "Grand Narrative" that is often troped as a quest. Poetry can actively cause social changes. The poet may be solitary but his work is not. Polish Romanticism linked the individual writer to a collective which was viewed ethnically, as "the Polish peoples," not as a universal collective of readers of

literature. Hence, the poet's sense of belonging *to* the Polish people was a central element of his work. The danger of accepting this model wholesale is that it subsumes the present moment into a teleology that fixates on one ultimate end.

Polish poetry after 1989 is striking for its rejection of this model of writing. The newest poets rebel against the tendency to view literature through a paradigm of any kind, particularly an ideological one. They rebel against the idea that they must do their civic duty to Poland. They rebel against the perception that they should write poetry of witness. Political questions are seen through the prism of individual experience, not through a collective. One encounters lines in poems that note the division of politics from individual experience: "There is nothing about me in the Constitution," writes Marcin Swietlicki. When another contemporary poet, Jacek Podsiadlo, writes about his curiosity regarding the president's "real plan," he asks both sarcastically and searchingly, "Have they taken my existence into consideration?"

In such a context, we need to note that the task of applying postcolonial paradigms to Poland must take the search for individuality into account. Postcolonial scholars often stress the collective nation-making endeavor of literature; during its time of subjugation Polish literature was nation-making, but this tradition has grown oppressive in itself. At the moment, viewing Polish literature as private is much more radical than viewing it as communal. The career of a poet such as Adam Zagajewski describes a dramatic trajectory from literature of protest (against the Communist regime) to a literature that questions the writer's place, his identity, and his goals. Recent Polish writing reveals that the locality of culture itself is not unified. We must be careful of our terms, because the cultural discourse of identity often reproduces the confining matrix of identification that it strives to subvert. The effort to separate the inside from the outside, the periphery from the center, is especially challenging in a Polish context. The Romantic poet Adam Mickiewicz proclaimed that the most innovative ideas came from writers in

emigration. Polish writing abroad has been viewed as an integral component of the national tradition. The Polish borderlands (“kresy”) have also been mythologized to the extent that life outside the cultural centers of Warsaw and Krakow may be more important to Polish literature than life inside these cities.

The danger of celebrating a literature’s identity, or even an author’s literary identity, is that the term “identity” is most often employed in socio-cultural and literary discourse to emphasize the common nature of experience, emphasizing national, ethnic, or religious affiliation. This use of the term provides individual experience with a significance that is culturally pre-established. For instance, situating Adam Zagajewski or Witold Gombrowicz within the Polish tradition of writing-in-exile connects them to a broad base of authors and provokes comparison and contrast; it also pigeonholes them in a conceptual compartment that they rebel against in their writing. Totalizing notions of identity are Grand Narratives in their own right, and recent Polish writing is most remarkable for its insistence that mini-narratives, individual stories and unclassifiable personalities, are the most interesting.

The grand narrative also serves a mythic function, and a myth can be emancipating or incarcerating, an empowering symbol of identity or a reactionary idol. The myth of Messianic salvation allows the Polish poet to re-imagine the past so as to challenge the present, and in this case it is liberating. The same myth also provides the community with a straitjacket of fixed identity, and in this sense it is incarcerating. When it combines with the concept of the well-made poem that resolves all contradictions in its harmonious composition, then poetry becomes severely circumscribed. Irish poet Seamus Heaney writes that “a poem floats adjacent to, parallel to, the historical moment.” This image of floating beside the moment situates poetry in between the physical earth and the stratosphere of ideas. It also troubles the concept of authenticity. By this I mean the idea that a literary work can be an authentic image of a historical time or of a culture. Gayatri Spivak has eloquently, and fervently, spoken against the idea that a writer should speak as an authentic ethnic who is representative of his or her culture. This view assigns a static ethnicity to those peoples that we consider “other” to ourselves. Essentializing arguments do not allow for much change or variety. In the case of Poland, the desire to view a writer as authentically Polish combines with the Polish tradition of writing for the people. The circle is perniciously complete: a Polish writer is interesting *for* his “Polish-ness” to non-Polish readers but is also expected to voice that Polish-ness by native readers.

Our valuation of a writer would be better served by accounting for the heterogeneity with a single culture and a single speaking voice. A poetic voice does not always dutifully take its place in its dominant national literary tradition. An interesting situation occurs when the poetic voice recognizes its own dislocation, and this becomes the

subject of poetry. Julia Hartwig, a poet who has been writing for many years, has never been adequately studied; she writes out of a situation in between cultures and personae. Hartwig sometimes voices a longing for rootedness, but her terms and imagery imply a fervent desire *not* to be definitively “placed.” The following poem is titled “How to Honor a Place” (please pardon my inelegant translation):

The sign says that right here runs the watershed  
between the Pacific and the Atlantic  
A river that begins in this area  
has to carefully decide  
to which of two oceans it will belong  
which mother it will recognize  
in which throat it will lose itself forever  
and become nameless

How to honor this single place  
with a scream, with silence  
I stand upon the watershed  
as if balanced on a bison with his legs splayed  
that is blinded by the sun A rain of water  
washes down both of his gleaming sides

And I  
where do I belong

This poem leads us to interrogate the binary of the exotic and the familiar. The continental divide between Pacific and Atlantic drainage is internalized as a problem of the self, and there is no distance between this exotic sight and the speaker. On the contrary, the speaker is fluent enough in the imagistic language of the American place that her comparison makes use of an animal—the bison—that is part of the native landscape. By comparing the watershed to an animal that is indigenous to the area, she deciphers the scene in its own terms. This grants the place its own autonomy. The speaker serves as a link between the landscape, the water and the animals. Surprisingly, the image used to illustrate division—a splayed animal—creates an imagistic unity. The poem does, indeed, honor this local place by not reaching outside the scene for its poetic devices, and yet the theme of the poem is a deep feeling of rift.

Anthropologist James Clifford has famously noted that the ease of travel in the twentieth century renders the concepts of novelty and difference problematic: “One no longer leaves home confident of finding the radically new .... Difference is encountered in the adjoining neighborhood, [and] the familiar turns up at the ends of the earth.”<sup>1</sup> Hartwig’s poem is included in a volume entitled *American Poems (Wiersze amerykanske)*. The volume is centered around the author’s travels in the United States. One has no sense in this poem, “How To Honor a Place,” where the speaker may come *from*—we only sense that a deep current

continued on page 6



# Spring 2006 Courses

Selected faculty course offerings and selected area-related courses

Comp Lit 155.1 (Slavic 131)	The European Avant-garde: From Futurism to Surrealism	H. Ram
East Euro 100	Advanced Hungarian Readings	A. Mihalik
Econ 215A	Political Economics	G. Roland
English 166.4 (Slavic 134F)	The Works of Vladimir Nabokov	E. Naiman
History 39I	Soviet History through Film and Fiction	Y. Slezkine
History 100.9	The Cold War: Events and Issues	D. Wolff
History 100.11 (Slavic 148.2)	Early Modern Russian Culture	V. Zhivov
History 103B.4	Women, Society and Politics in Nineteenth Century Europe	E. Doxiadis
History 103B.2	The Individual in Society, 1860	V. Frede
History 170C.1 (Slavic 158)	Poles and Others: The Making of Modern Poland	D. Frick
History 172.1 (Slavic 148.1)	Russian Intellectual History	I. Paperno
History 177A	Armenia	S. Astourian
L&S 40A	The Soviet Experience	I. Paperno
Ling 139C (Slavic 139C)	Language Spread	J. Nichols / R. Rhodes
NES 24.2	Iran, Afghanistan, and Tajikistan from Ancient Times to the Present	S. Ahmadi
NES 126	Silk Road Art and Archaeology	S. Mehendale
Poli Sci 129B	Russia After Communism	M. Fish
Poli Sci 200	Comparative Politics	M. Fish
Poli Sci 249B	Identities and Politics in Soviet and Post-Soviet Central Eurasia	E. Walker
Slavic 46	Twentieth-Century Russian Literature	Staff
Slavic 131 (Comp Lit 155.1)	The European Avant-garde: from Futurism to Surrealism	H. Ram
Slavic 134C	Dostoevsky	O. Matich
Slavic 134F (English 166.4)	The Works of Vladimir Nabokov	E. Naiman
Slavic 139C (Ling 139C)	Language Spread	J. Nichols / R. Rhodes
Slavic 148.1 (History 172.1)	Russian Intellectual History	I. Paperno
Slavic 148.2 (History 100.11)	Early Modern Russian Culture	V. Zhivov
Slavic 158 (History 170C.1)	Poles and Others: The Making of Modern Poland	D. Frick
Slavic 170	Survey of Yugoslav Literatures	R. Alexander
Slavic 171	Readings in Yugoslav Literatures	R. Alexander
Slavic 181	Readings in Russian Literature	A. Muza
Slavic 201	Advanced Russian Proficiency Maintenance	A. Muza
Slavic 231	History of the Russian Literary Language	V. Zhivov
Slavic 239	Twentieth-Century Slavic Literary Theory	H. Ram
Slavic 246A	Russian Modernism (1890s–1920s)	O. Matich
Slavic 301	Slavic Teaching Methods	L. Little
Socio 101A	Sociological Theory	D. Riley
Socio 101B	Sociological Theory	M. Burawoy
Socio 202B	Contemporary Sociological Theory	V. Bonnell
Theater 151B	Theater History	M. Gordon

**Language Courses:** The Slavic department is offering courses in Armenian, Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian, Bulgarian, Czech, Georgian, Hungarian, Polish, Romanian, Russian.

## Polish poetry, continued from page 4

of understanding passes between her and the place she visits. This current passes beneath national boundaries.

Theories of cultural hybridity have been criticized for flattening out the inequalities between an author's varied alliances. Not only may one cultural option be invested with greater power than another (for instance, because it is associated with the "center" of culture instead of the periphery), but a "hybrid" individual may choose to valorize certain aspects of his/her identity over others. Hartwig's symbolic poem illustrates both the arbitrariness of the act of division and its troubling comprehension as an act of choice. The watershed is marked by a sign for visitors who have no way of knowing where the division occurs, yet any sign, physical or linguistic, is always influenced (if not dominated) by a structure of power. To stay within Hartwig's scenario, the physical signpost may have been placed in a location convenient for tourists (and is, thus, economically motivated) or within a certain state, county, or city boundary (and is, thus, politically motivated). And yet, immediately after seeing the sign, the speaker interprets the divide as an act of choice—"A river that begins in this area / has to carefully decide / to which of two oceans it will belong." The speaker's joy in pinpointing the exact path of the divide is overshadowed by the fact of splitting: the poem's first line points to the sign, and the second introduces two terms of a binary, Pacific and Atlantic. The rich term "between" is mined for its potential, but the fact of restrictive binary choice remains as a major volitional difficulty animating the poem.

Poet and scholar Edouard Glissant points out a problem in the notion of hybrid identity: it is seen as an act of positive alliance, as an act motivated by desire, not as an uncomfortable necessity. "How to Honor a Place" shows that the binaries that pull at the speaker cannot necessarily be combined into a hybrid identity, and, furthermore, that choosing where to belong is not necessarily a positive act. The speaker questions this structure of choice; she does not desire positive alliance but a state in between. Her choice of identity is not infinite, it is circumscribed. The lines devoted to choice narrow their spatial perspective until the self is completely lost: the grand expanse of an ocean turns into a choice of two human mothers, but the possibility of tenderness in this image is quickly deflected by the successive mention of a "lost" name. The act of naming is conventionally seen as an appropriative demonstration of power. The arbitrariness of the linguistic sign is abolished, and language becomes the site where the mind projects its desire upon the material world. Hartwig overturns the conventional association of choosing identity with positive self-expression. Choice of origin is not empowering, but it leads to namelessness, as the small river that trickles down from the watershed will become nameless, invisible, and ultimately unimportant when it joins the endless expanse of the ocean.

The movement away from the individual river continues as the next stanza moves into the infinitive, an abstract, postulated time. The abstraction of "How to honor" clashes with "this single place," as Hartwig's language registers the conflict of generality with specificity. The helplessness of the scream is equal to the helplessness of silence. The writer is awkwardly placed in this site of division. She registers her indecision as a physical position of in-betweenness, sitting upon a bison who is himself precariously poised; this posture seems comical as well as unsustainable. The shade of absurdity conveyed in these lines illustrates the difficulty of communicating this position. The lines shrink with fear when the speaker asks the unavoidable question, which is unmarked by punctuation or closure.

This poem is far from the collective spirit associated with Polish poetry. Rather than celebrating the individual's sense of belonging in a collective, belonging is seen as subsumption into a formless mass. Choice entails diminishment of selfhood. The poet does not speak for the people—it is hard enough to speak for herself. The movement toward the question of her belonging is fearful, and the stream of images in the first two stanzas abruptly stops. Her fear dries up her capacity to produce explanatory images, and we are left with a bare, unpoetic question. Any linguistic act will entail a choice against as well as a choice for, and this speaker wants to honor the liminal place between choices. A place, perhaps, cannot be fully "honored" if the speaker loudly proclaims her belonging elsewhere. The unfamiliar locale of this poem does not occasion a paean to exoticism or a nostalgic lament for home but a direct view into the self, and into her desire to evade the terms of belonging and exoticism.

T. S. Eliot may have proclaimed that poetry is the most stubbornly national art, but I believe the opposite: poetry's capacity to inscribe ambiguity into the most seemingly straightforward of poems, to reject closure, and to constantly re-make the voice, renders it conducive to evocations of in-betweenness and not-belonging. Hartwig's poem refuses to answer its own question. It opts for placelessness at the same time as it honors a place. This theme recurs in her poetry. Her longing for roots and her rejection of the conditions of rootedness create a poetic persona whose desire itself cannot be "placed."

Theoretical definitions of identity take different forms: essentialism remains a potent concept, wherein consistency throughout time is the main feature of what we call a person's "identity." An alternate view takes the fact of change as its basis, positing that each moment brings about a slightly different instantiation of identity. A person's "identity" can be understood at a single moment—for example, that of the woman who refuses to choose a site of belonging in Hartwig's poem—but when we assume that this moment is representative of all moments, we create a falsely static conception of her identity. This view can be carried ad absurdum, but it is an idea that is conducive for

the study of poetry. The brevity of a lyric, its ambiguities, and its changes of tone and imagery make the idea of lyric identity dynamic. A poet's refusal to choose one subject-position may be temporary or permanent; poetry shifts and changes, and a division of poets into "outsiders" and "nativists" will inevitably break down.

A second poem by a salient contemporary poet, Adam Zagajewski, shows the artificiality of creating divisions, between others or even between self and others. The state of in-betweenness, when a writer is caught between different available models of self-identification, can be a rich source of poetry. The poem is called "Wanderer," or "Wedrowiec" in Polish:

I enter the waiting room in a station.  
Not a breath of air.

I have a book in my pocket,  
someone's poems, traces of inspiration.  
At the entrance, on benches, two tramps and a drunkard  
(or two drunkards and a tramp).  
At the other end, an elderly couple, very elegant, sit  
staring somewhere above them, toward Italy and the sky.  
We have always been divided. Mankind, nations,  
waiting rooms.

I stop for a moment,  
uncertain which suffering I should  
join.

Finally, I take a seat in between  
and start reading. I am alone but not lonely.  
A wanderer who doesn't wander.

The revelation  
flickers and dies. Mountains of breath, close  
valleys. The dividing goes on.

The poem is located in a station, a place where one cannot belong and where everyone is a traveler, yet the pressure to join oneself to a group is still potent. There is "not a breath of air" in this repressive atmosphere except, perhaps, for the book of poems that may offer an escape route from the here and now. As in Hartwig's poem, the speaker starts with an assertive act of placement, pinpointing the location of the self, only to throw into question the very notion of locating the self. Another similarity is the tinge of absurdity in the poem's conception: such drama over a seat in a waiting room! Our smile at the high seriousness of this banal situation is an important reaction to the poem, since it highlights the difficulty of figuring the state of in-betweenness. The poet's reluctance to choose a seat, or to plant her feet on one side of the Continental Divide, is amusing because of the smallness of the gesture. We are not in the realm of grand national epics here; the poet does not take on the aura of a hero or the glamour of an outsider. He does not rebel against one place or take part in a counterculture. He simply does not want to choose. In Zagajewski's poem, he does not even know how to articulate the conditions of choice—"two tramps and a drunkard / (or two drunkards and a tramp)." Their placement (at the en-

trance, on benches) does not help the speaker define who these people are—physical situation may be different from the ontological division of reality into separate states of being. The social labels he uses to categorize experience are slippery themselves, and the speaker lets us know that his own ability to assess, label, and divide may be faulty. The parentheses also lead us to confront the arbitrariness of this division. What separates a tramp from a drunkard to this speaker, and how does this difference affect his own position? Perhaps these people, too, are in between the very terms whose insufficiency is underscored.

The act of self-definition is associated with socio-economic class in this poem, whereas it is abstract in Hartwig's poem. "Wanderer" evokes the act of situating oneself socially, among other people. The question is not which mother to recognize but in which group of people to claim membership. The choice is not between individuals but between plural, representative units. Categorization involves forming a chain of associations, as the couple's elegance is associated with height and with foreignness; the tramps, on the other hand, are not associated with any place other than the station. The speaker cannot decide which category represents him, yet, unlike Hartwig's speaker, he clearly feels the imperative to make a choice. Here, he finds a common term—"suffering"—that allows him to unite the waiting room and to take a seat. His tone is documentary: the speaker notes the room's situation telegraphically, avoiding verbs until they become problematic (as in "a wanderer who doesn't wander"). The poem is an attempt to order the space around the speaker.

The dividing goes on because, in order to be true to the self, he must take apart the very terms he uses for self-assertion—"alone but not lonely," a "wanderer who doesn't wander." These lines engage the reader in a refinement of language. Each term carries a field of associations. Our linkage of "alone" with "lonely" (aurally, conceptually, emotionally) is false to his specific situation. This speaker is uncertain about his place but choosy about his terms. The poem assents to the need for categorization, but declares an independent stance toward language. The speaker finds otherness within his language and tries to make it his own. His formulations are brief and elegant, each enclosed in a line, not enjambed. They are easily-quoted phrases, yet they also point the way toward a further deconstruction of language (as in the ominous last line, "the dividing goes on"). In its texture, the poem reveals how discourse is a horizon of competing, sometimes contrary utterances. Language is a site of conflict between different types of words.

## **Mellon-Sawyer Postdoctoral Fellowship**

### **Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies**

### **University of California, Berkeley**

The Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies at the University of California, Berkeley, invites applications for a Mellon-Sawyer Postdoctoral Fellowship for academic year 2006–2007 in conjunction with a seminar series entitled, “Private Wealth and Public Power: Oligarchs, Tycoons, and Magnates in Comparative Perspective.” We seek a recent Ph.D. whose research focuses on the seminar theme in whole or in part in communist or post-communist societies. The seminars will explore the dramatic shift in the interface of wealth and power in post-communist countries over the past fifteen years by placing them in comparative and historical perspective, using contemporary Russia and Ukraine as points of departure.

Eligibility is restricted to applicants who have received a Ph.D. since May 2001. Applicants must have their degree in hand or a letter from the dissertation chair indicating completion of the dissertation by the beginning of the academic year. While at Berkeley, the postdoctoral fellow will be expected to participate in the seminars, contribute to our community’s exploration of the research theme, present a paper or dissertation chapter, and participate in the intellectual life of ISEEEES.

Compensation will be \$35,000 plus benefits (including medical). To apply, candidates should send the following materials to the ISEEEES Postdoctoral Fellowship Committee at the address below by April 15, 2006: a one- or two-page research plan outlining how the scholar’s time will be spent at Berkeley; a curriculum vitae; a substantial portion of the dissertation (an abstract, plus one or two chapters); two or three letters of recommendation. No online applications will be accepted. Inquiries should be sent by e-mail to [bsp@socrates.berkeley.edu](mailto:bsp@socrates.berkeley.edu). A decision on the competition will be made by early May, and applicants will be notified in a timely manner.

Mailing address: Postdoctoral Fellowship Committee; Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies; University of California, Berkeley 260 Stephens Hall #2304, Berkeley, CA 94720-2304.

This speaker is well aware of how language, power, and truth are correlated. He is aware that a petty linguistic detail, such as the ordering of “drunkards and tramp” or “tramps and drunkard,” may carry a slightly different emotional valence in each instance. Because the poem is a creative act of language that brings this very space into being, the writer has the power to create such emotional valences. He is fearful of this power. He alone is creating the conditions that justify his lack of belonging. The poem is an act of power because he redefines the terms that he uses for self-definition. This might seem like an obvious claim for a piece of writing, but considering that this poem begins by doubting its own ability to order language, and the speaker’s ability to choose his “place” from rather unsatisfying options, his final act of assertion is a triumph. He exists in his own terms, a wanderer with no fixed place. Likewise, the speaker of Hartwig’s poem refuses to choose a space of belonging, and refuses the grammatical closure of a question mark to punctuate her thought. These two poems show how difficult it can be to negotiate the conditions of one’s freedom. They foreground the act of choice in self-identification: identity is not merely given by virtue of belonging in a national group but it is chosen. Because poetry is a mode of knowledge that admits multiple perspectives and allows for constant re-evaluation, it is especially well suited to register changing modes of identification. These poems may point the way toward a new direction for Polish literature. It would be presumptuous of me to claim that I could predict the path that Polish literature will take, but I do believe that questions of identity will become more pressing once the dominant Romantic paradigm becomes weaker. Certain poetry invites us to subsume it into history, but the poems cited here make us question our motivation for doing so. The choice to espouse a liminal identity, to dwell in between cultures, countries, social groups, or even between two aspects of one’s own character, is a strong position in its own right. The choice to speak from an interstitial perspective can be liberating for writers and readers alike.

#### **Note**

<sup>1</sup> James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988, 14.



# The Courtyard Dwellers

## Izabela Filipiak

*Izabela Filipiak is a novelist, an essayist, a poet, a lecturer, and a historian. She holds a doctorate in humanities from the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw. A visiting scholar at ISEES, she is also affiliated with Beatrice M. Bain Research Group at UC Berkeley.*

*The Girls from Nowolipki* is the story of six young women coming of age in turn of the century Warsaw. With its concise, detailed, poetic style, and its focus on the female experience, the novel by Warsaw writer Pola Gojawiczynska (pronounced *Goyavee-chinska*) has attracted a great readership since its publication in 1935. It has, in fact, introduced its readers to a new territory, a multicultural city as seen by the eyes of a newcomer to the culture, personalized in the zesty spirit of a marginalized subject, an ingenuous and bright girl from a proletarian background, brimming with enthusiasm, on her way to becoming a hardened and disillusioned female.

Upon its publication, *The Girls from Nowolipki* soon became a book that women loved at first sight and men often detested. Positioned against the Polish tradition of femininity as sound, virginal, and motherly, Gojawiczynska most certainly trespassed a dogma, a canon of female wholesomeness, and as Ryszard Matuszewski, a 93-year-old Warsaw-based critic who debuted alongside Gojawiczynska mentions in his recently published collection of literary portraits *Alphabet*,<sup>1</sup> she still hasn't been forgiven. While it wouldn't be arduous to assemble a *Girls from Nowolipki* fan club among its readers around the world, and two movies have been produced from its content (the latest, by the Polish director Barbara Sass, in 1985), the book has never truly entered the Polish literary canon. Nor has it been translated into English.

### The Myth of Self-fulfillment

Pola Gojawiczynska debuted alongside the literary wave of ferocious young and middle-aged writers who emerged from all kinds of underprivileged backgrounds and vented their angst in the narrow time slot between the First and the Second World Wars. She was not the first authoress to notice the insidious traps set by the society to discredit a young female, starting from the obligatory husband hunting to illegal abortion, from a hushed-up rape to overt prostitution. These grievances had been already scrutinized by the first wave of Polish "blue-stockings," such as renowned dramatist Gabriela Zapolska, whom the author of *The Girls from Nowolipki* looked up to as a literary mentor. Yet Gojawiczynska was probably the first one equipped to adopt the tradition of writing as a social disclosure and bring it to a new level of literary precision, as she trans-

formed unseemly subjects into lucid prose and concise images filled with ardor and longing. The soldiers' seamstress, Vikta, wasting her youth on supporting her crippled brother, with her sewing machine incessantly humming in the courtyard of Nowolipki Street, is the epitome of human potential frittered away in the neighborhood of "side streets branching into foul-smelling byways."<sup>2</sup> And, being of "cheerful disposition," she isn't even resentful.

But why did this potential need to be wasted? The turn of the century was a time of industrial revolution, when several young men from poorer straits of society set out to climb the social ladder of managerial positions in commerce. While four grades of public school lifted a carpenter's son to a clean blue-collar job in the office, a university diploma would make him an intellectual. Some of these sons of poor parents, law diplomas in hand, the fruit of their families' daily sacrifices, subsequently turned to letters; some daughters of aristocratic or educated families did the same. Yet for a daughter of poor parents, femininity and poverty appeared too much of an obstacle to be overcome in one lifetime.

Gojawiczynska's novel, published in 1935, covers the years from 1905 to 1918, which were particularly laden with grave political events: the year 1905 marked a surge of socialist and patriotic protests; in 1914 World War I broke out. During these years the girls come of age, seek schools, develop friendships, hunt for mates, find their first jobs, and learn that life is arranged differently from what they read in their spiritually uplifting books. The girls' misadventures are an incriminating broadside against the myth of self-fulfillment—the one that claims that as long as an individual acts on behalf of her wishes, the world will award her efforts and turn her into a winner—which was, due to Nietzsche's philosophy, as popular at the turn of the last century as it is today. While the girls' will to win can't be doubted, their self-realization is ultimately thwarted by a series of circumstances beyond their control: death in the family, the war, thus hinting at overall fragility of human desires.

### The Myth of the Warsaw Courtyard

Gojawiczynska (who grew up in Nowolipki) positions the girls' haunting stories of coming of age against turn of the century Warsaw, more industrial than aristocratic already,

demoted from the capital of the Polish Kingdom to a mere provincial capital in the Russian empire about half of century before. Yet in spite of the harsh rule, administrative neglect, and ubiquitous bribery, the city keeps thriving. The girls, in their bold excursions, won't ever explore the whole town. They know Warsaw as far as one can march on foot from Nowolipki, that is, the centrally positioned part of the town that takes its name from the street where Bronia, Janka, Cechna, Emilka, and Franka abide in a tenement building.

As the courtyard stands for the center of the universe in the first pages of the novel, the narrative uncoils from there. In the spatial development of the novel, it propels the girls to the well-endowed parts of Warsaw—the condescending and ritzy Saxon Garden, the soulless, stuffy Marszalkowska Street. The storyline, homey at the beginning, turns more explicit as the girls graduate from the elementary school and, like Franka, seek further education or, like Cechna, land their first “position” (meaning a job). At last it appears that stout Kwiryna, always ready to sneer at free classes offered by pampered professors' wives to the underprivileged youth of Warsaw, has made the wisest of choices by simply setting her mind on inheriting her parents' store and the accumulation of hard cash. As to the other girls, more ambitious or suave, their first jobs and prospective husbands prove similarly unsuccessful. Franka, a talented orphan, will simply not make it through her youth. While the girls wonder what makes Franka the most luckless of them all, it is noteworthy that Franka, with her homelessness and later demise, embodies a toll the girls need to pay for their entry into society on conditions not of their choosing; Franka's death and even more her shoddy burial (the sorry sight of which and a broken heel in her own sopping shoe make Bronka decide to “sell herself” in a split second) enforce a message that a young woman on her own is an endangered species—and she must learn that her mere survival depends not simply on her subservience, but on a shrewd comprehension of the heterosexual norms. Which is precisely what Franka lacked all along.

While not all Nowolipki girls are equally prone to perdition, the author shies away from happy endings. Thus we are bound to learn that Emilka's success measured by her engagement to a wealthy pharmacist from Leszno Street is no more propitious than Bronka's apparent downfall. The girls' limited range of choices prompts the reader to reflect upon an *Uncle Vanya*-like question: How is one to carry on with one's life when all we can strive for is seemingly not what we want? Franka leaves no illusions behind: “Here all is too cramped, too stupid, too gross, and in that new, better world—too smart, too crafty, too cunning. When someone comes to life with such a load as we get, that's just enough for a gutter.”<sup>73</sup> The Nowolipki girls struggle with all their might to better their circumstances but, according to Franka, all their endeavors will amount to no great shakes beyond raising the girls' discomfort with their own surroundings, the Nowolipki courtyard,

and making them no less alienated among the “educated classes.” Not to mention turning them into victims of random violence. The gutter is always there; impersonated in the “Katz' girls” rowdy street demeanor, in parents' pointless admonitions; waiting patiently, promising breakfast in the morning and warm dinner at night. For Franka, a dweller of basements, the distance from Nowolipki to the enchanted world of books and lady librarians she was once enamored with is truly impassable.

*The Girls from Nowolipki* evokes also the more leveled tradition of the Warsaw courtyard, a world in itself, with upholsterers' and carpenters' shops, with snooping and gossip; the tradition which has been buried with the end of World War II. The richness of detail was explained thus by the writer: “Usually I don't make any plans for a novel. But I need a great deal of visual impressions to render even the smallest sector of a town. And if I need to describe a townhouse, I have to return and see it a great many times.”<sup>74</sup> These details are already gone. The present Nowolipki Street doesn't retain its previous shape. It was razed in response to the Jewish ghetto uprising in 1943, and the busy courtyards of five-story tenement houses have been replaced by unruffled greenery and nondescript socialist architecture.

Nowolipki of the beginning of the last century was a unique spot where people of different creeds and ethnic backgrounds coexisted, forming bonds and willingly sustaining each other whenever times grew harder. It should not come as a surprise then, that Nowolipki was also a hotbed of the early socialist movement. While the town kept undergoing a rapid industrial development and faced the huge administrative neglect (in consequence, each ethnic group needed to rely on its own private or religious resources when it came to aiding the elderly, orphaned, sick, or frail), the social tensions led to strikes and street marches which were, more often than not, brutally crushed. And while small businesses sprang up like mushrooms in damp basements, the death of the man in the family often meant its obliteration, as was witnessed in both Emilka's and Bronia's families. The withered widows, such as Mrs. Raczynska, an upholsterer's widow who used to go “to the nuns” and hide a pot of paupers' soup under her black mantilla on her way back, were a sorry sight in the landscape of Nowolipki.

The tradition of the generous and diverse Warsaw courtyard was an old wives' tale already in 1935. Gojawiczynska published her novel against the wave of anti-Semitism which swept over Central Europe in the early 30s. She couldn't be unaware of its blustering menace, yet she set her novel in the core of the Jewish part of Warsaw. To Pola Gojawiczynska, the homeland of her childhood stood for a certain socio-political ideal: a mythical place where friendships blossomed and informal support systems were available to people of various creeds and social classes. After all, Nowolipki hosted an ample German community, too, personified in old Grimm who

welcomes two schoolboys from a carpenter's family into his store of musical instruments. Gojawiczynska, herself the daughter of a carpenter, throughout her life refused to recognize her own gentle origins as an asset—all the while remaining an ardent Polish patriot with a penchant for idealizing her homeland's suffering (which in the symbolic imaginary of the world of *Novolipki* always took a female form.)

Despite the Homeland personified as an armed virago in songs and paintings and the girls' zealous prayers to Virgin Mary, it is the feminine that is most often on the defensive in the landscape of *Novolipki*—menaced, wary of strangers, while herself a stranger. In Barbara Sass' film the girls' misadventures are positioned against the ceaseless business of Jewish traders of *Novolipki* (true to the core, in turn of the century Warsaw even some deals of utmost importance were negotiated in a hurry, on the street.) But while shopkeepers of all creeds are seemingly in place and well rooted at *Novolipki*, the girls are incessantly being pushed around, and disappointed, mostly by their own kin.

It soon grows clear that in modern Warsaw one invariably becomes a foreigner by virtue of being a young woman. Among various social, ethnic, and religious irreconcilabilities a young female remains the only truly foreign inhabitant of the land which has not yet been claimed as her own. But while a girl on her own is nothing but prey, a gang of them has the power to temporarily disable the danger. Introduced in the first chapter, five girls from *Novolipki* courtyard seem to be thinking with one consciousness, performing with one common body, and rendering their perception of Iron Street and Saxon Garden not simply sensual but visceral. The description of huge wagons with crates and empty barrels hurtling down Iron Street, or of Mrs. Raczynska's discreet pandering of her daughters for a plate of cold cuts stirs not only the readers' senses but also their gut reactions.

### A Withered Writer

Pola Gojawiczynska, born in 1896, never received much of a formal education. Expelled from elementary school for participation in the patriotic school strike of 1905, she never made it past the third grade. While interrupted or unconventional paths to education were both understood and socially accepted at the time, Gojawiczynska tried to patch up her schooling by various classes offered in the city. As a young girl she also kept a diary that she sent to renowned dramatist and fiction writer Gabriela Zapolska; she received a favorable reply. These early autodidactic efforts ended with her father's premature death. The author later summed up her youth's labors: "My closest girlfriends, all seven of them, were bright, lively, staunch and ambitious. None of them made it beyond four grades of elementary school. Bound to work for a living, I progressed from a grocery store help—through the reading rooms and kindergartens—to teaching at night schools and working at municipal councils. That was a very solitary path. What I

experienced at the time when one's identity and views of the world are formed, has weighted heavily upon my later life and could never be removed."<sup>25</sup>

At the outbreak of the World War I the young writer's family emigrated to Russia—leaving Pola behind in Warsaw, as was her wish. In 1919 Gojawiczynska married and moved to the country following her husband's career in the newly established Polish municipality. She had one daughter named Wanda of whom she was fond. She also held a string of administrative jobs while she was married, until the years 1930–31 brought a wave of unemployment and, among a number of other workers, she was laid off. For the next two years Gojawiczynska tried and failed to secure a clerical position. In 1933, her marriage collapsed, and the future author of *The Girls from Novolipki* moved back to Warsaw, where she found an administrative position at the daily newspaper and tried to sell her short stories, again without much success. Finally, exasperated, she sent her efforts to an influential woman novelist, Zofia Nalkowska. Soon, endowed with a year-long ministerial stipend, she was free to move to Silesia and complete her first novel, a Silesian family saga presenting exceptionally strong women characters, as well as a collection of short stories, all within a year.

After her debut, Gojawiczynska was able to return to Warsaw on different terms. The local press published her



*Pola Gojawiczynska in 1935*



columns, and her novels were run as serials before their publication as books. *The Girls from Nowolipki*, her third book, earned her lifelong admirers, but the author never felt spoiled by success. As revealed in the interview given after the war: “I had to work arduously and my accounts were simple. Ten books, twelve volumes, as well as a number of columns delivered weekly. In these few years from my debut in 1933, until the war, the material incessantly needed to be hauled from myself, from within.”<sup>6</sup>

During the World War II the writer stayed in Warsaw and took part in the resistance movement together with her daughter (they provided shelter to British officers, airdrops, and fugitives from P.O.W. camps who, interestingly, were shuffled from Lodz to Warsaw by the Polish resistance movement as “speech and hearing impaired”).<sup>7</sup> When the British safe house in Warsaw was detected by the Gestapo in 1943, Gojawiczynska was detained in “Serbia,” which was the nickname of the women’s prison on Dzielna Street. Facing transportation to a death camp, she was rescued by a group of brave women doctors who made her “unable to travel” by inducing a coma through a near-lethal injection right before the “selection.”<sup>8</sup> Released from prison (largely due to her daughter’s efforts), she had to go into hiding until the end of the war and did so, mostly at the Stawisko manor of Jaroslaw Iwaszkiewicz, an influential novelist and an outspoken, albeit clandestine homosexual (married, for many reasons, to Anna Lilpop, the daughter of a wealthy Jewish manufacturer, who subsequently went mad on him).<sup>9</sup> The war took its toll on Pola, and as soon as she was able to leave for Stockholm and reunite with her daughter, she fell gravely ill. In 1949 Gojawiczynska returned to Poland for good. Festooned with awards and medals at her 60<sup>th</sup> birthday, she was nonetheless disappointed with what the state called the workers’ rule and maintained a demure distance.

Indeed, while it wouldn’t be difficult to prove that Gojawiczynska portrayed the suffering of a simple man, a proletarian, as well as the ruthlessness of capitalism or the injustice of economical exploitation, she clearly subverted her subjects by filtering them through the alienated woman’s point of view. And by no means did she rejoice in the newly created socialist state. With time she grew embittered. After years of ceaseless work she lost interest in writing and retired with her closest family.<sup>10</sup> Then, as much as in the earlier days, the memories of her formative Nowolipki experience sustained her and, in the bleakest of days, reminded her that nurturing human relations based on mutual respect and sharing was possible. At least a soulful harmony was all that she wanted to remember.

In her essay *My Nowolipki*, the author said: “Today I am aware that by writing this book I brought myself instinctively back to the values that have been hard to retain later in life. But they were freely given at Nowolipki. No falsenesses or vanity, or envy there—no point for them. Instead, I had experienced rich and precious girls’ bonding. At the time of political servitude I grew up with a sense of

inner freedom, so strong that it made me immune to that political hardship, as well as to the class superiority of inferiority.”<sup>11</sup> Did Nowolipki, a site of childhood terrors, grow into the old woman’s paradise some twenty years after she published a novel about the rugged land of her youth? Pola Gojawiczynska, emulating her mentor, Zofia Nalkowska, believed that one person is a store of limitless possibilities that may be released by actual circumstances. Perhaps she ran out of hers.

As critic and historian Kazimierz Wyka wrote, “The characters of Pola Gojawiczynska novel move as if amongst the streaks of lightning. While their psychological patterns are emphatically and concisely brought out, a shadow of artistic restraint soon overcomes them; just as the dark that comes before and after the lightning.”<sup>12</sup>

And yet the world of Nowolipki stands out, forever delivered from the shadows by means of artistic skill—both compassionate and cruel, prone to grand gestures and extreme neglect, self-seeking calculation and passionate striving for survival.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Ryszard Matuszewski. *Alfabet* (Alphabet) (Warsaw: Iskry, 2004).

<sup>2</sup> Pola Gojawiczynska, *Dziewczeta z Nowolipki* (The Girls from Nowolipki) (Poznan: “Slowo,” 1996), 7.

<sup>3</sup> *The Girls from Nowolipki*, 189.

<sup>4</sup> Pola Gojawiczynska, interview by M. Warnenska, in Adela Pryszczewska-Kozolub, *Pisarstwo Poli Gojawiczynskiej* (Pola Gojawiczynska’s Writing) (Warszawa-Wroclaw: PWN 1980), 40.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 134–136. Also: Zofia Morozowicz-Szczepkowska, *Z lotu ptaka* (From a Bird’s Eye View) (Warszawa: PIW 1968), 334–337. Gojawiczynska was imprisoned in “Serbia” (the women’s part of the infamous Pawiak prison) from January 1 to May 15, 1943.

<sup>8</sup> Anna Sliwicka, *Cztery lata ostrego dyzuru. Wspomnienia z Pawiaka, 1940–1944* (Four Years of Emergency. Remembrance of Pawiak, 1940–1944) (Warszawa: Czytelnik 1965).

<sup>9</sup> Jaroslaw Iwaszkiewicz, *Ludzie i ksiazki* (People and Books) (Warszawa: 1971), 196–200.

<sup>10</sup> An email correspondence with Mr. Jacek Nadzin, the writer’s grandson.

<sup>11</sup> *Pola Gojawiczynska’s Writing*, 202.

<sup>12</sup> Kazimierz Wyka, “Rajska jablon czyli ksiega niepokoju” (Paradise Apple or the Book of Discontent), in *Nowe i dawne wedrowki po tematach* (New and Old Rambling along the Topics) (Warszawa: Czytelnik 1978), 147–148.



# Upcoming Events

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

**Thursday, February 2, 2006.** *Brown Bag Talk:* Ilya Vinkovetsky, Assistant Professor, Department of History, Simon Fraser University, British Columbia, will speak on "Was There Such a Thing as Russian Colonialism?" In 270 Stephens Hall, 12 noon. Sponsored by ISEEEES.

**Monday, February 6, 2006.** *Brown Bag Talk:* Victor Shnirelman, Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Russian Academy of Sciences, will speak on "Politics of Name in the North Caucasus: A Struggle Over the Alan Heritage." In 270 Stephens Hall, 12 noon. Sponsored by ISEEEES.

**Monday, February 13, 2006.** *Lecture Series on the Balkans:* Keith Brown, Assistant Professor of International Studies, Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University, will speak on "Macedonia, Global Citizenship, and the Clash of Civilizations." In 270 Stephens Hall, 4 p.m. Sponsored by ISEEEES.

**Wednesday, February 15, 2006.** *Sixth Annual Peter N. Kujachich Lecture in Serbian and Montenegrin Studies:* Lenard J. Cohen, Professor, Department of Political Science, Simon Fraser University, British Columbia, will speak on "Embracing Democracy: Political Change in Southeast Europe." In the Heyns Room, Faculty Club, 4 p.m. Sponsored by ISEEEES.

**Wednesday, February 22, 2006.** *Brown Bag Talk:* David Stone, Assistant Professor, Department of History, Kansas State University, will speak on "Trotsky and the Red Army: Building the Soviet State, 1918–1925." In 270 Stephens Hall, 12 noon. Sponsored by ISEEEES.

**Wednesday, February 22, 2006.** *Film Screening:* The San Francisco Jewish Film Festival features the Slovak film *66 Seasons* (Peter Kerekes, 2003). The documentary about the Kosice swimming pool in Slovakia is a microcosm of history of Central Europe. In 701 Mission St. at Third, San Francisco, 7:30 p.m. Tickets \$7, \$6 members/students/seniors. Sponsored by the Yerba Buena Center for the Arts and ISEEEES. Contact: Yerba Buena Center for the Arts, (415) 978-2787.

**Friday, March 3, 2006.** *Annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference:* "Glasnost Evaluated: 1986–2006." At Stanford University; a schedule will be announced. Sponsored by the Center for Russian, East European, and Eurasian Studies at Stanford University and ISEEEES.

**Friday–Sunday, March 17–March 19, 2006.**

*Conference:* 14th Annual Interdisciplinary German Studies Conference, "Ossi, Wessi." Details will be announced. Sponsored by the Department of German and ISEEEES. Contact: Department of German, (510) 643-2004.

**Thursday, March 23, 2006.** *Lecture Series on the Balkans:* Maria Todorova, Professor of History, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, will speak. Details will be announced. Sponsored by ISEEEES.

**Friday, April 7, 2006.** *Annual Colin Miller Memorial Lecture:* Stephen Kotkin, Professor of History; Director, Program in Russian and Eurasian Studies, Princeton University, will speak. A topic will be announced. In the Heyns Room, Faculty Club, 4 p.m. Sponsored by ISEEEES.

**Wednesday, April 12, 2006.** *Brown Bag Talk:* Sergei Ivanov, Professor of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, Moscow State University, will speak. A topic will be announced. In 270 Stephens Hall, 12 noon. Sponsored by the Department of History and ISEEEES.

**Saturday, April 29, 2006.** *Annual Teacher Outreach Conference.* Details will be announced. In the Toll Room, Alumni House. Registration will be required. Sponsored by ISEEEES.

**Monday, May 8, 2006.** *Colloquium:* Igal Halfin, Senior Lecturer, Department of History, Tel Aviv University, will speak on "The NKVD's Dialogical Imagination: The Politics and Poetics of Stalinist Interrogations." In 160 Dwinelle Hall, 4 p.m. Sponsored by the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, ISEEEES, the Department of History, and the Department of Comparative Literature.

## Other Events of Interest

**Through February 27, 2006.** *Exhibit:* "Matrix 219: Wilhelm Sasnal," contemporary Polish artist. At Berkeley Art Museum, 2625 Durant Ave, Wed-Sun 11 a.m.-5 p.m., Thurs 11 a.m.-7 p.m. Fees: \$8 general, \$5 youth/seniors/disabled, free for UCB faculty/staff/students. Contact: BAM, 510-642-0808, <http://www.bampfa.berkeley.edu/>.

**February 14–25, 2006.** *Performance:* The San Francisco Ballet will perform Stravinsky and Balanchine's *Apollo*, among other works. At War Memorial Opera House, 301 Van Ness Ave, San Francisco. Fees: \$10-199. Contact: San Francisco Ballet, <http://www.sfballet.org/> or (415) 861-5600.

**February 16–26, 2006.** *Performance:* The San Francisco Ballet's program includes Possokhov's *Magritomania*. At War Memorial Opera House, 301 Van Ness Ave, San Francisco. Fees: \$10-199. Contact: San Francisco Ballet, <http://www.sfballet.org/> or (415) 861-5600.

**Saturday–Sunday, February 18–19, 2006.** *Festival:* San Francisco Tamburitza Festival. At the Slavonic Cultural Center, 60 Onondaga Ave, San Francisco. Fees: \$15 general, children free. Contact: Croatian American Cultural Center, <http://www.slavonicweb.org/> or (510) 649-0941.

**Saturday–Sunday, February 18–19, 2006.** *Performance:* The 2005 Guzik Foundation Award Winners, young musicians from Russia, will perform. At Florence Gould Theatre, Legion of Honor, San Francisco; Sat 8 p.m., Sun 2 p.m. Fees: \$17-22. Tickets are available through the City Box Office, <http://www.cityboxoffice.com> or (415) 392-4400. Contact: Guzik Foundation Award Winners, <http://www.chambermusicsf.org/index.html#Guzik>.

**Sunday, February 19, 2006.** *Human Rights Watch International Film Festival: The Troubles We've Seen: A History of Journalism in Wartime* (M. Ophuls, 1994), documenting Sarajevo in 1993. At Pacific Film Archive Theater, 2575 Bancroft Way, Berkeley, 3 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.

**Friday, February 24, 2006.** *Human Rights Watch International Film Festival: Videoletters*, Program I (E. van den Broek and K. Rejger, 2004/05). People in ex-Yugoslav republics send video messages to each other. At Pacific Film Archive Theater, 2575 Bancroft Way, Berkeley, 7 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.

**Friday, February 24, 2006.** *Concert:* The Oakland East Bay Symphony will perform Dvorak's *Stabat Mater*. At Paramount Theatre, 2025 Broadway, Oakland, 7 p.m. pre-concert talk, 8 p.m. concert. Fees: \$15-312. Contact: Oakland East Bay Symphony, <http://www.oebes.org/> or (510) 444-0801.

**Sunday, February 26, 2006.** *Performance:* Mihaela Ursuleasa, Romanian pianist, will perform works by Beethoven, Shostakovich, and Rachmaninov. At Florence Gould Theater, Legion of Honor, San Francisco, 2 p.m. Fees: \$27. Tickets are available by calling (415) 392-2545 or through TicketWeb, <http://www.ticketweb.com/>. Contact: San Francisco Performances, <http://www.performances.org/> or (415) 398-6449.

**Sunday, February 26, 2006.** *Performance:* Balazs Szokolay, piano, will perform works by Chopin. At Old First Concerts, 1751 Sacramento St, San Francisco, 3 p.m. Fees: \$15 general, \$12 seniors/students. Tickets are available through TicketWeb, <http://www.ticketweb.com/> or through OFC (\$3 surcharge) at (415) 474-1608. Sponsored by the San Francisco Chopin Council and the Honorary Consulate General of the Republic of Hungary. Contact: Old First Concerts, <http://www.oldfirstconcerts.org/> or (415) 474-1608.

**Sunday, February 26, 2006.** *Human Rights Watch International Film Festival: Videoletters*, Program II (E. van den Broek and K. Rejger, 2004/05). People in ex-Yugoslav republics send video messages to each other. At Pacific Film Archive Theater, 2575 Bancroft Way, Berkeley, 5:30 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.

**Friday, March 3, 2006.** *Performance:* "Melodiya" with Sergey Rakitchenkov, viola, Olga Ortenberg-Rakitchenkov, harp, and Arkadi Serper, piano. At Old First Concerts, 1751 Sacramento St, San Francisco, 8 p.m. Fees: \$15 general, \$12 seniors/students. Tickets are available through TicketWeb, <http://www.ticketweb.com/> or through OFC (\$3 surcharge) at (415) 474-1608. Contact: Old First Concerts, <http://www.oldfirstconcerts.org/> or (415) 474-1608.

**Sunday, March 12, 2006.** *Performance:* Takacs Quartet. At Hertz Hall, UC Berkeley, 3 p.m. Contact: Cal Performances, <http://www.calperfs.berkeley.edu/> or (510) 642-9988.

**Sunday, March 12, 2006.** *Performance:* Dmitry Rachmanov, Russian pianist, will perform works by Schubert. At Old First Concerts, 1751 Sacramento St, San Francisco, 3 p.m. Fees: \$15 general, \$12 seniors/students. Tickets are available through TicketWeb, <http://www.ticketweb.com/> or through OFC (\$3 surcharge) at (415) 474-1608. Contact: Old First Concerts, <http://www.oldfirstconcerts.org/> or (415) 474-1608.

**Friday, March 17, 2006.** *Performance:* The Rimsky-Korsakov String Quartet. At Old First Concerts, 1751 Sacramento St, San Francisco, 8 p.m. Fees: \$15 general, \$12 seniors/students. Tickets are available through TicketWeb, <http://www.ticketweb.com/> or through OFC (\$3 surcharge) at (415) 474-1608. Contact: Old First Concerts, <http://www.oldfirstconcerts.org/> or (415) 474-1608.

**Saturday, March 25, 2006.** *Concert:* The St. Petersburg Quartet will perform works by Shostakovich in celebration of the centennial of his birth. At Florence Gould Theater, Legion of Honor, San Francisco, 2 p.m. Fees: \$33-38. Tickets are available through the City Box Office, <http://www.cityboxoffice.com> or (415) 392-4400. Contact:

Chamber Music San Francisco, <http://www.chambermusic.sf.org/> or (415) 759-1756.

**Sunday, March 26, 2006.** *Concert:* The Russian National Orchestra, Mikhail Pletnev conducting, will perform works by Rachmaninoff and Tchaikovsky. At Davies Symphony Hall, 201 Van Ness Ave, San Francisco, 7 p.m. Fees: \$20-\$79; tickets are available by calling (415) 864-6000 or at <http://www.sfsymphony.org/>. Contact: San Francisco Symphony, <http://www.sfsymphony.org/> or (415) 552-8000.

**Sunday, March 26, 2006.** *Recital:* Vadim Repin, violin, and Nikolai Lugansky, piano. At Hertz Hall, UC Berkeley, 3 p.m. Fees: \$34-58. Contact: Cal Performances, <http://www.calperfs.berkeley.edu/> or (510) 642-9988.

**Wednesday, March 29, 2006.** *Performance:* Sergey Khachatryan, Armenian violinist, will perform works by Mozart, Schumann, and Franck. At Florence Gould Theater, Legion of Honor, San Francisco, 8 p.m. Fees: \$27. Tickets are available by calling (415) 392-2545 or through TicketWeb, <http://www.ticketweb.com/>. Contact: San Francisco Performances, <http://www.performances.org/> or (415) 398-6449.

**Saturday, April 1, 2006.** *Concert:* Vladimir Ovchinnikov, pianist, will perform works by Rachmaninoff and Mussorgsky. At Florence Gould Theater, Legion of Honor, San Francisco, 2 p.m. Fees: \$27-32. Tickets are available through the City Box Office, <http://www.cityboxoffice.com> or (415) 392-4400. Contact: Chamber Music San Francisco, <http://www.chambermusicssf.org/> or (415) 759-1756.

**Sunday, April 2, 2006.** *Concert:* Russian Chamber Orchestra will perform Stravinsky's *The Soldier's Tale* (in English). At Mt. Tamalpais United Methodist Church, Mill Valley, 5 p.m. Fees: \$20 general, \$17 students/seniors, ages 12 and younger free. Tickets may be purchased in advance. Contact: Russian Chamber Orchestra Society, <http://www.russianchamberorch.org/> or (415) 453-3116.

**Sunday, April 2, 2006.** *Performance:* Skampa Quartet. At Herbst Theatre, 401 Van Ness Ave, San Francisco, 7 p.m. Fees: \$26-44. Tickets are available by calling (415) 392-2545 or through TicketWeb, <http://www.ticketweb.com/>. Contact: San Francisco Performances, <http://www.performances.org/> or (415) 398-6449.

**Thursday-Sunday, April 6-9, 2006.** *Performance:* The Tchaikovsky Perm Ballet and Orchestra will perform Natalia Makarova's *Swan Lake*. At Hertz Hall, UC Berkeley; Thurs. & Sat. 8 p.m.; Fri. 2 p.m.; Sun. 3 p.m. Fees: \$36-68. Contact: Cal Performances, <http://www.calperfs.berkeley.edu/> or (510) 642-9988.

**Friday, April 21, 2006.** *Performance:* Namik Sultanov, Azerbaijani pianist, will perform works by Schubert, Liszt, Amirov, and Chopin. At Old First Concerts, 1751 Sacramento St, San Francisco, 8 p.m. Fees: \$15 general, \$12 seniors/students. Tickets are available through TicketWeb, <http://www.ticketweb.com/> or through OFC (\$3 surcharge) at (415) 474-1608. Contact: Old First Concerts, <http://www.oldfirstconcerts.org/> or (415) 474-1608.

**Sunday, April 23, 2006.** *Recital:* Krystian Zimerman, Polish pianist. At Zellerbach Hall, UC Berkeley, 3 p.m. Fees: \$34-58. Contact: Cal Performances, <http://www.calperfs.berkeley.edu/> or (510) 642-9988.

**Sunday, May 20, 2006.** *Concert:* Russian Chamber Orchestra will perform works by Bach, Mozart, and Schubert. At Mt. Tamalpais United Methodist Church, Mill Valley, 5 p.m. Fees: \$20 general, \$17 students/seniors, ages 12 and younger free. Tickets may be purchased in advance. Contact: Russian Chamber Orchestra Society, <http://www.russianchamberorch.org/> or (415) 453-3116.

**June 3–July 1, 2006.** *Performance:* The San Francisco Opera will perform Tchaikovsky's *The Maid of Orleans*. At the War Memorial Opera House, 301 Van Ness Ave, San Francisco, times vary by date. Tickets can be purchased at <http://www.sfopera.com/>, (415) 864-3330, or at the Opera House on M-F 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. Contact: San Francisco Opera, <http://www.sfopera.com/> or (415) 861-4008.

**Saturday, June 10, 2006.** *Concert:* "Music from the Magyars," featuring Hungarian composers, performed by Peter Grunberg, piano, Victor Romasevich, violin, and Peter Wyrick, cello. At Florence Gould Theater, Legion of Honor, San Francisco; 1:30 p.m. preconcert talk, 2 p.m. performance. Fees: \$27-32. Tickets are available through the City Box Office, <http://www.cityboxoffice.com> or (415) 392-4400. Contact: Chamber Music San Francisco, <http://www.chambermusicssf.org/> or (415) 759-1756.



# Book Review:

## *Revolutionary Passage: From Soviet to Post-Soviet Russia, 1985–2000*

*Elif Kale Lostuvali*

Marc Garcelon. *Revolutionary Passage: From Soviet to Post-Soviet Russia, 1985–2000*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2005. Paperback, 312 pages.

*Revolutionary Passage* provides an account of how “Russia’s latest revolution” (p. 3) ended in Putin’s rise to power. It does this by simultaneously attending two levels of analysis. On one level, it examines how and why the Russian democratic movement, despite its euphoric beginnings, died out so quickly—leaving the stage first to oligarchs and later to the Putin regime. According to Garcelon, *DemRossia*, the principal organization of the Russian democratic movement between 1989 and 1991, played a significant role in Yeltsin’s ascendance to power, and thus, in the dismantling of the Soviet Union. Yet, Yeltsin, instead of leading the transformation of the Russian democratic movement into a party and working towards democratic institution building, chose to conduct a policy of “economic revolution from above” (p. 226), aiming to build a market economy through state decrees. Initially, this caused *DemRossia* to break up over the question whether to support the Yeltsin government or not. But, more consequentially, the “shock therapy” reforms soon undermined the class base of the movement: “by June 1993, only 10 percent of the former specialist estate in Russia could be considered ‘middle-class’” (p. 199). On another level, Garcelon approaches the period following the onset of Gorbachev’s *perestroika* as one of a “political revolution” that destroyed the institutional basis of the Soviet political order. Here, he argues that the Yeltsin government “failed to consolidate an institutional alternative to Soviet power” (p. 12) and that it was only with Putin that an institutional reconsolidation was achieved.

The book begins with an introduction summarizing the main arguments and developing the conceptual framework used in the study. In developing his concept of “political revolution,” Garcelon refrains from engaging with the literature on revolutions and adopts a minimalist, Tocquevillian definition: “the destruction of the institutional backbone of a political order” (p. 9). He then goes on to expand this definition through the notion of “feudalization” and Bourdieu’s notions of *habitus* and field. Garcelon holds that the notion of feudalization does a better job of capturing the institutional disintegration characterizing the Russian situation in the 1990s than those

of privatization, mafiazation, or state collapse (p. 7). Against this background of feudalization, he approaches the revolutionary situation as one where the “the fit between the *habitus* and the field are undermined” (p. 12). He emphasizes the need to theorize how actors improvise in such a situation and develops for this purpose what he calls “trajectory improvisation model of political revolution” (p. 19).

Following this introduction, Chapters One through Five of the book provide a chronological account of Russia’s politics between the years 1985 and 2000. Chapter One begins by describing the voluntary associations that began to proliferate in mid-1986, continues with election campaign and the opening of the First USSR Congress of People’s Deputies in May 1989, and ends with the specialist rebellion that created the Democratic Platform of the CPSU and, thus, effectively split the party. Between 1986 and 1988, Garcelon identifies six major trends of informal activism: (1) apolitical sports, hobbies, and other such associations; (2) youth counter-cultural groups; (3) associations dedicated to environmental or other social issues such as religious freedom; (4) nationalist groups and movements; (5) human rights defense groups; and (6) pro-reform political clubs (p. 50). But he notes that the 1989 mobilization of the democratically-oriented specialists eclipsed the youth-oriented informal groups and the pre-reform political clubs (p. 57). Chapter Two is devoted to the rise of the Russian democratic movement. It begins with the founding of the Moscow Association of Voters in June 1989, which, according to Garcelon, “formed the backbone of the democratic movement for the next two years” (p. 80), as the official proclamation of *DemRossia* in January 1990 was simply a renaming of the former. The chapter goes on to describe *DemRossia*’s leading and successful involvement in the February demonstrations for the repeal of the article enshrining “the leading role of the party” (p. 90); in the campaign for the March 1990 elections to republican and local soviets following the abolishment of CPSU’s political monopoly; and in the creation of the “dual power” situation upon the Russian Republic’s declaration of sovereignty. Chapters Three and Four trace the story of how the aspirations to turn *DemRossia* into a political party were stifled and how this led to the fragmentation and weakening of the movement. In both chapters, Garcelon emphasizes how Yeltsin benefited from the support of the

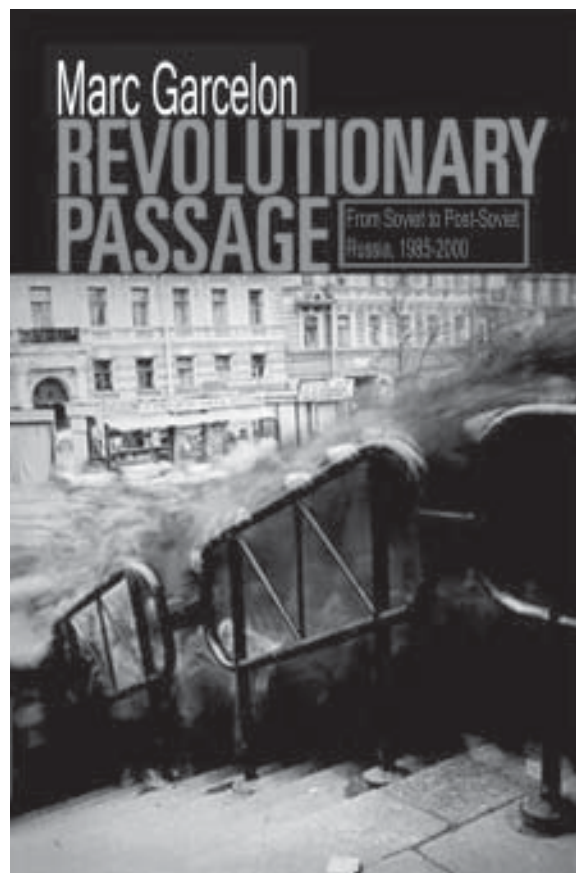


*DemRossia* network even as he refrained from a clear alliance with it, and how the democrats became increasingly identified with the failing reforms even as they had little say over them. In Garcelon's view, in neglecting *DemRossia's* calls for founding a party and for an election in the fall of 1991, Yeltsin missed a major opportunity to initiate a democratic institutionalization process. The final chapter of the book describes the period from early 1992 when Yeltsin set out on an "economic revolution from above" to early 2000 when Putin became the president as a period of further institutional disintegration / feudalization by "a motley of violent entrepreneurs" (p. 299). As such, when Putin was finally able to reverse this process, the democratic movement had largely disintegrated, and the institutional reconsolidation was aimed more at a powerful state than at a strong civil society.

Based on news reports and extensive interviews with leaders and participants in the Russian democratic movement, Garcelon's book provides an extremely rich and detailed account of the political developments that shaped the lives of not only the inhabitants of the Russian Republic, but also those of the former Soviet Union. Reading *Revolutionary Passage* is like watching a replay of the puzzling processes by which the Soviet Union came apart. While this is a major contribution to the study of both the

Soviet Union and the Russian Federation, the book suffers from a few drawbacks. First, the narrative of the empirical chapters, at times, gets too detailed for many readers to follow. This is, in part, because the conceptual framework developed in the introductory chapter is not sufficiently brought in to bear on the empirical data. This, in turn, becomes most clear when the author's narrative blends seamlessly with those of the interviewees (e.g., p.179). Second, the concept feudalization is called to do the explanatory work for too wide a range of developments without sufficient elaboration. It might be true that it is a crucial process in the story, but the author could spend more time elaborating its role at different instances. Finally, while Garcelon argues that Yeltsin's choice of a revolution from above over democratic institutionalization constitutes a missed opportunity, the extent to which such an opportunity really existed remains as an open question. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, *Revolutionary Passage* is as an important work for all interested in thinking about the pitfalls and prospects of democratic politics.

*Elif Kale Lostuvali is a graduate student in the Department of Sociology. She works on cultural change in the Islamic regions of the Soviet Union.*



# Wither the Union? Interim Findings on the “Changing” Ethnic Makeup of Montenegro and the Independence Referendum

*Andrej Milivojevic and Milos Besic*

*Andrej Milivojevic is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of History focusing on comparative legal history and quantitative methods. Milos Besic, a Ph.D. in social psychology whose research focuses on social mobility, gender, and psychometric methods, provided the survey data for the article.*

Yugoslavia’s disintegration, and the war in Bosnia especially, spawned a “thriving cottage industry” of books that delve into the causes and consequences of the breakup, but Montenegro has received little attention.<sup>1</sup> While still a part of a very loose “state union” with Serbia, Montenegro has been gradually distancing itself from Belgrade since the late 1990s. The ruling coalition, headed by the Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS), has made full independence a part of its platform in the last several elections, and has promised to hold a referendum on independence, an option explicitly permitted by the Charter of the State Union no earlier than 4 February 2006. The current president, and former prime minister, Filip Vujanovic, directly stated that “there will first be negotiations with Serbia and then we’ll call for the referendum in February of next year.”<sup>2</sup>

The interim findings presented here confirm the conventional wisdom that Montenegrins, Bosniaks, and Albanians strongly prefer independence, while Serbs strongly prefer a common state. The findings, based on the most recent available survey data from December 2005, also raise several timely questions, including the stability of ethnic identity.<sup>3</sup> In the debates on the outcomes of the announced referendum, the origins and implications of Montenegro’s “changing” ethnic makeup should not be overlooked.

Among the former republics, Montenegro remains the *only* one that has had no large scale armed conflict take place on its soil, and arguably only Slovenia has experienced fewer shocks; nonetheless, a huge demographic change has taken place. Between the 1991 census, the last pre-war census, and the 2003 census, the number of self-declared Montenegrins plummeted from about 60% to 40% of the population, while the number of Serbs increased from 9% to about 30%. The first part of the paper outlines this change. The second part explores the importance of relations with Serbia to voting patterns. Lastly, the paper outlines results from an opinion survey conducted in December 2005 that asks respondents about their support for the State Union.

A larger paper would address the question of *why* such an apparently dramatic split occurred within the titular, Montenegrin majority. Here, the changes in ethnic self-identification that seem to have occurred between the 1991 and 2003 censuses are first outlined and then partially explained using results of elections held during that period. By seeing the split in the political space into two voting blocks—one pro-independence, the other pro-union—the basis of the “ethnic” dynamic in the referendum process should become clearer and provide a propitious point of departure for a larger study examining the fluidity, or elective nature, of ethnic identity.

## Montenegrins into Serbs? Electing a National Identity

A quick comparison of the 1991 and 2003 censuses suggests that many of those who self-identified as Serbs in 2003 most likely self-identified as Montenegrins a decade earlier (Table 1). There are several problems with making this comparison, however. For one, between 1971 and 1991, Montenegrin citizens who resided outside of Montenegro for over a year, as guest workers, students, and so on, were counted. By contrast, the 2003 census did not count citizens residing abroad for over a year, but counted all permanent residents, including foreign citizens.<sup>4</sup> If the absence of armed hostilities did not increase mortality and create a refugee problem that Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia continue to deal with, *out migration* certainly did take place, and well before the 1990s, as did local migration.<sup>5</sup>

Shifting declared identity from one group to another occurred in earlier censuses, though the shift in the 1990s appears larger than any previous “reshuffling.” According to the 2003 census, Yugoslavs all but disappeared, though in the early 1980s they constituted over 4% of the population, concentrated in the three coastal municipalities with military installations—Kotor, Tivat, and Herceg Novi. As Muslims approach the status of constitutive nation, the number of Montenegrins declines, suggesting that at least some who identified as Muslim identified as Montenegrin in an earlier censuses.<sup>6</sup> Bosniaks emerged as a nation only

**Table 1: Montenegro's Ethnic and National Makeup, 1948–2003 Censuses (as Percent of Total Population)**

	1948	1953	1961	1971	1981	1991	2003 <sup>3</sup>
<b>Montenegrin</b>	90.7	86.6	81.4	67.2	68.5	61.9	43.2
<b>Serb</b>	1.8	3.3	3.0	7.5	3.3	9.3	32.0
<b>Albanian</b>	5.2	2.3	5.5	6.7	6.5	6.6	5.0
<b>Muslim<sup>1</sup></b>			6.5	13.3	13.4	14.6	11.7
<b>Croat</b>	1.8	1.5	2.3	1.7	1.8	1.0	1.1
<b>Yugoslav</b>		5.6	0.3	2.1	5.7	4.3	0.3
<b>Others<sup>2</sup></b>	0.6	0.6	1.1	1.6	0.8	2.4	6.7
<i>Total Pop.</i>	<i>377,189</i>	<i>419,873</i>	<i>471,894</i>	<i>529,604</i>	<i>584,310</i>	<i>615,035</i>	<i>620,145</i>

Notes: Gray means the category did not exist; 1) Muslims were counted as a religious group in 1961 and as a nation in 1971; the data for 2003 merges for simplicity the categories of Muslim and Bosniak; 2) Includes all remaining groups and, in 2003, foreign citizens, those that declined to state, and unknown; 3) New methodology, excluding citizens living abroad for over a year and including foreigners.

Sources: Petrovic, "National Composition of Yugoslavia's Population," *Yugoslav Survey* (1992) and *Zavod za statistiku C. Gore*.

in the 2003 census, presumably largely from the Muslim community.<sup>7</sup> The quotidian point is that identity and broader political questions are related.

### Estimates of Municipal-Level Patterns of Flip-Flopping from a Montenegrin to a Serb

Despite the limited comparability of the 1991 and 2003 census, it is possible to discern some trends. In terms of the ethnic makeup of the Serb and Montenegrin parts of the population, most municipalities fall into three types (Figure 1). The census includes data on migration, in Book Eight,

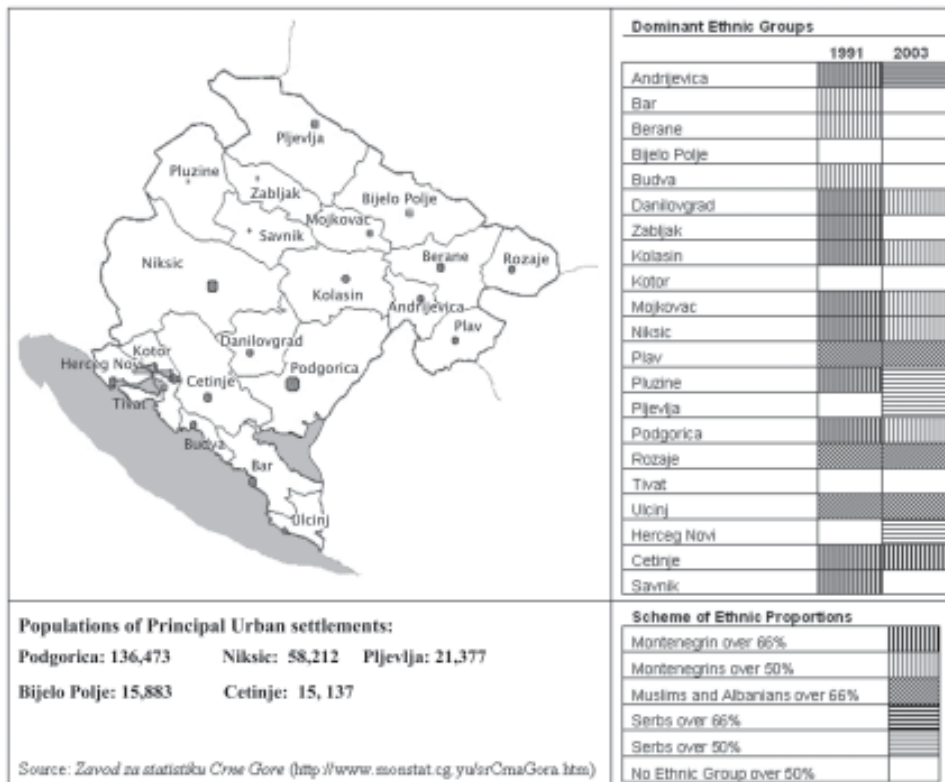
but for simplicity's sake rates of in and out migration are not considered here.

First, some *municipalities remain unchanged*. **Cetinje**, the traditional capital of Montenegro, remained the most cohesively Montenegrin. Given the city's historic significance, it seems unlikely that a large number of Montenegrins would switch to self-identifying as Serbs. Three "Muslim majority" municipalities also do not change ethnically. **Ulcinj**, hugging the Albanian border and the Adriatic, still has a two-thirds Albanian majority, as do Muslims and Bosniaks in **Rozaje**, a municipality squished between Kosovo and Serbia. In nearby **Plav**, Bosniaks and Albanians still have a combined majority of over two-thirds.

In the larger, more urban municipalities the population appears to have *split*. In the municipality with Montenegro's largest city, **Podgorica**, the numbers shifted from 72% Montenegrin in 1991 to 56% in 2003, and from 8% to 25% Serb. Similarly, in **Niksic**, the second largest municipality, the proportion of Montenegrins decreased from 88% to 63% between the two censuses, while the proportion of Serbs increased from 6% to 27%. A number of smaller municipalities follow this trend, including **Kolasin**, **Pluzine**, and **Savnik**.

Three coastal municipalities, **Herceg Novi**, **Tivat**, and **Kotor**, were about 20% Yugoslav in 1991, presumably

**Figure 1: Municipalities in Montenegro and the Main Changes in Ethnic Self-Identification Trends between 1991 and 2003**



many working for the military which traditionally self-identified as Yugoslav, in keeping with the legacy of the partisan struggle.<sup>8</sup> These municipalities had the largest proportion of those who declined to state their nationality in the 2003 census, though there is no practicable way to determine how those individuals declared themselves previously.

Especially of interest here are *municipalities that flip-flop*. In three that border Serbia, **Berane, Pljevlja, and Bijelo Polje**, and in **Andrijevica**, self-identified Montenegrins, the majority in 1991, became the minority by 2003, while self-identified Serbs became the majority. In Andrijevica, for example, Montenegrins went from being almost 85% of the population to 25%, while Serbs increased from 13% to 70% between 1991 and 2003—a veritable flip-flop. No other group resides in the municipality, which suffers from depopulation and is one of the poorest; less than a 150 of its inhabitants declared that they migrated from outside Serbia or Montenegro. Newcomers didn't alter the ethnic structure; rather, the locals switched their self-identification.<sup>9</sup> On a lesser scale, a similar process occurred throughout Montenegro.

### Change Over Time? From the 1992 Referendum to the 2006 Referendum

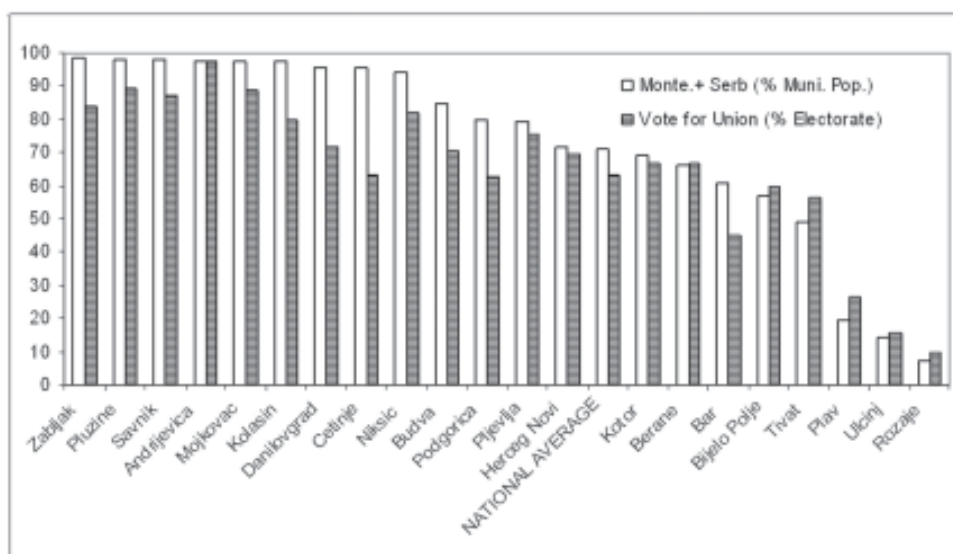
Reconstructing how the shift or flip-flop in self-identification occurred requires, among other evidence, examining election results. Since the announced referendum is a political mechanism, it makes sense to look at the elections that took place between 1990 and 2003. The first elections for the National Assembly (9 December 1990) resoundingly confirmed the power of the League of Communists of Montenegro. “Milosevic’s supporters in Montenegro did not even trouble to change the name of the Communist party; they won 83 out of 125 seats in the parliament under their old name of the League of Communists of Montenegro, while their leader won the presidency of this, the smallest Yugoslav republic with 42.2 per cent of the vote.”<sup>10</sup> Sekelj asserts that the LCM’s inheritor, Demokratska Partija Socialista (Democratic Party of Socialists), constituted itself much as Milosevic’s Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS), and “until it split in 1997, the DPS was absolutely dominant in Montenegro among all strata.”<sup>11</sup>

### The March 1992 Referendum

A referendum held in 1992, little noticed at the time and since, enabled the continuation of a Yugoslavia. The electorate decided to stay with Serbia within a common state, unsurprisingly given that the referendum took place during a nationalist revival that took place across the republics and contributed to the outbreak of violence.<sup>12</sup>

Municipalities with the highest proportion of Montenegrins and Serbs overwhelmingly voted for the referendum. Assuming that each ethnic group had about an equal chance of registering, comparing the percentage of the population that is Serb and Montenegrin to the percent-

**Figure 2: Relationship between Voting for the 1992 Referendum and Municipal Ethnic Makeup**



age of the electorate that voted for a new common state reveals that the majority of self-declared Montenegrins supported the referendum (Figure 2).<sup>13</sup>

Andrijevica, the one municipality that switched most dramatically, voted overwhelmingly for the referendum, suggesting that those who self-identified as Montenegrins in the 1991 census voted affirmatively. By contrast, in the traditional capital Cetinje, the most quintessentially Montenegrin municipality, support was significantly lower, with less than two-thirds of the electorate voting for the referendum. The weakest support for the referendum came from the Muslim-majority municipalities of Plav, Rozaje, and Ulcinj.

The Sandzak Muslims, it should be noted, also organized a referendum (25–27 October 1991) and, in tandem with Montenegro’s referendum on joining Yugoslavia, voted to assert their special status within Yugoslavia. In stark contrast to the other referendums organized, constitutions passed, and independence proclamations by the Kosovo Albanians in 1990, the Krajina Serbs in 1991, and the Bosnian Serbs in 1992, *Sandzak Muslims did not*



**Table 2: Pro-Independence and Pro-Union Voting Blocks and Parliamentary Election Results (1998, 2001, 2002)**

Results of Montenegrin Parliamentary Elections		May 1998		April 2001		October 2002	
Parties		% of Vote	Seats	% of Vote	Seats	% of Vote	Seats
<b>Pro-Independence Block</b>		<b>58.4</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>52.5</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>55.9</b>	<b>45</b>
Democratic Party of Socialists and Partners		49.5	42	42.4	36	47.7	39
Liberal Party of Montenegro		6.3	5	7.9	6	5.7	4
Democratic Alliance - Mehmet Bardi		1.6	1	1	1	2.5	2
Democratic Union of Albanians		1	1	1.2	1		
<b>Pro-Union Block</b>		<b>36.1</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>40.9</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>37.8</b>	<b>30</b>
Socialist People's Party and Partners		36.1	29	40.9	33	37.8	30
<b>All other parties below census</b>		<b>4.5</b>		<b>6.7</b>		<b>6.3</b>	
<i>Total Votes Cast</i>		<i>343,350</i>		<i>363,404</i>		<i>353,102</i>	

Sources: <http://www.cemi.cg.yu/izbori> and <http://www.cdtmn.org/>

Notes: DPS and SNP led coalitions in both the 2001 and 2003 elections; the Albanian parties formed a coalition in 2003.

*abandon the state and merely demanded regional and cultural autonomy.*<sup>14</sup> Unlike in Serbia, where the Muslim and especially the Albanian communities boycotted elections in the 1990s, these communities found that participation in the political process in Montenegro ultimately addressed their concerns with sufficient success.<sup>15</sup> Though cultural distance persists, the Orthodox and Muslim populations never reactivated a cycle of violence, an important precedent given that most of the victims of the wars of succession are hereditary if not practicing Muslims.<sup>16</sup> The legacy of interethnic violence will be discussed in a larger paper.

### The 1997 Split in the Ruling Party and the Emergence of Independence Politics

In the 1996 federal and republican elections, the DPS again won over a half of the vote. They sent 20 deputies in the Federal Chamber of Citizens and secured 45 seats in the National Assembly in Belgrade. Lastly, the DPS performed just as well in local elections, both times winning seats in all 21 municipalities, including those with few ethnic Montenegrins (Plav and Ulcinj).<sup>17</sup>

Djukanovic broke with the Milosevic regime after the Dayton Accords ended the war in Bosnia. In heated

**Table 3: Three Types of Municipal Level Ethnic Change between Censuses and Stability of Voting Blocks**

Municipality (Ethnic Change)	Main Groups	1991		2003		Main Parties	1998		2002	
		Census	Census	Census	Census		% of Vote	% of Vote	% of Vote	% of Vote
<b>Cetinje:</b> (Unchanged: Montenegrin Majority)	<b>Montenegrin</b>	93.0	90.7			<b>Pro-Independence</b>	<b>86.9</b>	<b>86.4</b>		
	<b>Muslim<sup>1</sup></b>	0.5	0.2			DPS and Partners	54.8	48.1		
	<b>Serb</b>	2.6	4.6			Liberal Party of Montenegro	32.1	38.3		
	<b>Others<sup>2</sup></b>	0.4	4.3			<b>Pro-Union: SNP and Partners</b>	10.6	9.9		
						<b>All other parties below census</b>	2.4	3.6		
<b>Ulcinj:</b> (Unchanged: Albanian Majority)	<b>Montenegrin</b>	12.4	11.9			<b>Pro-Independence</b>	<b>86.2</b>	<b>85.1</b>		
	<b>Albanian</b>	72.1	72.1			Milo Dukanovic Coalition	37.8	35.3		
	<b>Muslim<sup>1</sup></b>	4.8	4.8			Albanian Coalition	44.3	46.8		
	<b>Serb</b>	1.7	7.4			Liberal Party of Montenegro	4.1	3.0		
	<b>Others<sup>2</sup></b>	9	3.7			<b>Pro-Union: SNP and Partners</b>	<b>11.6</b>	<b>11.3</b>		
					<b>All other parties below census</b>	<b>2.1</b>	<b>3.6</b>			
<b>Niksic:</b> (Split: Montenegrins and Serbs)	<b>Montenegrin</b>	88.2	62.6			<b>Pro-Independence</b>	<b>61.6</b>	<b>55.9</b>		
	<b>Muslim<sup>1</sup></b>	2.0	1.1			Milo Dukanovic Coalition	53.8	50.1		
	<b>Serb</b>	5.7	26.7			Liberal Party of Montenegro	7.8	5.8		
	<b>Others<sup>2</sup></b>	4.0	9.5			<b>Pro-Union: SNP and Partners</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>39.6</b>		
						<b>All other parties below census</b>	<b>5.4</b>	<b>4.5</b>		
<b>Pljevlja:</b> (“Flip-Flop”: Montenegrins into Serbs)	<b>Montenegrin</b>	55.4	21.5			<b>Pro-Independence</b>	<b>40.3</b>	<b>42.4</b>		
	<b>Muslim<sup>1</sup></b>	17.6	13.4			Milo Dukanovic Coalition	39.2	41.5		
	<b>Serb</b>	24.2	60.1			Liberal Party of Montenegro	1.1	0.9		
	<b>Others<sup>2</sup></b>	2.8	5.0			<b>Pro-Union: SNP and Partners</b>	<b>50.3</b>	<b>52.9</b>		
						<b>All other parties below census</b>	<b>9.2</b>	<b>4.7</b>		

Notes: 1) Muslim used as a nation since the 1971 Census; 2) For 1991, Others based on old methodology; for 2003, Others include Undeclared and data based on new methodology used in 2003 Census.

Sources: “Savezni Zavod za Statistiku,” *Popis SFRJ 1991, Knjiga 1.*; <http://www.cemi.cg.yu/izbori> and <http://www.cdtmn.org/>; and <http://www.montenet.org/politics/results3.htm>.

**Table 4: Logit Coefficients for Ethnic Self-Identification, Gender and Age (CEDEM Survey, December 2005)**

Comparison		Constant	Montenegrin vs. Albanian	Serb vs. Albanian	Muslim vs. Albanian	Other vs. Albanian	Men vs. Women	Age
Pro-Union vs. Pro-Independence	Coef.	-4.0	2.4	6.5	1.4	3.4	-0.3	0.0
	z	-6.2	4.0	10.1	2.3	5.5	-2.1	3.6
Abstain vs. Pro-Independence	Coef.	-1.1	0.6	2.6	0.3	1.4	-0.7	0.0
	z	-3.1	2.1	6.6	0.8	3.8	-4.0	-0.9
Not Known vs. Pro-Independence	Coef.	-2.0	0.5	3.2	0.9	1.3	-1.3	0.0
	z	-3.8	1.1	6.1	1.8	2.3	-5.4	-0.2

presidential elections in 1997, Djukanovic narrowly defeated his one-time closest ally, Momir Bulatovic, with whom he climbed with alacrity through the Communist hierarchy.<sup>18</sup> While election rigging in the first round produced a victory for Bulatovic, Djukanovic approached the Muslim communities and narrowly won the second round.<sup>19</sup>

The pattern that persisted in Montenegrin politics from then on includes support for Djukanovic from the Muslim community and a proportionately larger share of the urban and coastal vote—precisely the regions that voted less for the 1992 referendum and where support for the upcoming referendum appears strongest—while the “pro-Belgrade” opposition derives most of its support from the interior and the north of the republic, the very regions expressing the highest pro-union sentiments in 1992 as well as in recent surveys. A larger study will detail the recurrence of this pattern. For instance, strong opposition to a common state after WWI came from regions that support restoring Montenegrin sovereignty nowadays.

Examining the 1997 presidential elections for use of “ethnic politics” should provide insights into the shift in ethnic identification. For now, the stability of the two main electoral blocks underlies the importance of relations with Serbia to the electorate and shows why conventional wisdom has it that a slight majority supports independence (Table 2).<sup>20</sup> The two predominantly Albanian parties, the Democratic Union and the Democratic Alliance, are committed to independence, while the Liberal Alliance has had a pro-independence platform since its inception. Djukanovic’s coalition framed both the 2001 and 2002 campaigns around the theme of independence, while Bulatovic’s camp framed them around a pro-state union theme (the logo of the 2001 campaign was “Together for Yugoslavia”). Both of the major parties utilize strongly social-democratic language, suggesting a broad rhetorical agreement about levels of public goods provision.

To show these trends in greater detail, changes in four municipalities are analyzed (Table 3). The voting pattern and ethnic changes appear correlated. In those municipalities that stay ethnically unchanged (i.e., with Montenegrin, Bosniak, and Albanian majorities), pro-independence

parties consistently enjoy the strongest support. By contrast, pro-union support appears strongest in municipalities that flip-flopped between the two censuses and where support for the 1992 referendum was highest. Both types are regionally concentrated (compare Figure 1 with Table 3 results), while the largest urban centers fall in between these two trends.

One is the most staunchly Montenegrin, **Cetinje**, where the electorate responded comparatively tepidly to the 1992 referendum and where pro-independence parties, both Djukanovic’s and the Liberal Party, consistently win. Not surprisingly, respondents from Cetinje in the 2005 survey prefer independence.<sup>21</sup>

In **Pljevlja**, the proportions of Montenegrins and Serbs appear like mirror images. Here, support for the unionist party is stronger than for the ruling party, but not overwhelming—while most Montenegrins support independence, almost a quarter would abstain, and some 15% are simply against independence. This suggests that “mixed” Serb-Montenegrin municipalities differ from those where either is the current majority. A similar pattern emerges in the “split” municipality of **Niksic**, Montenegro’s second largest urban and economic center. The number of Serbs seems to have quadrupled and of Montenegrins shrunk by a quarter. As in Pljevlja, Montenegrins appear to support independence less than in unchanged municipalities like Ulcinj and Cetinje, an issue that will be explored further.

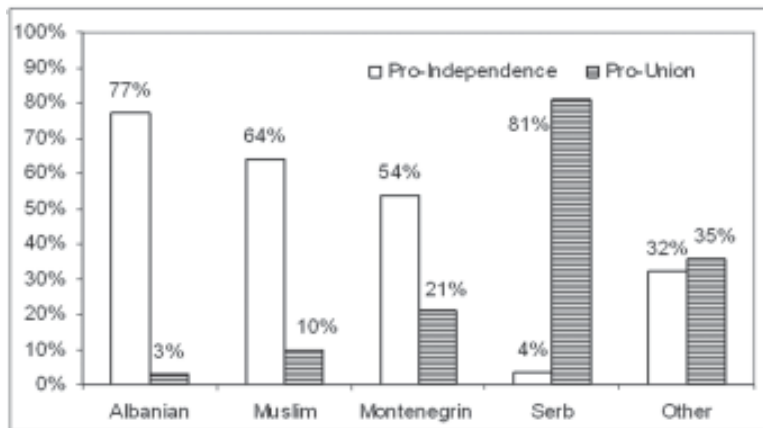
### Who’s for Independence, and Who’s for the Union?

Survey data are used to analyze who supports an independent Montenegro (Table 4).<sup>22</sup> The dependent variable consists of four answer choices offered in the CEDEM survey question, “In the past year, we have heard various possibilities about the future relations.” The choices include supporting an independent Montenegro, supporting the State Union, having no preference, and not knowing. The independent variables include the gender and age of respondents, and their self-declared national or ethnic belonging.<sup>23</sup>

- The odds of being pro-union relative to being pro-independence are 6.5 times (or over 63,000%!) greater for self-identified Serbs compared to self-identified Albanians, holding age and gender at mean values.
- There is an almost 30% decrease in the odds of being pro-union compared to pro-independence for women.

Because the results appear as coefficients, showing the likelihood of specific answers across different ethnic groups is more intuitive for all but the most quantitatively oriented (Figure 3).

**Figure 3: Predicted Probabilities for Being Pro-Independence and Pro-Union, Controlling for Age and Gender (December 2005, CEDEM Survey)**



Several trends jump out:

- Self-identified Albanians and Serbs are virtually mirror images of each other and represent the strongest supporters and opponents of independence, respectively.
- Self-identified Muslims and Montenegrins follow a pattern similar to Albanians but have higher proportions of those who “Don’t Know.”
- Those who do not belong to the main ethnic groups, namely self-identified Croats, Yugoslavs, Roma, and others, are the most evenly split.

Taking municipalities that represent the three main trends in shifting ethnic makeup, namely those that stay the same (Cetinje), those that split (Niksic), and those that flip-flop (Pljevlja), reveals what these findings mean on the municipal level (Figure 4). Virtually all the support in municipalities without significant Bosniak and Albanian communities, such as Cetinje, comes from Montenegrins. Self-identified Serbs make up most of those who prefer the union, as in Pljevlja, while the Bosniak population there makes up over two-thirds of those preferring sovereignty.<sup>24</sup> Comparing Figure 4 with voting blocks (Table 3)

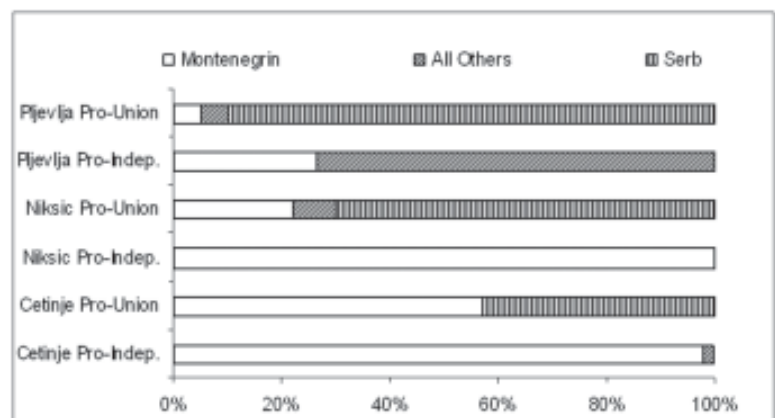
suggests the ethnic basis of independence politics, while comparing these two with the 1992 referendum results (Figure 2) suggests that the shift in identification took place both within the political elite and the electorate.

### Discussion: Withering of the Union and Strengthening of (Multi)Ethnic Politics?

The paper shows that self-identification and opinions about the state union are related. The problem is: does the announced referendum drive self-identification, or is it the other way around? In other words, what is the independent variable? Montenegro’s split from Milosevic’s Yugoslavia required a number of steps; one of them included appealing to the troubled legacy of the union since its inception in 1918 through highly irregular plebiscitary elections, another was the union’s inability to deliver sufficient improvements in living standards in the 1990s. After the split in the ruling party in 1997, various steps were taken to distance and insulate Montenegro from Serbia’s influence and to become closer to the West. Apart from the material dividends that such a move brought to both the ruling elite and, to a certain extent, to the population, this can be seen as another chapter in Montenegro’s modernization process. The legacy of historic backwardness, then, remains important and will be explored in a longer study.

Second, the titular nation largely supports independence. The minorities express both the strongest support for and opposition to independence. Serbs, a minority that has a “mother state” in the near abroad much like the Bosniaks and Albanians, most strongly oppose independence. Practicing and hereditary Slavic Muslims and Albanians most strongly prefer an independent state and participate in the government and civic life. In the context of the wars of succession, fought largely along ethnic lines that coincided with differential levels of regional economic development, the willingness of “minorities” to accept and participate in a “majority” state

**Figure 4: Cross-Tabulation of the Proportion of Montenegrin and Serb Respondents Supporting Independence and Union**



and society deserves careful attention. How much does each “mean minority voter” stand to lose and gain, materially and psychologically? This question also merits further exploration.

To argue that the emergence or reemergence of Serbian nationalism in Montenegro has, as an unintended consequence, facilitated the acceptance of the state by traditionally marginalized ethnic groups appears at least partially justified. The alliance between the titular Slavic majority and the “Muslim minorities” has few, if any parallels in the former Yugoslavia, as belied by conditions in Kosovo and in Macedonia. The development, redolent of the queuing and balancing in Yugoslavia’s nationality policy, offers food for thought especially since the “civic option” still seems weaker than an ethnic option. This returns us to the central ambiguity surrounding the shift in self-identification in Montenegro—namely, to what extent does identification determine policy and, in this case, polity preferences. If a sizable proportion of erstwhile Montenegrins became Serbs, could they “go back” and under what conditions? And to what extent does this confirm Linz and Stepan’s assessment that “political identities are less primordial than they are contingent and changing ... [and] amenable to being constructed or ordered by political institutions and political choices”?<sup>25</sup>

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> The phrase is from a somewhat dated but still useful review essay by veteran scholars of the region. Gale Stokes et. al., “Instant History: Understanding the Wars of Yugoslav Succession,” *Slavic Review* 55:1 (Spring 1996): 148.

<sup>2</sup> “Vujanovic: Dogovor, pa referendum,” *B92* Web site (23 May 2005).

<sup>3</sup> Findings from CEDEM’s quarterly survey consistently reveal a deeply divided body politic: around 80% of the electorate is almost evenly split between pro-independence and pro-union forces, while the remaining 20% do not express an opinion on the issue (e.g., CEDEM, Department for Empirical Research. *Politicko javno mnjenje Crne Gore [Political Public Opinion in Montenegro]*. Podgorica: CEDEM [June 2004]: 12–13).

<sup>4</sup> Statistical Office of Montenegro, *Census of Population, Households and Dwellings 2003 (Population by National or Ethnic Affiliation, and by Settlements and Municipalities)*, Book I: 8. According to the “old” methodology, the population was 615,035 in 1991 and 673,094 in 2003; according to the “new” one, these figures decrease to 593,504 and 620,145, respectively.

<sup>5</sup> Serbia’s premier, Vojislav Kostunica, delivered a list of some 260,000 citizens of Montenegro who live and work in Serbia to EU’s Enlargement Commissioner, Ollie Rehn (*B92* Website, “Kostunicin spisak: Zasto i za sta” [17 June

2005]). Some 13,400 refugees resided in Montenegro at the end of 2003, most of them ethnic Serbs or Montenegrins from Bosnia and Croatia; 18,040 internally displaced persons (IDPs), mostly Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, who were not counted in the census (UNHCR, *2003 UNHCR Statistical Yearbook: Serbia and Montenegro*, 306–307). Eugene Hammel and Mirjana Stevanovic’s estimation of migration patterns will be replicated in a larger study (“The Migration of Serbs and Albanians within and Between Inner Serbia and Kosovo, c. 1930–1980,” *CEES Newsletter* 19:2 (Spring 2002).

<sup>6</sup> Sabrina Ramet, *Nationalism and Federalism in Yugoslavia, 1962–1991*, second edition, Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana UP (1992): 177–86.

<sup>7</sup> On the nationality policy, a useful study done with a huge survey traces tolerance in the late levels and finds that the most heterogeneous areas were both modernizing most quickly but also were at greater risk of civil unrest: Hodson, Sekulic, and Massey, “National Tolerance in the Former Yugoslavia,” *American Journal of Sociology* 99:6 (May 1994): 1535–1558; Lily Hamourtziadou, “The Bosniaks: From Nation to Threat,” *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans* 4:2 (November 2000): 141–156.

<sup>8</sup> Aleksa Djilas, *The Contested Country: Yugoslav Unity and the Communist Revolution, 1919–1953*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard UP (1991): 150–180.

<sup>9</sup> The depopulation is also not sufficient to account for the change in population percentages. For basic socioeconomic indicators, the Statistical Office of Montenegro provides a convenient, municipal-level overview: <http://www.monstat.cg.yu/srCrnaGora.htm> and *Census of Population*, Book VIII: 8.

<sup>10</sup> Aleksand Pavkovic, *The Fragmentation of Yugoslavia: Nationalism in a Multinational State*, New York: St. Martin’s Press (1993): 119. In fact, the LCM transformed itself into the still-ruling Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS) only in June 1991.

<sup>11</sup> Laslo Sekelj, “Parties and Elections: The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia—Change Without Transformation,” *Europe-Asia Studies* 52:1 (Spring 2000): 62; Jovan Teokarevic, “Neither War nor Peace: Serbia and Montenegro in the First Half of the 1990s” in David A. Dyker and Ivan Vejvoda, eds., *Yugoslavia and After: A Study in Fragmentation, Despair, and Rebirth*, London: Longman Press (1996): 191–192; “Results of the December 1992 Parliamentary and Presidential Elections,” *Yugoslav Survey* 34:1 (Spring 1993): 3–51; “Elections of Councillors in Municipal and City Assemblies in December 1992 in the FR Yugoslavia,” *Yugoslav Survey* 34:3 (Fall 1993): 39–56; “Elections for Deputies to the Chamber of Citizens of the Federal Assembly in 1996,” *Yugoslav Survey* 37:4 (Winter 1996): 51–60. “Elections of Councilors in the Municipal and Town Assemblies,” *Yugoslav Survey* 38:3 (Fall 1997): 19–23.



<sup>12</sup> Ramet, *Nationalism and Federalism*, 137–80.

<sup>13</sup> The correlation coefficient between the two quantities is 0.94; while the ecological fallacy cannot be discounted, the results suggest community-level trends that will be explored more rigorously. Of course, the chance of being registered to vote is not equal—for instance, Plav, where Bosniaks and Albanians form the majority, had a statistically significantly lower proportion of registered voters ( $z = -2.61$ )—nor can it be assumed that equal proportions actually do vote.

<sup>14</sup> Despite the regrettable omission of the so-called Kacanik Constitution, the constitution passed (7 September 1990) in the town of Kacanik by Kosovo Albanian politicians from the provincial assembly dissolved by Milosevic, that proclaimed Kosovo a republic, a monograph includes and conveniently translates into Serbo-Croatian new constitutions of the former republics as well as of the Krajina and Bosnian Serbs: *Novi Ustavei na Tlu Bisve Jugoslavije (New Constitutions on the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia)*, Belgrade, Serbia and Montenegro: *Medjunarodna Politika*, Faculty of Law and Faculty of Political Science (1995).

<sup>15</sup> Serious problems exist, and early in the dissolution, Tibor Verady accurately observed that in the former Yugoslavia “minorities have found themselves outside the new trends, and even outside the logic of new communities that have been taking shape” (“Collective and Minority Rights and Problems in Their Legal Protection: The Example of Yugoslavia,” *EEPS* 6:3 [Fall 1992]: 262.) Robert Hayden documented the ruinous consequences of “constitutional nationalism” and notes that Montenegro’s 1992 constitution states, in language similar to that found in Slovenia’s 1989 amendments, and in Croatia’s and Serbia’s constitutions from 1990, the following: “On the basis of historical *right of the Montenegrin nation to its own state*, established in centuries of struggle for freedom ... the Parliament of Montenegro ... enacts and proclaims the Constitution of the Republic of Montenegro” (“Constitutional Nationalism and the Logic of the Wars in Yugoslavia,” *Problems of Post-Communism* 43:5 [September-October 1996]: 26, emphasis in original).

<sup>16</sup> For instance, Ewa Tabeau, Jakub Bijak, and Neda Loncaric. “Broj zrtava u opsadi Sarajeva od aprila 1992. do decembra 1995. Studija o stopi smrtnosti na osnovu osam velikih izvora podataka” (“The Number of Victims of the Sarajevo Siege, April 1992 until December 1995”) (only the Serbo-Croatian version is available on-line, <http://www.un.org/icty/bhs/frames/cases.htm>); and Helge Brunborg, Torkild Hovde Lyngstad, and Henrik Urdal, “Accounting for Genocide: How Many Were Killed in Srebrenica?” *European Journal of Population* 19:3 (Fall 2003): 229–248.

<sup>17</sup> In 1992, the DPS won 364 out of 712 municipal seats, and in 1996, it won 450 out of 716 municipal seats. This

information comes from a number of sources, including Sekelj, “Parties and Elections.”

<sup>18</sup> Robert Thomas, *The Politics of Serbia in the 1990s*, New York, NY: Columbia UP (1999): 335–33.

<sup>19</sup> Laslo Sekelj, “Parties and Elections,” 63.

<sup>20</sup> The slight dip in support in 2001 may have been due to a number of scandals as well the proximity of NATO’s bombing. Further, the size of the parliament decreased as part of a series of reforms, but this did not change Djukanovic’s arrangement with the Muslim minorities.

<sup>21</sup> Like Cetinje, the ethnic self-identification in Ulcinj, a Muslim-majority municipality, remained unchanged between the two censuses. The electorate essentially boycotted the 1992 referendum (see Figure 2), and the local Albanian party, a parliamentary partner to Djukanovic’s DPS, has a strong base. Ulcinj’s majority population almost universally supports independence.

<sup>22</sup> The Center for Democracy and Human Rights (CEDEM) is a think-tank type of NGO whose opinion surveys are widely used. The one here is based on a representative sample, with 1,503 respondents. The results of this survey are available on-line: <http://www.cedem.cg.yu/>.

<sup>23</sup> Interestingly, other variables that could plausibly impact preferences, including education, income, regional interaction effects, were not statistically significant. STATA and SPSS were used to check the results; here are some key statistics: LR  $\chi^2(18) = 729.13$ ; Prob >  $\chi^2 = 0.0000$ ; Log likelihood = -1327.9121; Pseudo R<sup>2</sup> = 0.2154.

<sup>24</sup> Fifty-seven respondents live in Cetinje, and 7 (12%) prefer a union (3 Montenegrins and 4 Serbs). This explains the seemingly large support for the union.

<sup>25</sup> *Problems of Democratic Consolidation*, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins UP (1996): 366.

*Annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference*

**“Glasnost Evaluated:  
1986–2006”**

**Friday, March 3, 2006**  
Stanford University campus

Sponsored by the Center for Russian,  
East European, and Eurasian Studies at  
Stanford University and ISEES

# Faculty and Student News

**John Connelly**, associate professor of history, recently published “Why the Poles Collaborated So Little—And Why That Is No Reason for Nationalist Hubris” in *Slavic Review* (2005). The book *Universities Under Dictatorship*, which John coedited with Michael Gruttner, was published in October 2005 by the Pennsylvania State University Press.

**Olga Gurevich**, Ph.D. candidate in linguistics, presented “Steal Me an Apple: Version in Georgian” at the Texas Linguistic Society Conference in November. This academic year, Olya also received an Instructional Research Fellowship from the Berkeley Language Center for her project “**Georgian Verbs and How to Use Them: An Online Reference.**”

**John Holmes**, Ph.D. candidate in history, presented “Noah London’s Early Years in Russia and America: Jewish Socialism, Garment Unionism, and the 1905 Revolution” at the Annual North American Labor History Conference in October.

**Olga Matich**, professor in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, authored *Erotic Utopia: The Decadent Imagination in Russia’s Fin de Siecle*, which was published by the Wisconsin University Press in 2005.

Professor **Harsha Ram**, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, was recognized by the Modern Language Association at its annual convention in December 2005. Harsha’s book, *The Imperial Sublime: A Russian Poetics of Empire* (University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), received honorable mention for the MLA’s Aldo and Jeanne Scaglione Prize for Slavic Literary Studies.

The AAASS presented **Yuri Slezkine**, professor of history, with the Wayne S. Vucinich Book Prize for his book *The Jewish Century* (Princeton University Press, 2004) at its annual convention in December. The prize is awarded to the most important contribution to Russian, Eurasian, and East European studies in any discipline of the humanities or social sciences.

## AAASS Convention

The 37<sup>th</sup> National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies took place November 3–6, 2005 in Salt Lake City. These Berkeley affiliates participated in the presentations.

**Ronelle Alexander**, professor in the Slavic department, spoke on “The Alternate Universe of Vasko Popa’s

“Sporedino Nebo”” at the panel “The Writer in the Chaos of the World: In Memory of Susan Sontag.” She also participated in the roundtable “Nouns, Sounds, and Bounds: The Construction of Linguistic Borders in the Balkans.”

**Polina Barskova**, graduate student in the Slavic department, chaired the panel entitled “Nabokov’s Poetic Petersburg.”

**George Breslauer**, executive dean of the College of Letters and Science and professor of political science, chaired the Ed Hewett Memorial Panel: “Russia in the Year 2005.” Professors **M. Steven Fish** (political science) and **Gerald Roland** (economics) were participants on that panel.

**John Connelly**, professor of history, participated in the roundtable “The Struggle for the Soul of the Nation.”

**Anne Dwyer**, graduate student in comparative literature, presented “*Halbasien?* Karl Emil Franzos and Nikolai Leskov at the Russian-Austrian Border” at the panel “East and West: Literary Explorations of Imperial Russia’s Boundaries.”

**Dace Dzenovska**, graduate student in anthropology, presented “From Nation-branding to Tolerance: Subject Formation and Difference in Latvia” at the panel on “Post-social(ist) Terrains of Subject Formation.”

**Magdalena Kay**, graduate student in comparative literature, presented “Toward a New Literature of Cultural Liminality: Hybridity and Transnationalism in Contemporary Polish Poetry” at the panel “Shifting Borders, Shifting Identities. Problems of National, Cultural, and Literary Self-Definition.”

**James Krapfl**, graduate student in history, spoke on “Revolution and Revolt against Revolution: Elite vs. Popular Conceptualizations of ‘Revolution’ in Czechoslovakia, 1989–1992” at the panel entitled “*Penser la Revolution de 1989*: Interpretive Frames and the Shaping of Transition in East Central Europe.”

**Michael M. Kunichika**, graduate student in the Slavic department, presented “On Ethnographic Montage: Mikhail Kalatozov’s *Salt for Svanetia*” at the panel on “Primitivism and Modernism in Early Soviet Culture. Michael also chaired the panel “Babble in Modernist and Post-Modernist Russian Literature and Film.”

**Tatyana Mamut**, graduate student in anthropology, spoke on “Advertising and Perestroika: Reconstructing the Future

Self in Contemporary Russia” at the panel entitled “Post-social(ist) Terrains of Subject Formation.”

**Olga Matich**, professor in the Slavic department, served as discussant on the panel on “Adolescence and Sexual Transgression in Russia. She also presented “Rozanov in the 1970s” at the panel “Between Margins and Center: The Rozanov Tradition in Russian Literature.”

**Elizabeth McGuire**, graduate student in history, chaired the panel “Soviet Culture Relations with the Third World.”

**Eric Naiman**, associate professor in the Slavic and comparative literature departments, served as discussant on the panel “Bodily Function, Dysfunction, and Repair: Russian Literature and Physiology.” He also presented “Nabokov and Nafisi, or Reading Chernyshevsky in Teheran” at the panel “Nabokov and Others: Literary Confrontations across Time and Space.”

**Harsha Ram**, associate professor in the Slavic department, spoke on “Recuperating the Primitive: The Place of Niko Pirosmiani in Russian and Georgian Modernism” at the panel on “Primitivism and Modernism in Early Soviet Culture.”

**Yuri Slezkine**, professor of history and ISEEEES director, was a participant on the roundtable entitled “Author Meets Critic: Yuri Slezkine’s *The Jewish Century*.”

**Deborah Yalen**, graduate student in history, presented “Biologies, Pathologies, Environments: Scientific Research on Soviet Jews in the 1920s” at the panel “Jewish Images and Self-Images during the Revolutionary Era.”

**Alexei Yurchak**, assistant professor of anthropology, served as discussant on the panel “Post-social(ist) Terrains of Subject Formation. He was also a discussant on the panel “Sentiment and Power: Producing the Russian Public Sphere.”

Outburst of the Genre (1924-1934)” at the panel on “Urban Text in Slavic Context.”

Panelists on the “Russian Realism Reconsidered” roundtable included graduate students **Molly Brunson**, **Anastasia Kayiatos**, and **Victoria Somoff** and Professor **Irina Paperno**, all members of the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures.

**Patrick Henry**, graduate student in the Slavic department, presented “The Church With Five Cupolas: The Lessons of Lowell’s Adaptations of Mandelstam” at the panel on Osip Mandelstam.

**Magdalena Kay**, graduate student in the comparative literature department, presented “Questioning, Imagining, Mythologizing: ‘Lwow’ in the Poetry of Adam Zagajewski” at the panel “Polish Literature and Culture.”

**Olga Matich**, professor in the Slavic department, chaired the panel on “Urban Text in Slavic Context.”

**Stiliana Milkova**, graduate student in comparative literature, presented “Ekphrastic Vision and Nikolai Karamzin’s *Letters of a Russian Traveler*” at the panel entitled “Revisiting Nikolai Karamzin’s *Letters of a Russian Traveler*.”

**Irina Paperno** and **Olga Matich**, professors in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, were both panelists on the “Crossing Disciplinary Boundaries” roundtable.

**Harsha Ram**, associate professor in the Slavic department, served as discussant for the roundtable panel entitled “Are We Post-Colonial?”

**Jonathan Stone**, graduate student in the Slavic department, presented “The Literal Symbolist: Vladimir Solov’ev and the Initial Reception of Russian Symbolism” at the panel entitled “Russian Symbolism.”

## AATSEEL Conference

The American Association of Teachers of Slavic and Eastern European Languages (AATSEEL) held its annual conference in December 2005. The following Berkeley affiliates made presentations:

Participants on the “Mapping Petersburg (1900 – 1920)” panel included graduate students **Polina Barskova**, **Mieka Erley**, and **Alyson Tapp** and Professor **Olga Matich**, all members of the Slavic department.

**Polina Barskova**, Slavic department graduate student, presented “Slums of Leningrad: Observing the Uneasy

# Outreach Programs

## Teacher Outreach Conference

Our Teacher Outreach Conference for 2006 is organized around Russian literature. Berkeley faculty and visiting colleagues will make presentations using Russian classics to examine non-literary topics in the high school and community college classroom. For example, a novel might shed light on conditions of modernity—such as industrialization or transportation—or make historical events easier for students to imagine.

The conference is scheduled for Saturday, April 29 and will take place on campus. Once the program for the daylong event is finalized, information will be sent to educators on our mailing list, and details will also be posted to our Web site. We will be asking for advance registration, so please mark your calendar now.

## April Remembrances

Turkish author Orhan Pamuk faces trial in February for an “anti-Turkish” statement he made last year during an interview. He simply stated that no one dares to talk about the Armenians (during World War I) and Kurds (in separatist struggles since 1984) who died in Turkish lands, and for that crime, he could be sentenced to prison. This would be appropriate to discuss along with the US Bill of Rights. But all high school students should learn of April 24<sup>th</sup>, which is internationally recognized as Armenian Genocide Remembrance Day. The holiday, together with Holocaust Remembrance Day on the 9<sup>th</sup>, makes the month of April an ideal time to address issues of hatred and genocide that might not otherwise fit into your curriculum.

April 24<sup>th</sup> commemorates the arrests in 1915 of hundreds of Armenians in Constantinople, many of them prominent figures. Actions against Armenians had already

taken place in the Ottoman Empire, but this event brought public attention to what was happening. Berkeley’s **Armenian Studies Program** will organize a symposium this spring on Monday, April 24 on a topic related to the genocide. Details will be announced later in the semester. In the meantime, teachers have access to some excellent resources on the Web.

**Facing History and Ourselves** created a resource book entitled *Crimes Against Humanity and Civilization: The Genocide of the Armenians*, which is available in print for a small fee. Sections of the book are available free of charge on their Web site, <http://www.facinghistory.org/>. Incidentally, they offer other materials on history and human rights.

The **Armenian National Institute** in Washington, DC, offers photographs, maps, and bibliographies on their Web site, <http://www.armenian-genocide.org/>. They have a good collection of quick reference readings, a detailed chronology, and many primary sources, such as international resolutions of affirmation. This scholarly site would be helpful to students conducting research.

In addition to their professional development workshops, the **Genocide Education Project** in San Francisco has an outstanding Web site for secondary school teachers, <http://www.teachgenocide.org/>. It contains teaching guides, primary sources, and links to more references. (Their teaching packet would be an excellent purchase, too.) The short but haunting collection of survivor accounts on this site brings the tragedy to the individual level.

This subject matter is difficult and unpleasant but so important. Please make plans to attend the Armenian Studies Program workshop this April.

*Stella Bourgoin is the ISEES Outreach Coordinator.*



## Professor Nichols Honored

On September 23, 2005, Professor Johanna Nichols of our Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures was recognized for her *Ingush-English / English-Ingush Dictionary* (Curzon/Routledge, 2004) and other work on Ingush.

Dr. Professor Musa Guliev, rector of the North Caucasus Technical University in Nazran, Ingush Republic, Russia, awarded Johanna with the Order of Merit by the government of Ingushetia.

Pictured here are, left to right, Dr. Professor Musa Guliev, Professor Johanna Nichols, and John Lie, Dean of International and Area Studies.



# 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 October 1, 2005 and January 10, 2006.

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ChevronTexaco (gift from Shavarsh and Lala Hazarabedian) \*

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**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.

**East European Funding** opportunities administered by ISEEES—see page 32.

The **ISEEES Graduate Student Paper Competition** asks UCB grad students to submit papers on Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union that were submitted in a course given at UCB in the 2005 calendar year. The winning paper will receive \$300, will be published as a working paper, with a summary in the ISEEES Newsletter, and will be submitted to the national AAASS grad student paper competition for 2006. Papers must be 7,500–14,000 words, including footnotes and bibliography. Papers must be submitted electronically to [iseees@berkeley.edu](mailto:iseees@berkeley.edu). Deadline: 4/15/2006. Contact: Barbara Voytek, ISEEES, UC Berkeley, 260 Stephens Hall # 2304, Berkeley CA 94720-2304; Tel: 510-642-3230; [bvoytek@socrates.berkeley.edu](mailto:bvoytek@socrates.berkeley.edu).

## American Councils

The **Eurasian Regional Language Program** is fee-based, but some fellowships are awarded to allow grad students to study any of the languages of the former Soviet Union abroad. Deadline: 3/1/06 for summer, 4/1/06 for AY. Contact: Outbound Programs, American Councils, 1776 Massachusetts Ave NW Ste 700, Washington DC 20036; Tel: 202-833-7522; [outbound@americancouncils.org](mailto:outbound@americancouncils.org); <http://www.americancouncils.org/>.

## American Historical Association

The **J. Franklin Jameson Fellowship in American History** provides a stipend of \$5,000 for 2-3 months of postdoctoral research in the collections of the Library of Congress by scholars of history at an early stage in their careers. Deadline: 3/15/2006. Contact: J. Franklin Jameson Fellowship, American Historical Association, 400 A St SE, Washington DC 20003; Tel: 202-544-2422; Fax: 202-544-8307; [info@historians.org](mailto:info@historians.org); [http://www.historians.org/prizes/Jameson\\_fellowship.htm](http://www.historians.org/prizes/Jameson_fellowship.htm).

## Berkeley Language Center

**Instructional Research Fellowships for Graduate Students** fund work on special projects that both improve the quality of language instruction in their departments and enhance their professional development as teachers.

Deadline: 3/6/2006. Contact: Professor Claire Kramersch, BLC Fellowship Program, Berkeley Language Center, B-40 Dwinelle Hall #2640; [Ckramersch@socrates.berkeley.edu](mailto:Ckramersch@socrates.berkeley.edu); <http://blc.berkeley.edu/>.

## Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies

The **Helen Darcovich Memorial Doctoral Fellowship** provides up to \$12,000 for dissertation writing on a Ukrainian or Ukrainian-Canadian topic in education, history, law, humanities, arts, social sciences, women's studies, or library sciences.

The **Marusia and Michael Dorosh Master's Fellowship** provides up to \$10,000 for writing a thesis on a Ukrainian or Ukrainian-Canadian topic in education, history, law, humanities, arts, social sciences, women's studies, or library sciences.

The **Neporany Doctoral Fellowship** offers \$5,000 to \$15,000 for doctoral research specializing on Ukraine in political science, economics, and related fields. Preference is given for completing the dissertation.

Deadline: 3/1/2006. Contact: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 450 Athabasca Hall, Edmonton AB, Canada T6G 2E8; Tel: 780-492-2973; Fax: 780-492-4967; [cuis@ualberta.ca](mailto:cuis@ualberta.ca); <http://www.ualberta.ca/~cuis/>.

## Columbia University

The **Center for the Study of Law and Culture at Columbia Law School** offers **Fellowships in Law and Culture** of \$30,000 plus office space. Awards are for a year in residence for research, writing, and discussion spanning traditional academic disciplines and relating to the year's theme. Deadline: 2/13/2006. Contact: Center for the Study of Law and Culture, Columbia University, 435 W 116th St, New York NY 10027; [culture@law.columbia.edu](mailto:culture@law.columbia.edu); [http://www.law.columbia.edu/center\\_program/law\\_culture/Fellowships?#rtregion:main](http://www.law.columbia.edu/center_program/law_culture/Fellowships?#rtregion:main).

## Coordinating Council for Women in History

The **Catherine Prelinger Award** provides \$20,000 to scholars with a Ph.D. or A.B.D. who have not followed a traditional academic path of uninterrupted studies. The recipients' degrees need not be in history, but the work should clearly be historical in nature. Applicants must be CCWH members. Deadline: 3/13/2006. Contact: Carol Gold, University of Alaska Fairbanks, Department of History, PO Box 756460, Fairbanks AK 99775-6460; Tel: 907-474-6509; [ffc@uaf.edu](mailto:ffc@uaf.edu); <http://theccwh.org/awards.htm>.

### **Human Rights Center**

#### **Summer Internships with Human Rights Organizations**

provide \$3,500 for registered UCB and GTU students to carry out clearly defined projects and/or internships with specific organizations related to the student's area of study. Deadline: 2/28/2006. Contact: Human Rights Center, 460 Stephens Hall # 2300, Berkeley CA 94720-2300; Tel: 510-642-0965; Fax: 510-643-3830; <http://www.hrcberkeley.org/>.

### **Newberry Library**

**Short Term Fellowships** provide \$1,200/month, up to 2 months, to Ph.D. candidates and postdocs from outside of the Chicago area who have a specific need for Newberry collections. Deadline: 3/1/2006. Contact: Committee on Awards, 60 W Walton St, Chicago IL 60610-3380; Tel: 312-225-3666; [research@newberry.org](mailto:research@newberry.org); <http://www.newberry.org/>.

### **UC Berkeley**

**Chancellor's Dissertation-Year Fellowships** are for outstanding students in the humanities and social sciences who are advanced to candidacy by time of award and expect to finish during that year. Grad Division requests nominations from departments in the spring; speak with your advisor about being nominated. Deadline: 3/1/2006.

The **Mentored Research Award** gives academically promising grad students the opportunity to do research that they would not be able to do otherwise and helps develop and strengthen their working relationships with faculty advisors. Must be a US citizen or permanent resident whose background and life experiences enhance the diversity within the department or discipline. Grad Division requests nominations from departments in the spring; speak with your advisor about being nominated. Deadline: 3/1/2006.

The **UC Dissertation-Year Fellowship** is awarded to grad students whose doctoral work will be completed by the end of the program and who demonstrate strong potential for university teaching and research. Must be a US citizen or permanent resident whose background and life experiences enhance the level of diversity within the department or discipline. Grad Division requests nominations from departments in the spring semester; speak with your advisor about being nominated. Deadline: 3/1/2006.

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

### **University of Illinois**

The **Russian and East European Center** offers a **Summer Research Lab on Russia & Eastern Europe**, which includes workshops for grad students, scholars, and the

public. Some housing awards are available. Deadline: 4/1/2006 non-citizens, 4/15/2006 citizens. Contact: Russian and East European Center, University of Illinois, 104 International Studies Bldg, 910 S Fifth St, Champaign IL 61820; Tel: 217-333-1244; Fax: 217-333-1582; [reec@uiuc.edu](mailto:reec@uiuc.edu); <http://www.reec.uiuc.edu/srl/srl.html>.

### **US Dept of Education / UC Berkeley**

**Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Academic Year Fellowships** provide a \$15,000 stipend to enable grad students who are US citizens or permanent residents to gain competence in the modern foreign languages critical to the national needs of the US and in area and international studies.

**FLAS Summer Intensive Language Training Fellowships** provide registration fees and a stipend for intensive language instruction. Summer awards are not available for dissertation research.

Deadline: 1/30/2006. Contact: Graduate Fellowships Office, 318 Sproul Hall # 5900; Tel: 510-642-0672; [http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/fellowships/fellowships\\_deadlines.shtml](http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/fellowships/fellowships_deadlines.shtml).

### **Woodrow Wilson Center**

**East European Studies Short Term Grants** provide up to one month of specialized research in Washington, DC to grad students and postdocs. Deadline: 3/1/2006; also 6/1, 9/1, 12/1. 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](mailto:kneppm@wwic.si.edu); <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/>.

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## Funding for East European Studies

### Drago and Danica Kosovac Prize

The Drago and Danica Kosovac Prize is awarded for an outstanding senior or honors thesis in the social sciences or humanities which researches some aspect of Serbian culture or history. Cal undergrads are eligible to apply. The application includes submission of the thesis and three letters of recommendation. There is no deadline to apply for this prize.

### Hertelendy Graduate Fellowship in Hungarian Studies

The Hertelendy Graduate Fellowship in Hungarian Studies offers partial support in AY 2006–07 to UC Berkeley-enrolled grad students working in Hungarian studies and/or US-Hungarian or European- (including EU) Hungarian relations. The application includes a dissertation prospectus or research proposal, one letter of recommendation, a budget, and a timeline. The deadline is **Friday, March 24, 2006**.

### Peter N. Kujachich Endowment in Serbian and Montenegrin Studies

The Peter N. Kujachich Endowment in Serbian and Montenegrin Studies will award approximately \$10,000–13,000 for AY 2006–07 to faculty and/or student projects that focus on the experience of the Serbian and Montenegrin peoples. Possible projects entail research, instruction, colloquia, symposia, lecture series and publications, and creative thought and writing in the social sciences, humanities, and arts. Proposals should include a budget and a timeline. Details on funding from the Kujachich Endowment can be found at <http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~iseees/kujachich.html>. The deadline is **Friday, March 24, 2006**.

For more information, visit <http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~iseees/funding.html> or contact Barbara Voytek at [bvoytek@berkeley.edu](mailto:bvoytek@berkeley.edu). No electronic or faxed applications will be accepted.