



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

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

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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!

This year's Annual Fall Reception will take place on Wednesday, October 11, at 4 p.m. in the Alumni House. Please join us for good company and excellent food (and the other way around).

We have two new colleagues. Luba Golburt, who has joined the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures as an assistant professor with a Ph.D. from Stanford (Comparative Literature, 2006), will be teaching Russian and European literature of the 18th and 19th centuries, the novel, history and fiction, and visual culture. Melanie Feakins (Oxford D.Phil. 2001 in Geography) will be visiting assistant researcher and, starting next year, visiting assistant professor in Social Sciences. Melanie is writing a book on the transformation of urban space in St. Petersburg. Both Luba and Melanie have Berkeley B.A.s; both have come back home.

I am happy to report that ISEEEES was successful in its bid for a US Department of Education grant under Title VI. Title VI was introduced as a part of the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) in 1958. Title VI funding supported language area centers for expansion of postsecondary instruction in uncommon languages and related subjects, modern foreign language fellowships, research supporting language learning methodology, and specialized teaching materials. UC Berkeley received a 1958 grant and has remained a National Resource Center for Foreign Language and Area Studies ever since.

We have a distinguished group of new visitors this year. Dr. Neven Andjelic, a Fulbright scholar, will conduct research on human rights. He is on the faculty of the Center for Interdisciplinary Postgraduate Studies in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina. Stephen Aris, a visiting researcher sponsored by the British Economic and Social Research Council, is a Ph.D. student at the University of Birmingham in England. He studies security issues in Central Asia, focusing on the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. Professor Konstanty Gebert, a journalist with *Gazeta Wyborcza* and editor of *Midrasz* (Poland), is a visiting lecturer in the Department of History this fall. Professor Gebert is teaching a course on Polish-Jewish Relations in the 20th Century. Finally, our Mellon-Sawyer Postdoctoral Fellow for 2006–

07 is Tobias Holzlehner, who received a Ph.D. in anthropology from the University of Alaska, Fairbanks, for his dissertation, "City of Shadows: Border Economies, Informal Markets, and Organized Crime in Vladivostok and the Russian Far East." Tobias will be an important part of our faculty/graduate student seminar series on Private Wealth and Public Power: Oligarchs, Tycoons, and Magnates in Comparative Perspective.

I would like to invite all our friends, and especially the Associates of the Slavic Center, to join us for the many events planned for the fall. We appreciate your interest and help, and hope to see you often.

Yuri Slezkine
ISEEES Director
Professor of History

New Slavic Faculty Member

We are pleased to announce a new faculty member in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures. Luba Golburt joined the department as an assistant professor this semester, where she will teach eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Russian literature. Luba received a B.A. in comparative literature from Berkeley before going to Stanford University to earn a Ph.D. Welcome (back) to Berkeley!

Professor Janos Honored

In April 2006, Professor Andrew C. Janos was recognized for his lifelong contribution to the field of East European and Hungarian studies. The Honorable Ferenc Bosenbacher, Consul General of Hungary, visited UC Berkeley to award Janos the Commander Cross of the Order of Merit of the Hungarian Republic. The modest ceremony hosted by ISEEES overflowed with Janos's colleagues, friends, and supporters in a fitting tribute to his many years of scholarship and teaching.



Left to right: The Honorable Ferenc Bosenbacher, Consul General of the Hungarian Republic; Professor Andrew C. Janos; Barbara Voytek, ISEEES executive director; and George Breslauer, now Executive Vice Chancellor and Provost.

How Intellectuals, Writers, and Students Contributed to the Delegitimization of the Soviet Regime in Hungary Prior to the Hungarian Revolution of 1956

Rachel J. McCullough-Sanden

Rachel McCullough-Sanden received an A.B. with High Honors from UC Berkeley's sociology department in May 2006. After spending her junior year in Hungary, she decided to write a senior honors thesis on the 1956 Hungarian Revolution under the direction of Professor Victoria Bonnell. An ISEES travel grant from the Hertelendy Fund for Hungarian Studies allowed her to conduct personal interviews and archival research in Hungary during January 2006. She would like to share the following excerpts from her thesis in honor of the revolution's 50th anniversary. Rachel McCullough-Sanden can be contacted at <rmsanden@berkeley.edu>.

Introduction

As much as I desire to fully understand the following events, I do not know what it is like to live in an occupied country under suppression and censorship. Upon concluding an interview with Rudolf Ungvary, a Student Parliament leader in Miskolc during the revolution, I said, "I cannot fully understand, but I will do my best." He simply responded by saying, "I wish you much suffering in life."¹ For only then might one understand the intense desire for freedom that caused the Hungarian Revolution of 1956.

Under communism, intellectuals helped create a revolutionary atmosphere through criticism of the Soviet-dictated Party. After the implementation of Imre Nagy's New Course, the release of innocent prisoners, and Khrushchev's Secret Speech, intellectual circles found the courage to articulate their critical opinions in publications, forums, public debates, and demonstrations. This activity increased public awareness of unjust Party resolutions and created an atmosphere in which people openly criticized the Party. These dissidents took advantage of increasing levels of freedom and eventually demanded free elections and the removal of all Soviet troops from greater Hungary.

Such intellectual-centered events led to the delegitimization of Soviet rule in Hungary, and the mounting tension erupted with gunshots in front of the radio building on October 23, 1956, the first day of the revolution. The intelligentsia had delegitimized the government in the eyes of the people, but they did not plan for an uprising. Educated groups in Hungary simply desired to publish truthful material about the Party's unjust actions and hoped for implementation of political reforms. My thesis traces the intelligentsia's delegitimizing activity on the path to revolution.

Communist Hungary, 1945–1953: Economic Crisis

Between 1945 and 1953, the standard of living in Hungary greatly declined and the level of general oppression increased. Before World War II, Hungary had mostly relied upon a successful agrarian economy; in 1948, Stalin's star pupil, the Hungarian leader Matyas Rakosi, collectivized Hungary's farmland and implemented forced industrialization that resulted in economic deficit, soil depletion, and unrest within the population.² Istvan Borocz, a Hungarian medical student and freedom fighter in 1956, explained that the Hungarian people did not dislike the ideology of communism, but primarily disliked the Soviet system and its denial of freedom for the Hungarian people.

Let me tell you that *we* Hungarians were mostly, most of us, were against the AVO, the secret police which was not so secret because they wore uniforms. We just referred to them as secret—they were really political police. We were against the Russians as *occupiers*. . . . we didn't dislike the Russian people; we love Russian culture. And even the military we did not have anything against them—it was the system, the communist system we were against. And we would have liked to have them go home and they would have liked to go home You know even the police and the Hungarian army—we never thought bad of them.³

Following World War II, Hungary desired independence from the occupying Soviet forces. The Party had implemented repressive policies in the Eastern Bloc, and the police had arrested many people; living from one day to the next meant not being noticed and not joining those imprisoned. Some accomplished this feat by holding professional positions that supported the political ideology.

Intellectuals in a Socialist State

The Party counted on Hungarian writers to legitimize the communist system. Many writers accepted this role and served as loyal advocates of the Soviet system.⁴ Hungarian writers adopted literary techniques, namely socialist realism, and produced works that sharply criticized bourgeois tendencies, extolled Party ideology, and produced propaganda for the public. Vera Bacskai, spouse to the secretary of the intellectual Petofi Circle, said, “The newspaper *was* the Party.”⁵ The Party censored all critical material that conflicted with communist ideology or the political line of the Party. Prior to the outbreak of the revolution, Hungarian intellectuals tested and pushed these censorship boundaries as they publicly aired their grievances with the Party.

According to Konrad and Szelenyi,⁶ a socialist state functions through the centralized appropriation and rational redistribution of produced surplus. The intellectuals analyze the rationality of this redistribution and bestow legitimacy upon the Party when the population’s needs are successfully met through appropriate redistribution. Society accepts this legitimacy because it has enough food and regards the intelligentsia as monopolistic proprietors of knowledge who give validity to the Party’s actions.

These arrangements gradually began to break down in Hungary after the economic crisis of 1951 revealed flaws in the system. While Stalin was alive, the Party never would have tolerated public criticism. But political relaxation after Stalin’s death in 1953 created conditions that facilitated the implementation of the New Course, critical publications in the daily paper, public meetings of the Hungarian intelligentsia, and Khrushchev’s Secret Speech in the Soviet Union. All of these circumstances contributed to the delegitimization of Party authority which contributed to the outbreak of the Hungarian Revolution in the fall of 1956.



A 1956 Hungarian flag outside the Hungarian Parliament in Budapest. During the revolution, Hungarians cut the Soviet symbol out of the nation’s tri-colored flag. Today, a replica flies over a 1956 monument in front of Parliament.

Widespread Discontent

Between 1950 and 1952, the repressive political situation in Hungary intensified. The Party heavily censored compromising publications, sent politically-risky individuals to labor camps, and, in some cases, executed them. Hungarians only exercised Party criticism within extremely close circles of friends; people were afraid to speak for fear that communist spies would report their subversive opinions and the police would arrest them.

What happened officially, politically was high above our heads and we couldn’t have any influence on events. The only thing that was possible [was] that we could have a little candlelight and we could speak and think what could be good. And that was very dangerous, too, of course. There was no possibility to get involved in official events. People were taken always from the homes to prison and executed and sentenced for life sentences. That was what was happening. And in the meantime we were told that everything was very good and everything was very fine.⁷

The Party did not tolerate criticism, but realized that keeping the public generally satisfied was the best way to control the population. Konrad and Szelenyi explain that the government, to avoid a public uprising, needed to raise the standard of living. The scarcity of resources proved most severe in Hungary’s rural areas, the villages from which the Party’s new intelligentsia originated.

The Party had divided the intelligentsia in Hungary into old and new intelligentsia, favoring the latter group. Whereas the old intellectuals were portrayed as holding on to outdated, bourgeois notions that subverted the communist system, the new, university-educated intelligentsia was considered faithful to the working class and the communist system. Though the Party kept its intelligentsia in relatively pleasant living conditions, university students observed poor conditions in the villages while home for the summer, and intellectuals grew more and more frustrated with censorship measures. Their desire for reform led many Hungarians to enthusiastically support the reformist political course that Imre Nagy, Hungary’s new prime minister, presented as hope for the future.

Imre Nagy and the New Course

Stalin died on March 5, 1953, and the ensuing process of de-Stalinization began in Hungary with the New Course.⁸ Deplorable conditions and economic crises had created significant tension in Eastern European states, and many people hoped that Stalin’s death would bring about a relaxation of the Soviet Union’s tight grip on the Eastern Bloc. A small uprising in Plzeň, Czechoslovakia occurred on June 1, 1953; in the aftermath, Soviet Party leaders called Rakosi to the Kremlin and directed him to institute a new course in Hungary to help appease the public. On June 3,

Rakosi passed a resolution that denounced the earlier, unrealistic pace of industrialization and acknowledged the low standard of living.⁹ Nevertheless, the Soviet leaders deemed Rakosi's efforts unsatisfactory and replaced Rakosi with Imre Nagy as prime minister.¹⁰ The New Course was soon drafted in Moscow to improve harsh conditions in Hungary and defuse further unrest. On June 16 and 17, the days following the drafting of the New Course, workers in East Berlin carried out the first, large anti-Soviet demonstration, confirming Soviet fears of accelerating public unrest in the Eastern Bloc.

Imre Nagy presented the New Course to the Hungarian Parliament on July 4, 1953. For the first time, the members of Parliament enthusiastically supported one of the Party's directives. Hoping to prevent social unrest in Hungary, the Party decided to end forced collectivization of farming, decrease factory production quotas, and release gulag prisoners, among other measures. Under Imre Nagy and the New Course, "everybody breathed more freely ... People went home from work at reasonable hours and women wore lipstick in daring shades."¹¹

Prime Minister Imre Nagy did not desire or plan for a revolution, but his political platform opened a path for revolution.¹² Nagy gained many supporters through his reformist efforts; Hungarians felt freer than they had under the previous years of Soviet oppression, and the intelligentsia supported the New Course for the betterment of the nation. The writers published articles praising Nagy's reformist efforts. Workers experienced better working conditions, and peasants could farm without fear of arrest. Support for Nagy further increased in the summer of 1953. On July 26, 1953, Imre Nagy released many political prisoners. More prison releases and early rehabilitations in 1954 "caused a crisis of conscience"¹³ both for Party and non-Party intellectuals regarding the conflict of ideals and reality.

... the mind had broken its fetters, and now, nothing could stop the thoughts of the listeners from running free. If those who had been released were innocent and could tell the story of their experiences, then it was evident that those who could no longer speak had also been innocent. This realization filled the listeners with burning indignation and bitter hatred, plus another, perhaps even stronger, feeling: shame. For, there was the question of responsibility.¹⁴

Conflict Between the Intellectuals and the Ruling Elite

Many intellectuals, though frustrated with the Party, retained their membership in hope of reforming the system. "Really, we young members and young intellectuals in the Party wanted to correct everything. We believed socialism can be corrected."¹⁵ Members of the intelligentsia who joined the Party gained some privileges through Party membership, but they remained under the regime's control.¹⁶ The Writers' Union employed Party language while propos-



A 1956 Revolution monument in Budapest.

ing radical ideas and became a supporting backdrop to Nagy's efforts.¹⁷

Suddenly, it seemed as if the Party machinery, which had hitherto exercised an iron hand over the ideological "purity" of literature, had grown weaker or had vanished entirely. Heretical new ideas were beginning to find a fertile soil in even the highest spheres directing literary life—i. e., in headquarters and in the Ministry of Culture.¹⁸

The intelligentsia observed the plight of the nation and informed each other and the public about injustices, resulting in further delegitimization of the regime's authority.

In January 1955, the Hungarian Worker's Party (HWP) and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) openly criticized Imre Nagy's policy as a break with communist tradition. After Nagy refused to exercise self-criticism, the leadership diagnosed Nagy with heart problems,¹⁹ and he was excluded from the political scene on February 1, 1955. Later that month, Nagy protested his isolation in a letter to the HWP Political Committee, but he still refused to practice self-criticism. The HWP met between March 2 and 4, 1955 to discuss Nagy's "right-wing, anti-Marxist, anti-party, opportunist" views as the main danger to Party goals, but the Political Bureau did not yet formally revoke the New Course. On March 28, 1955, Imre Nagy offered his coerced letter of resignation as prime minister to the Party. He received no immediate answer. The Central Committee, instead, accused Nagy of anti-party activity and factionalism on April 14, 1955; during this meeting, Nagy was removed from the Political Committee and the Central

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Fall 2006 Courses

Selected faculty course offerings and selected area-related courses

Anthro 150	Utopia: Art and Power and Modern Times	A. Yurchak
Anthro 250X.8	Post-Socialism: Eastern Europe, Russia, and China	A. Yurchak
CompLit 41C	The City and the Novel	A. Dwyer
Comp Lit 190	<i>Lolita</i>	E. Naiman
East Euro 100	Advanced Hungarian Readings	A. Mihalik
Econ 260A	Comparative Economics	G. Roland
Econ 261	Seminar in Comparative Economics	G. Roland
Geog C55 (NES C26)	Introduction to Central Asia	S. Mehendale
History 100.3	Polish-Jewish Relations in the 20 th Century	K. Gebert
History 103B.6/103D.8	Jewish Humor and History in Europe, Russia, and America: From Sholem Aleichem to Seinfeld	J. Tanny
History 162A	The Struggle for Mastery in Europe, 1763–1914	D. Wetzel
History 171B	Imperial Russia: Peter the Great	V. Frede
History 177B	Armenia, From Pre-modern Empires to the Present	S. Astourian
Music 176.1	History of Western Music	R. Taruskin
NES C26 (Geog C55)	Introduction to Central Asia	S. Mehendale
Poli Sci 137C	Transitions to Democracy	M. Steven Fish
Poli Sci 141C	Politics and History in Eastern Europe	J. Wittenberg
Poli Sci 200	Comparative Politics	M. Steven Fish
Slavic 24	<i>The Brothers Karamazov</i> : Let's Read It Together	H. McLean
Slavic 45	Nineteenth-Century Russian Literature	L. Golburt
Slavic 134A	The Works of Gogol	A. Nesbet
Slavic 134N	Aesthetes, Decadents, and Symbolists: Europe's Fin de Siecle	H. Ram
Slavic 140	Performing Arts in Russia in the 20 th Century (1900–1940)	A. Muza
Slavic 147B	Balkan Folklore	R. Alexander
Slavic 181	Readings in Russian Literature	O. Matich
Slavic 204	Russian Composition and Style: Discourse Analysis	I. Paperno
Slavic 214	Medieval Orthodox Slavic Texts	D. Frick
Slavic 222	Introduction to Descriptive Grammar of Slavic Languages	J. Nichols
Slavic 234	South Slavic Linguistics	R. Alexander
Slavic 280.2	Advanced Description of Slavic Languages	J. Nichols
Slavic 287	Russian Poetry	H. Ram
Slavic 301.2	Reading and Writing about Russian and Eastern Europe	O. Matich
Socio 101B	Sociological Theory	D. Riley
Socio 190.1	The Sociology of Everyday Life	V. Bonnell
Socio 202B.1	Contemporary Sociological Theory	M. Burawoy
Socio 272C	Methodological Issues in Comparative and Historical Research	V. Bonnell
Theater 125.2	Yiddish Theatre and Cinema	M. Gordon
Theater 126	Performing Arts in Russia in the 20 th Century (1900–1940)	A. Muza

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

Campus Visitors

Neven Andjelic comes to ISEEEES this academic year as a Fulbright scholar to conduct research for courses on human rights. He is on the faculty of the Center for Interdisciplinary Postgraduate Studies in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Stephen Aris will be a visiting student researcher at ISEEEES this year, funded by the British Economic and Social Research Council. He is a Ph.D. student at the University of Birmingham in England who researches security in the Central Asian region, especially the Shanghai Cooperation Organization.

Pavel Balditsyn, faculty of journalism and chair of foreign journalism and literature at M. V. Lomonosov State University in Russia, will come in spring 2007 as a Fulbright fellow. His research focuses on Mark Twain's *Autobiography* and the twentieth-century concept of the genre.

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

Reyila Dawuti, a professor at Xinjiang University in China, will visit Berkeley for the spring semester and will teach a course in the Folklore Program. A specialist on Uyghur folklore and culture, her research focuses on Islamic shrines (*mazars*) in Xinjiang.

Victor Doenninghaus, a postdoctoral scholar at the Albert-Ludwigs University Freiburg in Germany, will visit Berkeley during the spring 2007 semester. His research focuses on questions of nationality and ethnicity in the Soviet Union and Russia.

Melanie Feakins, assistant professor of geography at the University of South Carolina, is a visiting assistant researcher in the social sciences this fall. In the spring, she will be a visiting assistant professor in social sciences, teaching courses on post-Socialism.

Konstanty Gebert, a journalist with *Gazeta Wyborcza* and the editor of *Midrasz* (Poland), is a visiting lecturer in the Department of History this fall. He will be teaching a course entitled Polish-Jewish Relations in the Twentieth Century as well as a course in the Graduate School of Journalism.

Ulla Hakanen is a visiting student researcher at the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures for the academic year. Her visit is sponsored by a Fulbright grant as well as support from Helsinki University, Finland, where she is a researcher in the Department of Slavonic and Baltic Languages and Literatures. Her area of interest is the

expression of marginality in Russia literature, especially Russian gay literature, and the influence of Vasili Rozanov's writing in twentieth-century Russian literature.

Tobias Holzlehner will be the Mellon-Sawyer Postdoctoral Fellow at BPS for the academic year. He recently received a Ph.D. in anthropology from the University of Alaska, Fairbanks, for his dissertation "City of Shadows: Border Economies, Informal Markets, and Organized Crime in Vladivostok and the Russian Far East."

Tatiana Kojarova, assistant professor in the Department of Arts and Social Sciences at Mechnikov St. Petersburg State Academy of Medicine, Russia, is a visiting scholar with ISEEEES for the academic year. She will research the discipline of anthropology in the United States, in contrast to the Russian discipline of philosophical anthropology.

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

Hirotake Maeda, a lecturer with the Slavic Research Center of Hokkaido University in Japan, will visit ISEEEES as a postdoctoral scholar in October–November to conduct research on the history of the Caucasus.

Ferenc Raj is a visiting scholar with ISEEEES this academic year where he will conduct research in Hungarian studies. He holds a Ph.D. in Near Eastern and Judaic Studies and serves as senior rabbi of Congregation Beth El in Berkeley.

Susanne Stratling, an assistant professor at Freie Universität Berlin in Germany, will be a visiting scholar with the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures from October 2006 through September 2007. She was awarded a Feodor Lynen Fellowship from the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation to conduct research in aesthetic theory.

Julien Zafirian, Ph.D. candidate at the French Institute of Geopolitics, Saint Denis University, France, will visit Berkeley for the spring 2007 semester. He is conducting research on US foreign policy toward the Caucasus.

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. He will teach a course on Jewish music in the spring.

Montenegro: Not for Sale

Elena Morabito

Elena Morabito is a Ph.D. student in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures. Her research interests include the sociolinguistics of BCS (the former Serbo-Croatian language) following the breakup of Yugoslavia: language codification, language planning, and the relationship between identity, politics, and language. She is currently compiling an electronic corpus of Bosnian texts and researching corpus linguistics as a Berkeley Language Center fellow.

I arrived in the country Serbia and Montenegro in May 2006, and when I left it was a different country. May 21st, 2006 marked the Montenegrin Independence Referendum, which posed the question: “Do you want the Republic of Montenegro to be an independent state with full international and legal privileges and sovereignty?”¹ I traveled to then Serbia and Montenegro on a grant from the Peter N. Kujachich Endowment in Serbian and Montenegrin Studies to trace how the Montenegrin speech variant is functioning as a symbol of shifting cultural identity. Here I will not go into the sociolinguistic specifics of the research, but rather give an overview of the referendum, including the time leading up to and immediately following it, as well as some impressions of what was happening (from an outsider’s perspective). Translations from the original language are my own.*

History

After the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia fell apart in 1992, Montenegro agreed to a federation with Serbia, called the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. In a 1992 referendum on remaining in this federation, approximately 96% of votes called for staying with Serbia, although the turnout was at 66% because of a boycott by ethnic and religious minorities as well as many pro-independence Montenegrins. Opposition groups claimed that the poll was organized under undemocratic conditions and with widespread state propaganda in favor of a pro-union vote. The election was unmonitored, so the veracity of such claims is unconfirmed. In 2003, the Yugoslav federation was replaced with a looser state union, “Serbia and Montenegro,” and a possible referendum on Montenegrin independence was postponed for a minimum of three years.

These past three years, pro-independence groups have been very active in preparing for the 2006 vote. Milo Djukanovic (or just “Milo,” as he is affectionately called), the prime minister of Montenegro and head of the government since 2002, began to strongly push for Montenegro’s independence from Serbia and Montenegro following the ousting of Milosevic, blaming his politics for the decline of

the Montenegrin economy.² Under Djukanovic, the Montenegrin legislature adopted the official flag of Montenegro on July 12, 2004. Although new, the flag is based on King Nikola I’s personal standard, with the similar red and gold coloring as well as the gold coat of arms. Also in 2004, the Montenegrin legislature selected a popular Montenegrin folk song, “Oh the Bright Dawn of May,” as the new national anthem (this was different from previous anthems). The adoption of the Montenegrin flag and national anthem were powerful rallying symbols that were used by the pro-independence groups during their campaign.

Pre-Referendum

When I arrived in Belgrade from the USA the airport was packed with people flying to Podgorica—both election monitors and Montenegrins living abroad who were returning to vote. Newspapers described how 3,400 monitors—more than for any other election in history—would oversee the election.



Pro-union slogan: “Montenegro is not for sale!”

In answer to the question posed by the referendum, there were two sides: the pro-unionists and the pro-independence groups. The motto for the pro-unionists was

* Note: the newsletter printing is unable to include the original diacritic marks in this piece.

“Montenegro is not for sale!” (“*Crna Gora nije na prodaju!*”). On television, this forceful statement was explained to mean that Montenegro was not to be sold to foreign investors (for example, many Montenegrins express alarm that “half of the Montenegrin coast has been bought up by Russians”). However, it seemed to me that Montenegro “not being for sale” might have been a way of criticizing the vast amount of European Union funding that has recently been poured into Montenegro, possibly to “buy” the country away from Serbia. For example, many Montenegrins had been upset that Serbia had not built them a satisfactory airport, and then the EU funded the construction of a new airport in Podgorica that opened May 17th, four days before the referendum. In addition, a mix of Montenegrin and European funds went to the building of the spectacular Millennium Bridge (*Most Milenijum*) over the Moraca River in Podgorica. This bridge, which opened on the National Day of Montenegro (July 13, 2005), has been analyzed in the Montenegrin press as a visible symbol urging Montenegro to modernize—and to Europeanize.



Podgorica's Millennium Bridge

Pro-unionists also rallied around the symbol of a heart, with *ljubav* (love) as another key word. The emphasis was love for Serbia and brotherhood, and staying together even in bad times. The word *ne!* (no!) also summed up the position succinctly. Regardless of the amount of pro-union advertising, this side was clearly trumped by the pro-independence bloc, which had advertisements all over the country, as well as pro-independence graffiti. The primary slogan was *Da!* (yes!). As one woman of Bosnian nationality remarked to me when our bus driver got lost, “He can’t see the street signs here, they are all blocked with the *Da!* billboards.”

The referendum was complicated with the matter that a majority vote would be insufficient to determine the future—the European Union established 55% as the threshold for independence. This 55% figure was established to ensure majority beyond any doubt, but from the pro-independence point of view, it looked like an unfair

handicap. Regardless, the pro-independence bloc appeared certain of victory (some pro-independence voters told me they were sure to gain at least 60%). Milo Djukanovic was quoted May 18th as stating that the Montenegrin independence vote would be much more (*mnogo vise*) than 55%.³

One book mocked the 55% threshold, stating that if 54.9% voted for independence and 45.1% for union, it would be the minority of the country deciding on its future—the *Amazing Discovery from Brussels in Several Fugues* (*Fantasticna otkrica iz Brisela u nekoloko fuga*), ridicules this inequality with the following equation: “45% + 1 = 55% + 1”.⁴ This work deals specifically with the referendum, focusing on criticisms, and breaking down aspects of it into fugue-like vignettes. It was already projected that if there were pro-independence figures between 54.5% and 55.5% there could be serious issues for either side in accepting the vote, since this would be within the margin of error and it could have easily gone either way. This ended up being an issue, as the final vote count was 55.5%.

During the run-up to the referendum, with the federation of Serbia and Montenegro seemingly poised to dissolve, I was also interested in the Serbian perspectives. However, from reading some of the major Serbian daily newspapers such as *Politika*, it appeared that the main problem was not the potential of losing Montenegro—this seemed to have been taken for granted, at least in the few days leading up to the referendum. Instead, some issues discussed included what to do about the license plates that read “SCG” (“*Srbija i Crna Gora*,” or “Serbia and Montenegro”) and the necessity of issuing (and affording) all new license plates. One Serbian newspaper, the Novi Sad *Dnevnik*, countered Montenegro’s independence referendum with its own, posing the question applying to Serbia: “Do you want the Republic of Serbia to be an independent state with full international and legal privileges and sovereignty?”⁵ As the referendum fell during the time of the World Cup, and Serbia and Montenegro played together on a team, there was a lot of speculation about whether they would continue to play on the same soccer team if indepen-



Pro-independence advertising: “Yes!”

dence were declared. In the end this was not an issue, as it is now several months after the referendum that the Montenegrin Football Association (FAM) is being officially accepted as an international team.⁶

Other concerns involved the reconstruction of the Serbian government, as the Serbian finance minister Mladjan Dinkic discussed publicly on May 17th.⁷ Much more pressing for Serbia was the issue of Kosovo. Montenegrins and Serbs are very similar—physically, religiously, and linguistically (and many claim that Montenegrins are, in fact, Serbs). Some Serbs had feared that if Montenegro gains independence, it would be more difficult for Serbia to justify keeping control of Kosovo (about 80% of whose inhabitants are Muslim). This summer, many newspapers were predicting that by November 2006 Kosovo would become independent, and along with this Serbian media discussed repercussions, such as the flight of Serbian refugees from Kosovo into Serbia and the paths they would take (which were traced on a map with arrows).



Supporters at the Montenegrin Independence Rally, May 18, 2006

I arrived in Podgorica too late to attend the May 16th pro-union rally in Republic Square, but I was at least able to attend the May 18th pro-independence rally in the same location. The main city square of Montenegro's capital city (which was actually just a big parking lot) was transformed into a political forum.⁸ The entire day of the 18th was spent preparing the stage for the rally and decorating the Square with flags and posters reading *Da!* (Yes!) and *Za Crnu Goru, koju volimo!* (For Montenegro, which we love!). Sound checks were heard throughout the city, both with speech as well as clips of songs praising the beauty of Montenegro.

That evening, starting around 6:30 p.m., people from everywhere began streaming toward Republic Square. Most were wearing red, the color representing independence, and some were driving around in their cars with flags—or people with flags—draped out the windows. One man drove his car with a boy lying on the roof, holding a flag. The rally

itself was tremendous, and the energy was extremely positive, as if everyone in Republic Square knew that Montenegro was about to become free. Many politicians (including Milo) gave short speeches, uttering phrases such as “we are doing this for Njegos!” (Montenegro's most famous writer) or “no longer will people say that Montenegro is located somewhere in Serbia!” As the crowd roared, people flashed the “L” sign with their thumb and index finger, the symbol for the Liberal Party that supported independence. Several musical acts, including a local rap group that performed its hit *Nezavisna!* (Independent!), took to the stage to excited applause and chanting.

The messages transmitted to the crowd were constructive and optimistic, and I think that this positivity helped prevent violence from occurring on either side. The bright, prosperous, and tolerant future as a member of the European Union was a significant theme to the rally. Messages were very inclusive, about how Montenegro was a multi-religious and multi-ethnic state, and how all people would be treated fairly. In addition to slogans in the official language, some were given in Albanian as well to attract the Albanian voters. A fireworks display over our heads capped off the rally. Afterward, all the cafes in Podgorica instantly filled up with people celebrating the impending independence. It seemed there was not one seat of public space in Podgorica, and finding a table to get a coffee after the rally was nearly impossible.

Following the cafe hopping, and for the entire 48 hours prior to the referendum, Montenegrins were to observe a “pre-referendum silence.” All rallies had already taken place, and media coverage had been exhaustive (as well as advertising and campaigning). Overnight, the sloganed t-shirts and baseball caps disappeared, and—from what I could tell—everyone on the streets was silent about the referendum. The media faithfully followed the decree, with the exception of the daily newspaper *Vijesti*, whose front page May 19th read “Pssst!” and discussed the previous-night's pro-independence meeting in Republic Square (*Trg Republike*).

The Announcement

May 21st, the day of the vote, silence was still observed. Voting was slated to continue until 9 p.m., and no results were expected anytime before 10 p.m. Oddly, and prematurely, around 9:30 p.m. a televised unofficial declaration was made of Montenegro's independence, with the percentage of votes at 56.3%. The immediate result of this announcement was cheering, and people ran for their cars to drive them around the cities, honking the horns and draping flags out the windows. I was in Budva for the announcement (there was no place to stay in Podgorica since election monitors had packed full all the hotels). Every time the cars circled people cheered from the sidewalks, flashed the “L” sign with their hands, and pumped their fists in the air and screamed. It did not matter that the same



The Newspaper Vijesti, violating the “pre-referendum silence,” printing information about the May 18th Independence Rally

cars had circled around twenty times or more, each time they passed there was the same excitement. There were cars with four people in them, each holding a flag, and cars with people hanging out the sunroof waving them. A young man was perched half-outside one car with his legs through the window, wearing the red and gold flag as a cape that fluttered out from his shoulders as they whipped around the city. People were all in the streets and ended up in cafes and bars all night, celebrating the victory, and on television programs flashed between celebrations in the major Montenegrin cities and how they were celebrating. Most impressive was in Cetinje, the former capital of Montenegro, where folkdances in traditional costumes were performed all through the night. Podgorica was once again bathed in fireworks. During all of this, the pro-unionists must have remained inside since there was nothing heard from them.

The Morning After

Although the pro-union bloc conceded the night the results were announced as 56.3%, they rescinded this concession when it was officially announced that only 55.5% voted for independence. The pro-unionists did not acknowledge the referendum at this point, declaring that it was because 16,000 “foreigners” (Montenegrins living abroad) came to Montenegro to vote for independence, whereas Montenegrins in Serbia were not able to vote. Rumors circulated that Djukanovic’s government paid people to vote pro-independence as well. This was countered by rumors from the pro-independence bloc that Serbia paid

voters to vote pro-union. There were articles in the newspapers about eighteen Montenegrins within Montenegro not being given their personal identification cards in time to vote and that they had been deliberately withheld.⁹ The situation felt uneasy, and there was a lot of tension beneath the surface, but none of it spilled over into violence. The constant repetitions from the EU that this vote had been the most secure in history, and the constant praise from the EU that the elections had been completed entirely successfully (fairly, without a hitch, without violence, and without contesting the vote) sounded to me like an urging for acceptance of legitimacy. Without the daily repetitive statements of praise for these elections, it is quite possible that there would have been more contention over the closeness of the vote.

What followed this uneasiness about the legitimacy of the elections was the uneasy waiting. It was not made clear in the press that Montenegro had to officially declare itself independent before other nations would recognize the independence, and many Montenegrins assumed that the vote was enough to automatically make them independent. The resulting confusion resulted in daily questions: when will the EU recognize us? When will Serbia recognize us? One newspaper article discussed specifically how it would be most beneficial for the stability of the region—as well as for Serbia’s dignity following the embarrassment of losing Montenegro—if Serbia were to be the very first to recognize independence.

Before Montenegro had officially declared itself independent, and before it had been recognized by other nations, Montenegro and the EU were already discussing Montenegro’s accession, which, as of summer 2006, was projected for 2010. Many in Montenegro assumed that Montenegro would immediately become a member of the EU once independence was declared and that the economic situation would improve immediately. It seemed to, to some degree—overnight major construction projects began, such as the re-structuring of Republic Square.

On June 3, 2006 at the parliament building in Podgorica, Montenegro declared its independence and its status as a sovereign nation. Fireworks followed, as well as speedy recognition by others. The first state to recognize Montenegro was Iceland, on June 8, 2006, and various European countries followed, including former Yugoslav republics Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Slovenia. Montenegrin media focused heavily on the former Yugoslav republics, which are not on the friendliest of terms with Serbia, and how they praised the independence referendum. The European Union and the United States officially recognized Montenegro on June 12. By June 14th, all five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council had recognized the government of Montenegro. Serbia finally recognized Montenegro on June 15. The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) decided to accept Montenegro as the 56th member of the

organization on June 21, and the country took its seat at the Permanent Council on June 22. On June 28, Montenegro became the 192nd member state of the United Nations.

The Future

Although the changes in Montenegro are in the spirit of progress, an air of optimism cannot conceal some challenges the country is facing now and will be facing in the near future. One issue is that of language: in the constitution of Montenegro adopted in 1992, the official language of the republic was changed from Serbo-Croatian to the “Ijekavian” standard dialect of Serbian (both countries use both the Cyrillic as well as Latin alphabets, so this does not pose a difference). Montenegrins identify themselves as speakers of Montenegrin, Serbian, or “The Mother Tongue (*Maternji jezik*),” as they are unsure what to call the language at this point. In general, those who self-identify as Serbs and voted pro-union call their language Serbian. Many of those who self-identify as Montenegrins rather than Serbs also call the language Serbian, but a growing number are calling it Montenegrin and rallying around the distinguishing traits of the Montenegrin speech system. The situation looks like it will be changing rapidly, as more and more Montenegrin language textbooks, dictionaries, and orthographies are printed.

Another obstacle now facing Montenegro is the issue of the Orthodox Church. The Serbian Orthodox Church owns all Orthodox churches on Montenegrin soil, but an autonomous Montenegrin Orthodox Church has also appeared and is rapidly building new churches. Holy places such as the Ostrog Monastery and the Daibebe Monastery—in Montenegro but under the Serbian Orthodox Church—could possibly find themselves in the middle of a possession battle.

The economy is going to remain an issue in Montenegro, as the average monthly salary is around 250 euros (whereas Montenegro is as expensive as any Western European country in terms of consumer goods and food). The European Union and USAID have been funding various projects to improve the Montenegrin infrastructure, which could lead to an up-swing in the economy: recent projects include USAID’s new bus station in Niksic and the European Union–funded new airport in Podgorica.

Another issue, and no less significant, is that many Serbs still think of Montenegro as part of Serbia. In addition, many living in Montenegro consider themselves to be Serbs, whereas others claim them as Montenegrins. In addition, many Serbs consider Montenegrins in general to be Serbs and consider the territory of Montenegro to be Serbia. While on the beach in Petrovac, on the Montenegrin coast, I overheard a Serb exclaim “how beautiful it is here! Everyone knows Serbia has the most beautiful beaches in the world!” at which point a young man sitting nearby tensely replied, “This is Crna Gora. This is Montenegro.

This is not Serbia.” The issue of identity has been—and most likely will continue to be—played out in various aspects of life in Montenegro.

I arrived in the country Serbia and Montenegro on May 17, 2006, and when I left on June 24th it was a different country. The American customs declaration asked to list all countries visited prior to arrival in the USA—after pondering for several minutes I finally listed “Serbia and Montenegro, Serbia, and Montenegro.” Although seemingly unique, this confusion is what many have experienced in the former Yugoslavia since 1991. Except that confusion alone cannot begin to describe the experience of people whose own native country has disappeared. The recent death of a country and the birth of two new ones in its place is now a fact of life for the people of Montenegro and will impact all—regardless what they consider themselves to ethnically “be.”

Notes

¹ The ballot actually read: “*Zelite li da Republika Crna Gora bude nezavisna drzava sa punim medjunarodno-pravnim subjektivitetom?*” The OSCE English translation of this reads slightly differently: “Do you want the Republic of Montenegro to be an independent state with a full international and legal personality?”

² Prior to becoming prime minister, Djukanovic had been the president of Montenegro since 1998.

³ *Pobjeda* (daily newspaper, Podgorica). May 18, 2006.

⁴ *Fantasticna otkrica iz Brisela u nekoliko fuga*. 2006. Strajo. European Union—Montenegro. Bruxelles-Cetinje, p. 18.

⁵ *Vijesti* (daily newspaper, Podgorica), May 19, 2006.

⁶ As of September 7th 2006, FIFA (the worldwide governing body of soccer) offered its support for the Montenegrin Football Association’s bid for membership. The Serbian team is considered the legal successor of the Serbia and Montenegro team. (The Associated Press, September 7, 2006)

⁷ *Pobjeda*, May 18, 2006.

⁸ As soon as the referendum results were announced, intensive reconstruction began of Republic Square, which re-opened July 13, 2006—no longer as a big parking lot, but as a beautifully constructed public space.

⁹ Reporting of this began on May 20th in the daily newspaper *Dan*.

Hungarian Revolution, continued from page 5

Committee. The intelligentsia grieved the loss of the effective prime minister; a non-communist writer said to a communist colleague, "Friend, if they would only let him, this man would lead the Hungarian people straight to socialism!"²⁰ Nagy was no longer allowed to lead the Hungarian people in any capacity, yet the revolutionary spirit remained regardless of such purges.²¹

On February 25, 1956, Khrushchev delivered a four-hour "Secret Speech" in which he denounced Stalin's "cult of personality" at the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU. The speech affirmed the Hungarian writers' critical view toward the unjust Stalinist regime. As word spread about his speech, Khrushchev opened the door for public criticism. Feeling liberated, people began to speak out in the public sphere, and the Hungarian intelligentsia demanded political compromise from the regime's leadership.²² But the "road to class power" proved difficult as tension mounted between the ideologies of reformist intellectuals and the ruling elite.²³

Gyorgy Litvan's Direct Criticism Goes Unpunished

The city of Budapest is divided into districts, each of which hosted its own Party meeting under socialism. At the Thirteenth District Party meeting, Gyorgy Litvan, a young secondary school teacher, stood and addressed Rakosi. He said, "I must tell you, Comrade Matyas Rakosi, that the Hungarian people no longer trust you!"²⁴ Litvan went home that evening, packed his bags, and waited for his arrest. Nobody came for him. The Party simply advised him to "word his speeches more carefully and less rudely."²⁵

The end of the world had arrived. If, in Hungary, an unknown, nameless nobody, a young teacher, could throw the people's verdict in Rakosi's face and get away with it, it was surely the end of the world. Yet, [Litvan] was not arrested. He was not imprisoned. He was not hanged. Only four months earlier, the writers had been surrounded by the glass walls of silence which surrounded the entire country.²⁶

Now people had access to public outlets in which they expressed concerns and criticisms of the regime. The Petofi Circle served as a place where young students, distinguished intellectuals, and members of the public conducted discussions and debates.

The Petofi Circle

During the 1848–49 Revolution, the famous Hungarian poet Sandor Petofi marched with students and was killed. Even today, his charismatic leadership and revolutionary cries serve as inspiration to the Hungarian people. His famous revolutionary poem reads:

RISE, Magyar! is the country's call!
The time has come, say one and all:

Shall we be slaves, shall we be free?
This is the question, now agree!
For by the Magyar's God above
We truly swear,
We truly swear the tyrant's yoke
No more to bear!²⁷

Every March 15, Hungarians grace Petofi's statue with flowers and national flags to remember his brave actions against the Habsburgs and his inspiration for the Revolution of 1956. The Petofi Circle, the young intellectual circle in 1956, named itself in his memory; it hosted public debates in which experts and students publicly discussed national issues. Whereas the Party would have arrested and executed people for such activity a few years earlier, the Party helped found the Petofi Circle in 1956 through the Union of Working Youth (DISZ).²⁸



*Petofi Statue in Budapest on March 15, 2005.
Flags and flowers grace the statue,
commemorating the 1848–49 Revolution.*

The founding of the Petofi Circle was initiated by Laszlo Lakatos, a poet and translator, who wanted some independence from the communist youth organization. He and his friends wanted to discuss current issues with other young intellectuals, but the DISZ leaders demanded control over these intellectuals; they required communist leadership for any organized meeting and appointed Gabor Tanczos as secretary of the Petofi Circle. The youth organization for which Tanczos previously worked had expelled him, but he underwent rehabilitation at the DISZ school where leaders were taught Marxism.²⁹ Under Tanczos, the Petofi Circle hosted thematic, public debates about issues that included the plight of historians, economists, and the press. This

public forum provided a space for young intellectuals to voice their opinions and helped pave the way to revolution.

A most memorable Petofi Circle event occurred on June 27, 1956. It was the summer of love, and the Hungarian people were feverish about the possibility of freedom. “So try to understand us Hungarians as a whole nation neck-deep in happy love, expecting the best—ready for anything for freedom! ... It was a pink and feverish state of mind and we were capable of everything—we were ready to sacrifice our lives. This is invincible.”³⁰ The writers wrote truthful works, and the intelligentsia debated sensitive issues. The Party leadership had admitted to past crimes. The people had discussed injustice in the streets without being arrested and tortured. The fear remained, yet the euphoria enveloped so many Hungarians, six thousand of whom attended the Petofi Circle debate on June 27: “Censorship and the Press.”

Young intellectuals, writers, and others crowded in the meeting room, in the courtyard, and on the street until the early morning hours. The audience demanded that Rakosi step down as Party secretary and hailed Imre Nagy. The atmosphere was incredible. The young intelligentsia wished to create a modern socialist order,³¹ and the people supported their efforts. Previously, the regime had strictly relegated such comments and questions to Party meetings with only members in attendance. The Petofi Circle encompassed a much larger circle of intellectuals, and many issues openly came to light that would have previously remained off-limits to the general public.

Poznan Revolt

Just as the Petofi Circle press debate ended, one hundred thousand workers in Poznan, Poland participated in an uprising that called for improvements in living and working conditions and for free elections. Communist authorities sent tanks and armed men to disband the crowds. Six hundred protestors were arrested, one hundred were killed, and several hundred were wounded.³¹ Though this uprising lasted for only a short period of time, the sentiment expressed in this mass demonstration deeply resonated with the Hungarian people; the Hungarian revolutionaries would later claim allegiance with workers in the Poznan Uprising.

Delegitimization Continues Through the Summer and Fall of 1956

Within Hungarian intellectual circles, the delegitimization of the regime continued: “... [In] those days, the writers could no longer be restrained. No threat or punishment could prevent them from fighting openly for the truth they had at last discovered. The Party punishments and expulsions and dismissals were only fuel to the already inflamed passions.”³² The ruling elite had lost its ability to suppress rebellious activities.³³ On July 3, 1956, *Szabad Nep* printed the CPSU June 30 resolution on the “cult of personality.” On July 10, the Writers’ Union criticized the June 30

resolution of the HWP Central Committee that condemned the Petofi Circle for its anti-Party manifestations. The Circle’s critical activity worried Rakosi who made special efforts to further limit the freedom of press,³⁴ and he complained to the Soviet Union that the young intellectuals were subverting the socialist cause. The Soviet Union’s leadership had heard nothing but Party rhetoric from Petofi Circle reports and reminded Rakosi that its meetings cheered for the Party for minutes on end.³⁵ For a political system in which unity is of primary importance, the Soviet Union’s response did not bode well for Rakosi. On July 18, 1956, the Kremlin exiled Rakosi to the Soviet Union, and the memory of Imre Nagy remained fresh in the minds of those seeking reforms. On September 17, 1956, the General Assembly of the Writers’ Union demonstrated in support of the former prime minister who had refused to exercise self-criticism. At the start of the revolution, the student demands transformed into rallying cries for the return of Imre Nagy.

Student Influence and the Birth of MEFESZ

Tamas Kiss, then a student at Szeged University, recently commented on the students’ role in 1956: “The only layer of intelligentsia that was more than reformist and wanted a clear break with everything that was faulty—was the university students. They had no political power. They were not bound to the regime, and they were clear-sighted enough to see what was wrong; everything was wrong.”³⁶ Imre Meecs, a student at the Budapest Technical University during the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, further observed that “[the students] were trying to find a new way. This is very easy for a student to understand like you because it is the mentality of our time. Back then, it was just an innovation ... When it came to the point where we could trust each other, that’s when the whole thing started in ’56.”³⁷

The bold efforts of the students who founded the independent organization MEFESZ directly conflicted with Party ideology and sparked the short fuse to revolution. At



The auditorium in which MEFESZ was founded at Szeged University.

the large Szeged University DISZ meeting on October 16, 1956, the youth communist leaders were late. The leaders were never late. In their absence, three law students stood in front of their peers and publicly articulated demands that had been unspeakable. Konrad and Szelenyi differentiate between intellectuals involved in official state capacity and those with a revolutionary role;³⁸ the students fully organized in a revolutionary capacity.

Kiss and two other law students stood in front of the crowded auditorium and spoke truth in a sea of lies. “A year earlier, nobody would dare to do it, but in October ’56, the whole country was in an uproar.”³⁹ The demands gradually increased to astonishing levels until the students demanded free elections and the removal of all Soviet troops. Regeczy-Nagy, who translated Kiss’s interview, said, “To my mind, that was revolution already. Because *should* Imre Nagy take the leadership, he couldn’t do anything else in the absence of Russian occupation power and as a result of free elections, he couldn’t do anything else but be a caretaker until the free, elected new government takes the chair.”⁴⁰

At this radical meeting, the students founded the new MEFESZ, a political youth organization independent of the Party. MEFESZ delegates traveled to other cities in Hungary to articulate their demands in the hope of spreading MEFESZ and creating a network of radical youth to remove Soviet troops and to change Party leadership. One of the points called for the reinstatement of Imre Nagy as prime minister. As the delegate to Hungary’s capital, Tamas Kiss gained support from the Budapest Technical University students. These students formulated a fifteen-point resolution⁴¹ on October 19, 1956 and held a mass meeting the following day regarding the current problems of the students and the technical intelligentsia. Throughout Hungary, the young intelligentsia discussed such matters in revolutionary meetings between October 20 and 22, 1956.

Revolution Begins

At three o’clock on October 23, 1956, university students from the Budapest Technical University and other educational institutions in collaboration with the Petofi Circle started a mass demonstration on the streets of Budapest. Thousands of people joined shortly thereafter, including workers getting off the morning shift. After demonstrating at the Petofi and General Bem statues, protestors gathered in front of Parliament and listened to a speech from Imre Nagy. Under Party control, Nagy did not deliver a satisfactory speech for people demanding change, and they continued to protest. Revolutionaries marched to the radio building and demanded that the radio publicly broadcast the students’ sixteen points. Shots soon rang out, and the siege of the radio lasted until the morning of October 24. Hungarian freedom fighters, now mostly workers and teenagers, fought Soviet tanks with Molotov cocktails. More Soviet tanks rolled into Hungary and reclaimed power on November 4, 1956.

Notwithstanding the importance of the uprisings in Berlin and in Poznan, Johanna Granville describes the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 as the first major anti-Soviet uprising in Eastern Europe and significant “shooting war” between socialist states.⁴² The revolution signified a “thrust for national independence and ethnic identity.”⁴³ Regeczy-Nagy described the feelings he and many others experienced during the days of the revolution: “We were hovering above ground ... we were capable of everything—we were ready to sacrifice our lives!” He emphasized the revolution’s continued importance for himself and other participants, “It is our life. It is our happiness, and it is us.”⁴⁴

Conclusion

Stalin’s death in 1953 created conditions that enabled critical opinions to enter the public sphere, delegitimizing the Hungarian party-state. Three years later, Khrushchev’s Secret Speech allowed for public debates such as those within the Petofi Circle. After Imre Mecs returned to Budapest from his summer job in 1956, he was shocked: “I couldn’t believe my eyes because everybody was talking freely to each other and there were a lot of organizations coming to life and I was just amazed ... that people were not afraid of fighting anymore. That was the big news of September.”⁴⁵ The fact that students successfully formed not just an independent, but a *critical* youth organization was surely amazing. The feelings of injustice grew stronger than fear of retribution, and students proclaimed nationalistic sentiments and their desire for freedom.

These efforts culminated in the mass demonstration on October 23 that directly led to the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, a significant stand against the powerful Soviet regime in Eastern Europe. The intelligentsia realized the effects of their actions. “After the Hungarian rebellion of 1956 was crushed by the Russian tanks, Georg Lukacs⁴⁶ was taken prisoner; when a KGB officer asked him if he had a weapon, Lukacs calmly reached into his pocket and handed over his pen.”⁴⁷ For the intelligentsia had surely delegitimized the Soviet regime and its power through public criticism and written words.

Notes

¹ Interview by author with Rudolf Ungvary, mechanical engineer, art critic, and Student Parliament leader in Miskolc during the 1956 Hungarian Revolution (January 11, 2006).

² *Encyclopaedia Britannica Online*, “Hungary.”

³ Interview by author with Istvan Borocz, plastic surgeon and medical student during 1956 Hungarian Revolution (January 13, 2006).

⁴ Gyorgy Konrad and Ivan Szelenyi, *The Intellectuals on the Road to Class Power* (New York, 1979), 183.

⁵ Interview by author with Vera Bacskai, Eotvos Lorand University economy and social history professor and

spouse of the late Gabor Tanczos, Petofi Circle secretary in 1956 (January 17, 2006).

⁶ Konrad and Szelenyi, *The Intellectuals on the Road to Class Power*.

⁷ Interview by author with Gabor Karatson, writer, painter, and 1956 Hungarian Revolution student and participant (January 20, 2006).

⁸ Bill Lomax, "The Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and the Origins of the Kadar Regime," *Studies in Comparative Communism* 18 (1985): 87.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 88.

¹⁰ Rakosi held his position as Party secretary.

¹¹ Tamas Aczel and Tibor Meray, *Revolt of the Mind: A Case History of Intellectual Resistance Behind the Iron Curtain* (New York, 1959), 184.

¹² Open Society Archives, "Report on Budapest TV Discussions About 1956," Records of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Institute (RFE/RL RI), Hungarian Unit, Subject Files in English: HU OSA 300-40-2 (1981).

¹³ The Institute for the History of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, "Crisis and a Search for Solution." Text available at <http://www.rev.hu/history_of_56/ora1/index.htm>.

¹⁴ The feeling of responsibility and shame was extremely heightened within reformist circles. Reflecting this, Aczel and Meray title the chapter in which this passage is found: "It Is My Crime to Have Believed in Yours..." See Aczel and Meray, *Revolt of the Mind*, 254.

¹⁵ Interview by author with Vera Bacskai.

¹⁶ Patrick H. O'Neil, "Revolution from Within: Institutional Analysis, Transitions from Authoritarianism, and the Case of Hungary," *World Politics* 48:4 (1996): 589.

¹⁷ Interview by author with Antal Orkeny, Eotvos Lorand University sociology professor and son of Hungarian writer Istvan Orkeny (January 12, 2006).

¹⁸ Aczel and Meray, *Revolt of the Mind*, 212.

¹⁹ Nagy failed to address the Political Committee one morning due to a mild heart attack. Rakosi hired a doctor that diagnosed Nagy with infarct (Blockage of the arteries) instead of a heart attack because according to Party policy, an infarct required six weeks of rest while a heart attack required only two. Rakosi essentially quarantined Nagy and prepared the way for Nagy's dismissal. See Johanna Granville, *The First Domino: International Decision Making during the Hungarian Crisis of 1956* (College Station, TX, 2004), 14.

²⁰ Aczel and Meray, *Revolt of the Mind*, 319.

²¹ The Institute for the History of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, "Revolution and Struggle for Liberation." Text available at <http://www.rev.hu/history_of_56/ora2/index.htm>.

²² Konrad and Szelenyi, *The Intellectuals on the Road to Class Power*, 186-7.

²³ *Ibid.*, 206.

²⁴ Aczel and Meray, *Revolt of the Mind*, 395.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Eva March Tappan, ed., *The World's Story: A History of the World in Story, Song and Art*. Vol. 6, *Russia, Austria-Hungary, The Balkan States, and Turkey* (Boston, 1914), 409.

²⁸ The Institute for the History of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, "Revolution and Struggle for Liberation."

²⁹ Interview by author with Vera Bacskai.

³⁰ Interview by author with Laszlo Regeczy-Nagy, British Legation retiree and former officer in the Royal Hungarian Army (January 11, 2006).

³¹ O'Neil, "Revolution from Within," 588.

³² Aczel and Meray, *Revolt of the Mind*, 336.

³³ The Institute for the History of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, "Revolution and Struggle for Liberation."

³⁴ Granville, *The First Domino*, 51-2.

³⁵ Aczel and Meray, *Revolt of the Mind*, 415.

³⁶ Interview by author with Tamas Kiss, elected deputy chairman of the political prisoners' association POFOSZ and student founder of independent youth organization MEFESZ during the 1956 Hungarian Revolution (January 18, 2006).

³⁷ Interview by author with Mecs Imre, Hungarian Parliament member and Budapest Technical University student during 1956 Hungarian Revolution (January 17, 2006).

³⁸ Konrad and Szelenyi, *The Intellectuals on the Road to Class Power*, 86.

³⁹ Interview by author with Tamas Kiss.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ One additional point was agreed upon the following day.

⁴² Granville, *The First Domino*.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, xv.

⁴⁴ Interview by author with Tamas Kiss.

⁴⁵ Interview by author with Mecs Imre.

⁴⁶ When Imre Nagy was reinstated as prime minister for a short time during the 1956 Hungarian, Lukacs served as Minister of Culture under Nagy.

⁴⁷ Slavoj Zizek, ed., *Revolution at the Gates: A Selection of Writings from February to October 1917* (London: 2002).

Outreach Programs

Summer Institute for Educators on the Environment

ORIAS, the outreach unit for International and Area Studies at Berkeley, held its annual summer institute for educators, “**Encountering Nature in World History**,” on July 24–28, 2006. ISEEEES contributed two speakers on our region to the well-attended event.

Ariadna Reida, the Russian director of Baikal Watch and co-director of the Great Baikal Trail Association, gave a presentation entitled “Lake Baikal in Russia—Ecotourism.” The Great Baikal Trail Association is an organization that advocates sustainable development of the Lake Baikal region by using international volunteers to develop, maintain, promote, and protect the first 1,300-mile-long national trail in Russia.

Located in Siberia, Lake Baikal is a very special body of water, with a length of roughly the same distance as San Francisco to Los Angeles. With a depth of one mile (and sediment below that of some 6 miles deep), it is estimated to contain about one-fifth of the world’s fresh water. Weather conditions cause the lake to be oxygenated to the bottom, sustaining an extraordinary diversity of living creatures—an estimated 1,500 species of animals and 1,000 species of plants—which is rare for fresh water. About three-fourths of the lake’s species are endemic. Baikal’s best-known creatures are the *nepa*, the world’s only fresh water seal, and a kind of fish named the *omul*. The lake as a whole is quite clean, and the water is considered safe to drink, in spite of the Baikalsk Cellulose Paper Plant located on the lake’s southern end. The plant was built during the Cold War to produce cellulose for aircraft tires, and today it produces textiles for garments.

Ariadna described how people protested the cellulose plant’s location on the lake, at a time when such protests did not occur in the Soviet Union, and how the environmental movement in Russia took root in those efforts. The lake became a UNESCO World Heritage site in 1996, which could ultimately force the closure of the plant. Much of the land surrounding the lake is undeveloped, and the region does not have an infrastructure to support international tourism. Building the Great Baikal Trail is important to the future of the lake, by encouraging international travel to the region by volunteers who are digging the trail and eventually creating a more welcoming destination.

Sonja Schmid, a research associate with the Center for International Security and Cooperation at Stanford University, spoke to the summer institute on Chernobyl. Her doctoral dissertation focused on understanding the complex decision-making processes that went into developing the Soviet nuclear energy industry, and her current work examines reactor design choices and the development of the

Soviet Union’s civilian nuclear industry. Rather than summarize the events and effects of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster, Sonja gave us a clear picture about the design of the Chernobyl reactor and how that could have contributed to the disaster.

In really basic terms, a nuclear reactor uses nuclear energy to heat water, creating steam that turns a turbine to produce electricity. The USSR initially had up to ten designs for nuclear reactors, but they built two types. The VVER type of reactor uses water as both the moderator (the material in which nuclear fission takes place and which slows down the atomic particles to increase their chances of splitting) and the coolant (the material that transfers away heat generated in the reactor). The RBMK reactor, which was Chernobyl’s design, uses graphite as a moderator and water as a coolant. The RBMK design had some advantages—for example, it can use poorer quality fuel than the VVER reactors require—but its critical flaw is that the reactor not only works when there is a loss of coolant, but its power—and thus temperature—increases. That proved disastrous in Chernobyl’s case.

There is still controversy about the cause of the disaster, whether it was caused by a design flaw or human error. Sonja described the organizational culture of the two ministries that were involved in the Soviet nuclear industry, those responsible for design and construction and those who operated the reactors. Each had its own director, its own concerns, and a different understanding of the risks involved, and these differences could have contributed to human failure. But since the reactor’s design contributed to the disaster, the interesting point is why did the USSR (and only the USSR) choose this type of reactor? One possible reason is that it can produce plutonium for military purposes, which explains why the Soviets did not export this design, as they did the VVER.

There are many ways to frame Chernobyl in the classroom: as a disaster, within the Cold War, or within a narrative of progress. Nuclear power, outside of the issues of safety, was an important development in the narrative of industrialization and modernization, which explains why, even today, the Russian Federal Agency for Atomic Energy has plans to build forty new reactors.

Stella Bourgoin is the ISEEEES outreach coordinator.

Upcoming Events

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

Friday, October 6, 2006. *Conference:* “China, Russia, India: Investing in Emerging Markets—Globalization of R&D.” In the Andersen Auditorium, Haas School of Business, UC Berkeley, 8:30 a.m. Sponsored by the Computer History Museum, ISI Emerging Markets, TiE Silicon Valley, the Asia Foundation, Vega Capital Group, the Center for Chinese Studies, the Berkeley Center for Law and Technology, the Center for South Asia Studies, the Physics Department at UCB, the Department of Agricultural and Resource Economics, the Lester Center, the Management of Technology Program, the Center for Executive Development, and ISEEEES. For information, please contact: Erin Smith, Program Coordinator, (510) 643-1048.

Monday, October 9, 2006. *Colloquium:* Nancy Ruttenburg, New York University, will speak on “Dostoevsky’s Democracy: The *Ne To* and the *Demokrat*.” In 160 Dwinelle Hall, 4 p.m. Sponsored by the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures.

Wednesday, October 11, 2006. *Annual Fall Reception.* Please join us in celebration of the new academic year. In the Toll Room, Alumni House, 4–6 p.m. Sponsored by ISEEEES.

Monday, October 16, 2006. *Performance:* Kirov Orchestra of the Mariinsky Theatre. At Zellerbach Hall, UC Berkeley, 7 p.m. Fees: \$38-86. Contact: Cal Performances, <http://www.calperfs.berkeley.edu/> or (510) 642-9988.

Wednesday–Thursday, October 18–19, 2006. *Symposium:* “Renewal & Resistance: The Revitalization of Jewish Culture in Post-Holocaust, Post-Communist Poland.” October 18, Keynote speaker and reception: Dinner Board Room, Hewlett Library, 2400 Ridge Road, Berkeley; October 19, Symposium: Easton Hall Conference Center, Graduate Theological Union, 2401 Ridge Road, Berkeley. **Please register with CJS at (510) 649-2420 or cjs@gtu.edu** (free of charge). Sponsored by the Center for Jewish Studies at the Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, and ISEEEES.

Saturday–Sunday, October 21–22, 2006. *Festival:* San Francisco Croatian Festival. At the Croatian American Cultural Center, 60 Onondaga Ave, San Francisco. Fees to be announced. Contact: Croatian American Cultural Center, <http://www.slavonicweb.org/> or (510) 649-0941.

Sunday, October 22, 2006. *Performance:* Russian Chamber Orchestra. At St. Stephen’s Episcopal Church, 3 Bay View Ave, Belvedere, 5 p.m. Fees: \$20 general, \$17

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

Monday, October 23, 2006. *Colloquium:* Victoria Somoff, UC Berkeley, will speak on “Ivan Turgenev’s ‘Mumu’ and Interpretation of Muteness: Russian Prose on the Eve of the Novel.” In 160 Dwinelle Hall, 4 p.m. Sponsored by the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures.

Tuesday, October 24, 2006. *Colloquium:* “Commemorating the 50th Anniversary of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution and Freedom Fight.” In Sibley Auditorium, Bechtel Engineering Center, 6:30 p.m. Sponsored by the San Francisco Bay Area Remember Hungary 1956 Committee, the Honorary Consulate of Hungary to Northern California and Nevada, and ISEEEES.

Wednesday, October 25, 2006. *Film Screening:* *Revolt in Hungary* (CBS TV, 30 min.), a short history of the 1956 Revolution in Hungary; *Ten Years Later* (NBC TV, 10 min.), a summary of events in 1956 and interviews with 3 Hungarian professionals 10 years later; *Cry Hungary* (BBC TV, 70 min.), a documentary and analysis of the Hungarian revolution of 1956. In 105 Northgate Hall, Graduate School of Journalism, 6 p.m. Open to the public, free of charge. Sponsored by the San Francisco Bay Area Remember Hungary 1956 Committee, the Honorary Consulate of Hungary to Northern California and Nevada, and ISEEEES.

Thursday, October 26, 2006. *Film Screening:* *Revolt in Hungary* (CBS TV, 30 min.), a short history of the 1956 Revolution in Hungary; *Journey Home* (Reka Pigniczky, 90 min.), a documentary on two sisters learning what their father did as a freedom fighter during the 1956 revolution. Following *Journey Home*, documentary filmmaker Reka Pigniczky will be available for a dialogue. In 105 Northgate Hall, Graduate School of Journalism, 6 p.m. Open to the public, free of charge. Sponsored by the San Francisco Bay Area Remember Hungary 1956 Committee, the Honorary Consulate of Hungary to Northern California and Nevada, and ISEEEES.

Friday, October 27, 2006. *Film Screening:* *Freedom’s Fury* (120 min.), a documentary about the water polo game between Hungary and the Soviet Union at the 1956 Olympics, following the Hungarian Revolution. In 105 Northgate Hall, Graduate School of Journalism, 6:30 p.m. Open to the public, free of charge. Sponsored by the San Francisco Bay Area Remember Hungary 1956 Committee, the Honorary Consulate of Hungary to Northern California and Nevada, and ISEEEES.

November 3–4, 2006. *Performance:* The Moscow Circus will perform “A Russian Winter’s Tale.” At Zellerbach Hall, UC Berkeley. Fees: \$22–42. Contact: Cal Performances, <http://www.calperfs.berkeley.edu/> or (510) 642-9988.

Wednesday, November 8, 2006. *Brown Bag Talk:* Paul Werth, Associate Professor, Department of History, University of Nevada, will speak on “Ecclesiastical Head, Imperial Subject: The Armenian Catholicos at the Junction of Russia’s Internal and Foreign Policy, 1828–1914.” In 270 Stephens Hall, 12 noon. Sponsored by ISEEEES.

Thursday, November 9, 2006. *TO BE CONFIRMED—Brown Bag Talk:* Alexander Livergant, Deputy Editor, *Foreign Literature (Inostrannaya literatura)* magazine, Moscow, will speak on translations as an art and an industry in Russia and the Soviet Union. Please contact ISEEEES that week to confirm that this event will take place. In 270 Stephens Hall, 12 noon. Sponsored by ISEEEES.

Monday, November 13, 2006. *Colloquium:* Ilya Utekhin, The European University in St. Petersburg, will speak on “*Poetika i stilistika zhaloby.*” Please note this talk will be presented in Russian. In 160 Dwinelle Hall, 4 p.m. Sponsored by the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures.

Wednesday, November 15, 2006. *Brown Bag Talk:* Christoph Witzernath, Department of East European History, Humboldt University, Berlin, will speak on “Manipulating Subjects: Cossacks, Trade, and Changing Imperial Culture around Lake Baikal, 1696–1701.” In 270 Stephens Hall, 12 noon. Sponsored by ISEEEES.

November 15–18, 2006. *Performance:* The San Francisco Symphony will perform Shostakovich’s Fifth Symphony. At Davies Symphony Hall, 201 Van Ness Ave, San Francisco. Fees: \$25–114. Tickets are available through SFS Ticket Services at (415) 864-6000 or <http://www.sfsymphony.org/>. Contact: San Francisco Symphony, <http://www.sfsymphony.org/> or (415) 552-8000.

Wednesday, November 29, 2006. *Brown Bag Talk:* Laurie Cohen, University of Innsbruck, will speak on the First International Peace Conference at The Hague, 1899. A title will be announced. In 270 Stephens Hall, 12 noon. Sponsored by ISEEEES.

November 29–December 2, 2006. *Performance:* The San Francisco Symphony, Vladimir Ashkenazy conducting, will perform works by Rachmaninoff and Tchaikovsky. At Davies Symphony Hall, 201 Van Ness, San Francisco, 8 p.m. Fees: \$25–114. See 11/15–18 event for contact information.

Friday, December 1, 2007. *Performance:* Croatian guitarist Ana Vidovic will perform classical guitar works. At Herbst Theatre, 401 Van Ness Ave, San Francisco, 8 p.m.

Tickets are available on-line or by calling (415) 392-2545. Contact: San Francisco Performances, <http://performances.org/> or (415) 398-6449.

Sunday, December 3, 2006. *Performance:* The Takacs Quartet will perform works by Beethoven. At Hertz Hall, UC Berkeley, 3 p.m. Fees: \$42. Contact: Cal Performances, <http://www.calperfs.berkeley.edu/> or (510) 642-9988.

Sunday, December 3, 2006. *Performance:* Russian Chamber Orchestra. At Mt. Tamalpais United Methodist Church, 410 Sycamore Ave, Mill Valley, 5 p.m. Fees: \$20 general, \$17 students/seniors. Contact: Russian Chamber Orchestra Society, <http://www.russianchamberorch.org/> or (415) 453-3116.

Tuesday, December 5, 2006. *Brown Bag Talk:* V. P. (Chip) Gagnon, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Ithaca College, will speak on war in ex-Yugoslavia in the 1990s. A title will be announced. In 270 Stephens Hall, 12 noon. Sponsored by ISEEEES.

December 7–10, 2006. *Performance:* The Chekhov International Theatre Festival will perform Shakespeare’s *Twelfth Night*. In Russian with English supertitles. At Zellerbach Playhouse, UC Berkeley. Fees: \$65. Contact: Cal Performances, <http://www.calperfs.berkeley.edu/> or (510) 642-9988.

Saturday, December 16, 2006. *Performance:* The San Francisco Symphony will perform Prokofiev’s *Peter and the Wolf*, narrated by Florence Henderson. At Davies Symphony Hall, 201 Van Ness Ave, San Francisco, 1 & 4 p.m. Fees: \$15–45. See 11/15–18 event for contact information.

Sunday, January 21, 2007. *Performance:* The Moscow Soloists, Yuri Bashmet conducting. At Davies Symphony Hall, 201 Van Ness Ave, San Francisco, 7 p.m. Fees: \$25–81. See 11/15–18 event for contact information.

January 24–27, 2007. *Performance:* The San Francisco Symphony featuring Radu Lupu, piano, will perform Mozart’s Piano Concerto No. 20, among other works. Wed & Sat: Davies Symphony Hall, 201 Van Ness Ave, San Francisco, 8 p.m.; Thurs: Flint Center, 21250 Stevens Creek Blvd, Cupertino, 8 p.m. Fees: SF \$25–114; Flint \$31–57. See 11/15–18 event for contact information.

Friday, March 2, 2007. *Annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference.* A title and schedule will be announced. This year’s conference will be held at Berkeley. Sponsored by ISEEEES and the Center for Russian, East European, and Eurasian Studies at Stanford University.

Saturday, April 14, 2007. *Annual Teacher Outreach Conference.* Details will be announced. Registration will be required. Sponsored by ISEEEES.

Symposium – Free and open to the public

RENEWAL & RESISTANCE:
THE REVITALIZATION OF JEWISH CULTURE IN
POST-HOLOCAUST, POST-COMMUNIST POLAND

October 18–19, 2006

To register, please contact the Center for Jewish Studies,
(510) 649-2420 or cjs@gtu.edu

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 18, 2006

Dinner Board Room, Hewlett Library, Graduate Theological Union, 2400 Ridge Road, Berkeley

6:30 p.m. Reception and Welcoming remarks
President James Donahue, Graduate Theological Union

7:00 p.m. Keynote address: “The Post-War Chapter:
Reflections from the Museum of the History of
Polish Jews in Poland”
Dr. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Professor of Performance Studies, and Affiliated Professor of Hebrew and Judaic Studies, New York University; Leader, Core Exhibition Development Team, Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Warsaw

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 19, 2006

Easton Hall, 2401 Ridge Road, Graduate Theological Union, 2401 Ridge Road, Berkeley

9 a.m. Registration

9:30 a.m. Welcoming remarks by Dr. Naomi Seidman, director, and Shana Penn, visiting scholar, Center for Jewish Studies, Graduate Theological Union

10–11:30 a.m. Panel I: Culture, Memory and Renewal

11:45 a.m.–1 p.m. Panel II: Post-Communist Identity Formations

2–3:30 p.m. Panel III: Secular Jewish Culture, Then and Now

4–5 p.m. Panel IV: Video Presentations on Art, Loss, and Recovery

5 p.m. Closing remarks by Dr. Naomi Seidman, Shana Penn, Center for Jewish Studies, GTU

Support for this symposium is provided by the Taube Foundation for Jewish Life and Culture, Koret Foundation Funds, and the Posen Family Foundation.

Co-sponsored by the Center for Jewish Studies at the Graduate Theological Union and the Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies at UC Berkeley

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COMMEMORATING THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE
1956 HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION AND FREEDOM FIGHT

Colloquium

Tuesday, 24 October 2006

6:30 p.m.

Sibley Auditorium

Bechtel Engineering Center, UC Berkeley

Free and open to the public

PROGRAM

Introductions by Wayne Phillips, Ret. President, Custom Lab Supply, Inc.

Greetings by Dr. Eva Voisin, Honorary Consul of Hungary, Northern California and Nevada

“Memories of the Hungarian Revolution and Its Aftermath,” Kati Marton, journalist, writer, human rights activist, New York

“What Hungary Lost, the World Gained: 1956ers in Historical Perspective,” Prof. Jason Wittenberg, Department of Political Science, UC Berkeley

“Budapest to Berkeley,” Dr. Istvan Gorog, President, and CEO, CAPA Technologies, Inc., Pennsylvania

“Hungary, the Country of Knowledge,” Prof. Gabor Somorjai, Department of Chemistry, UC Berkeley

Documentary Film Series

22 Warren Hall, UC Berkeley campus
(Oxford Street at University Avenue)

Free of charge

Wednesday, 25 October 2006, 6 p.m.

Thursday, 26 October 2006, 6 p.m.

Friday, 27 October 2006, 6 p.m.

See pages 18–19 of this newsletter for the film titles.

Film screenings are open to the public free of charge.

Sponsored by the San Francisco Bay Area Remember Hungary 1956 Committee, <http://hungarianuprising.org/>; the Honorary Consulate of Hungary, Northern California and Nevada (San Mateo, CA); and the Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies, UC Berkeley

Faculty and Student News

Sener Akturk, Ph.D. candidate in political science, recently published “Ethnic Category and Nationalism: Mono-ethnic, Multi-ethnic, and Non-Ethnic Regimes” (in Turkish) in *Dogu-Bati* 28, and “Turkish-Russian Relations after the Cold War” in *Turkish Studies* (September 2006).

Sener received a John L. Simpson Memorial Research Fellowship from the Institute of International Studies this year for his project Continuity and Change in the Institutions of Ethnicity in Austria, Germany, Soviet Union/Russia, and Turkey.

This fall, **Diana Blank** (Ph.D., anthropology, 2004) is a Petro Jacyk Visiting Scholar in Ukrainian Studies at Columbia University’s Harriman Institute, where she is teaching a course in anthropology.

Margaret Boittin, Ph.D. candidate in political science, has been awarded a 3-year graduate research fellowship from the National Science Foundation.

Nicole Eaton, Ph.D. candidate in history, received a Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad Grant to do research on her dissertation in Moscow and Kaliningrad for the 2006–07 academic year.

Monica Eppinger, a joint Ph.D./J.D. candidate in the Department of Anthropology and Yale Law School, received a Doctoral Dissertation Improvement Grant for the year from the National Science Foundation for her work on law in post-Soviet nation-building. The principal investigator of the grant is Professor Laura Nader in the Department of Anthropology.

M. Steven Fish, professor of political science, received the 2006 best book award by the Comparative Democratization section of the American Political Science Association for *Democracy Derailed in Russia: The Failure of Open Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Nicholas Fleisher, Ph.D. candidate in linguistics, received his department’s Outstanding Graduate Student Instructor Award for 2005–06. He also received a Dean’s Normative Time Fellowship for 2006–07 and a Summer Grant from Berkeley’s Graduate Division for 2006.

Jeanne E. Grant (Ph.D., history, 2005) has accepted the position of instructional assistant professor at the University of Mississippi, teaching European history at their Southaven and Tupelo campuses.

Melinda Herrold-Menzies (Ph.D., ESPM, 2002) is currently an assistant professor of environmental studies at Pitzer College in Claremont, California.

Cindy T. Huang, Ph.D. candidate in anthropology, received the Liu Graduate Research Fellowship from Berkeley’s Center for Chinese Studies and an International Dissertation Research Fellowship from the Social Science Research Council, both for 2006–07. Cindy’s research focuses on Xinjiang, Central Asia.

Lisa Jakelski, Ph.D. candidate in music, received her department’s Outstanding Graduate Student Instructor Award for 2005–06.

Denis Kozlov, ISEES postdoctoral scholar, published two articles this year: “‘I Have Not Read, but I Will Say’: Soviet Literary Audiences and Changing Ideas of Social Membership, 1958–1966,” in *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 7:3 (Summer 2006): 557–597; and “Naming the Social Evil: The Readers of Novyi mir and Vladimir Dudintsev’s Not by Bread Alone, 1956–1959 and Beyond,” in *The Dilemmas of De-Stalinisation: A Social and Cultural History of Reform in the Khrushchev Era*, ed. Polly A. Jones (London & New York: Routledge, 2006), 80–98.

James Krapfl, Ph.D. candidate in history, was awarded the Institute of International Studies’ Reinhard Bendix Memorial Research Fellowship for 2006–07. The title of his project is Politics, Culture, and Community in Revolutionary Czechoslovakia, 1989–1992.

In June, James presented a paper, “Emplotting the Gentle Revolution: Narrative Strategies in Czech and Slovak Discourse, 1989–1991,” at the World Congress of the Czecho-Slovak Society of Arts and Sciences in Ceske Budejovice, Czech Republic.

Shorena Kurtsikidze, ISEES research associate, authored the textbook *Essentials of Georgian Grammar (with Conjugation Tables of 250 Most Commonly Used Verbs)*, which has just been published (2006) by Lincom-Europa.

Andrej Milivojevic, Ph.D. candidate in history, recently published a manual on strategic nonviolence through the Centre for Applied NonViolent Action and Strategies. The manual can be downloaded from CANVAS’s website, <http://www.canvasopedia.org/>.

In September, Andrej is participating in a symposium on non-violent conflict held at the US Institute of Peace.

Anna Nisnevich (Ph.D., music, expected 2006) began this fall as an assistant professor of historical musicology at the University of Pittsburgh. She is also affiliated with the university’s Center for Russian and East European Studies.

Conor O’Dwyer (Ph.D., political science, 2003) recently had his dissertation published with Johns Hopkins University

Press under the title *Runaway State-Building: Patronage Politics and Democratic Development* (2006). Conor is an assistant professor at the University of Florida, Gainesville, with a joint appointment in the Department of Political Science and the Center for European Studies.

Ethan Pollock (Ph.D., history, 2000) has taken the position of assistant professor in Brown University's history department where he will teach Russian/Soviet history.

Alina Polyakova, a second-year graduate student in the Department of Sociology, received a National Science Foundation Graduate Research Grant for 2006–2009. Alina spent the summer of 2006 in Russia on a Fulbright-Hays Summer Language and Research Grant.

Jeffrey Rossman (Ph.D., history, 1997) is the author of *Worker Resistance Under Stalin: Class and Revolution on the Shop Floor* (Harvard UP 2005). The book is dedicated to the memory of his Ph.D. adviser, Reginald E. Zelnik. Jeff is currently an associate professor of history at the University of Virginia.

Kathryn Schild, Ph.D. candidate in Slavic languages and literatures, received her department's Outstanding Graduate Student Instructor Award for 2005–06.

This fall, **Andrey Shcherbenok** (Ph.D., rhetoric, 2006) began a 3-year postdoctoral fellowship at Columbia University through their Society of Fellows in the Humanities.

Cinzia Solari, Ph.D. candidate in sociology, recently contributed "Transnational Politics and Settlement Practices: Post-Soviet Immigrant Churches in Rome" to *American Behavioral Scientist* [29:11(2006)].

In August, Cinzia presented a paper at the American Sociological Association's annual conference in Montreal titled "Status and Survival Migration Patterns: Constructions of Poverty, Motherhood, and Nation by Ukrainian Immigrants to Italy."

Regine Spector, Ph.D. candidate in political science, presented a poster, "Who Governs the Marketplace? Growth and Development of Bazaars in Central Asia," at the annual APSA meeting, which took place in September 2006 in Philadelphia.

Jarrold Tanny, Ph.D. candidate in history, presented a paper on "The Myth of Old Odessa" at the 2006 SRL Russian Jewish Studies Training Workshop for Junior Scholars, "From the Pale to Moscow: Russian-Jewish and Soviet-Yiddish Studies," which was held in June at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.

Silvia Tomaskova (Ph.D., anthropology, 1995) has been awarded tenure and is now an associate professor of

anthropology at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Jennifer Utrata, Ph.D. candidate in sociology, was awarded the Institute of International Studies' Alan Sharlin Memorial Fellowship for 2006–07. The title of her project is Single Mothers and Social Change in Post-Soviet Russia.

Jennifer also presented a piece of her dissertation research at the American Sociological Association's annual conference this year in Montreal. The title of her presentation was "Babushki as Surrogate Wives: The Negotiation of Reciprocity between Single Mothers and Grandmothers in Russia."

David Wolff (Ph.D., history, 1991) received tenure. He is a professor of history at the Slavic Research Center at Hokkaido University in Japan.

Deborah Yalen, Ph.D. candidate in history, received a National Foundation for Jewish Culture Doctoral Dissertation Fellowship for 2006–07.

In June, Deborah participated in a workshop, "From the Pale to Moscow: Russian Jewish and Soviet Yiddish Studies," organized by the Summer Research Laboratory at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.

FLAS Fellowship Awards

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

Awards for Summer 2006

Michael Dean, history, advanced Czech
Nicole Eaton, history, advanced Russian
James Krapfl, history, advanced Hungarian
Filip Stabrowski, geography, advanced Polish
Jaspal Sandhu, mechanical engineering, intermediate Mongolian
Susanne Wengle, political science, advanced Russian

Awards for AY 2006–07

Sarah Garding, political science, advanced Russian
Hannah Greene, music, intermediate Czech
Nick Guroff, journalism, advanced Russian
Marcy McCullaugh, political science, advanced Russian
Jessica Merrill, Slavic languages and literatures, advanced Czech
Alexis Peri, history, advanced Russian
Kevin Rothrock, history, advanced Russian
Jamie Rowen, jurisprudence, intermediate Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian
Eric Scott, history, advanced Georgian

BPS Fellowship Awards

The Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies (BPS) awarded funding to the following affiliated graduate students:

Awards for Summer 2006

Sener Akturk, political science, summer language training for Russian
Boris Barkanov, political science, summer research on Russian foreign energy policy
Eleonory Gilburd, history, summer research on foreign culture in the Soviet Union during the 1950s–1960s
Cindy T. Huang, anthropology, summer research on NGOs and gendered development in Xinjiang
Anaita Khudonazar, Near Eastern studies, summer research on Soviet visual propaganda in Central Asia
James Krapfl, history, summer language training for Hungarian
Jody LaPorte, political science, summer field research in Kyrgyzstan to study political identity in post-Soviet Central Asia
Tatyana Mamut, anthropology, dissertation writing in Berkeley

Andrej Milivojevic, history, summer research on student movements during the Milosevic regime
Alina Polyakova, sociology, summer language training for Russian
Erik R. Scott, history, summer field research in Moscow to study the Georgian diaspora in the Soviet Union
Zhivka Valiavicharska, rhetoric, summer research on Balkan cultural identity
Elizabeth Wenger, history, summer language training for Polish
Deborah Yalen, history, dissertation research in the United States

Awards for AY 2006–07

Boris Barkanov, political science, graduate training fellowship for project on Russian foreign energy policy
Elif Kale Lostuvali, sociology, dissertation fellowship for work on modernity in Uzbekistan and Turkey
Victoria Smolkin, history, graduate training fellowship for project on death and commemoration rituals in Russian and Soviet culture

Hertelendy Graduate Fellowship in Hungarian Studies

The Martha and Paul Hertelendy Fellowship in Hungarian Studies for 2006–07 has been awarded to Mr. James Krapfl, a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of History. His will conduct dissertation research on Hungarian communities in revolutionary Czechoslovakia, 1989–1992.

The Hertelendy Graduate Fellowship in Hungarian Studies was founded in 1996 to support Hungarian studies at UC Berkeley. The fellowship competition, which is administered by ISEEEES, is held in the spring.

Kujachich Endowment Funding

Grants from the Peter N. Kujachich Endowment in Serbian and Montenegrin Studies were awarded to support the following projects during the 2006–07 academic year.:

Eugene A. Hammel (professor emeritus, anthropology) and Mirjana Stevanovic (Ph.D. in anthropology). “Ethnic Geography in the Former Yugoslavia II.” Continuation of work begun with a Kujachich grant in 2002.

Elena Morabito (Ph.D. candidate, Slavic languages and literatures). “Montenegrin: Another Post-Yugoslav State Language?” Summer field research in Montenegro.

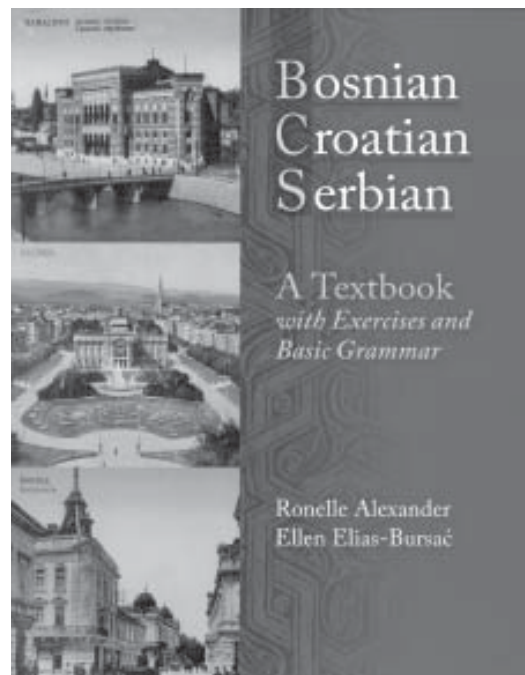
Brian Scholl (Ph.D. candidate, Economics). Dissertation research in the summer in Serbia and Montenegro.

Steven Shackley (professor, anthropology) and Marina Milic (BA, University of Belgrade, archaeology). XRF characterization of obsidian artifacts from Serbia.

Ruth Tringham (professor, anthropology). “Publication of *Opovo- a Neolithic Village in Serbia.*” Monograph and DVD-ROM of prehistoric excavation conducted in the 1980’s.

A competition for funding from the endowment in announced each spring and is administered through ISEEEES. For more information, please consult <http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~iseees/kujachich.html>.

Past support from the endowment to Professor Ronelle Alexander (Slavic) has resulted in the publication of two textbooks and an audio supplement. The University of Wisconsin Press published *Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian, a Textbook, with Exercises and Basic Grammar* and *Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian, a Grammar, with Sociolinguistic Commentary* in 2006. The texts were co-authored by Ronelle Alexander and Ellen Elias-Bursac.



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 July 1 and September 8, 2006.

CENTER CIRCLE

Anonymous *

BENEFACTOR

Anonymous

MEMBER

Anita Navon *

* gift of continuing membership



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Or send a check, payable to UC Regents, to:
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Funding Opportunities

American Association of University Women

American Fellowships provide \$20,000 to doctoral candidates completing dissertations or \$30,000 to postdoctoral scholars for research leave or to prepare a publication. Applicants must be US citizens or permanent residents. Deadline: 11/15/2006.

International Fellowships provide \$18,000 (MA), \$20,000 (Ph.D.), \$30,000 (postdoc) for full-time study or research in the US by women who are not US citizens or permanent residents. Deadline: 11/1/2006.

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

American Councils

The **Eurasian Regional Language Program** is a fee-based program, but some fellowships are awarded. It allows grad students to study any of the languages of the FSU abroad. Deadline: 10/15/2006. Contact: Outbound Programs, American Councils, 1776 Massachusetts Ave NW Ste 700, Washington DC 20036; Tel: 202-833-7522; outbound@americancouncils.org; <http://www.americancouncils.org/>.

DAAD (German Academic Exchange Service)

Grants for Study in Germany provide a stipend for 1-10 months, insurance, and international travel subsidy. Open to Berkeley undergraduate seniors, grad students, and postdocs (2 years or less beyond the Ph.D.) to undertake up to 10 months study and research in Germany during the next AY. Deadline: 11/15/2006. Contact: Graduate Fellowships Office, 318 Sproul Hall #5900; Tel: 510-642-0672; <http://www.daad.org/>.

Fulbright-III

Fulbright-III and Other Grants for Graduate Study Abroad provide travel, tuition, books, and a stipend for one academic year. Applicants must be US citizens holding a B.A. or equivalent. Deadline: 10/20/2006. Contact: Fulbright Program Advisor, Graduate Fellowships Office, 318 Sproul Hall # 5900; Tel: 510-642-0672; <http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/financial/deadlines.shtml>.

Harriman Institute

Postdoctoral Fellowships allow scholars to spend either a semester or AY in residence at the Harriman Institute to revise their dissertations for publication in book form. Deadline: 1/2/2007. Contact: Harriman Institute, Harriman Institute Fellowship Committee, 420 W 118th St 12th Fl MC #3345, New York NY 10027; Tel: 212-854-4623; Fax: 212-666-348; <http://sipa.columbia.edu/regional/hi/>.

IREX

Individual Advanced Research Opportunities provide 2- to 9-month grants to predoctoral and postdoctoral scholars for research at institutions in Central and Eastern Europe and Eurasia. US citizens and permanent residents are eligible to apply. Deadline: 11/15/2006.

Short Term Travel Grants provide up to \$5,000 for up to 8 weeks for postdoctoral projects focusing on Central and Eastern Europe, Eurasia, Turkey, and Iran. US citizens or permanent residents are eligible to apply. Deadline: 2/1/2007.

Contact: IREX, 2121 K St NW, Ste. 700, Washington DC 20037; Tel: 202-628-8188; Fax: 202-628-8189; irex@irex.org; <http://www.irex.org/>.

Leo Baeck Institute

The **Fritz Halbers Fellowship** awards up to \$3,000 to Ph.D. candidates for projects connected with the culture and history of German-speaking Jewry. Funding does not cover travel. Deadline: 11/1/2006. Contact: The Leo Baeck Institute, Attn: Halbers Fellowship, 15 W 16th St, New York NY 10011; Tel: 212-744-6400; Fax: 212-988-1305; lbaeck@lbi.cjh.org; <http://www.lbi.org/>.

Miami University

The **Havighurst Center for Russian and Post-Soviet Studies** offers a **Postdoctoral Fellowship** for research related to the study of the cultures, history, politics, economics, languages, and literature of Russia and the other countries of the post-Soviet and post-Communist space. Deadline: 11/1/2006. Contact: Havighurst Center for Russian and Post-Soviet Studies, Department of Political Science, Miami University, Oxford OH 45056; Tel: 513-529-3303 or -3383; Fax: 513-529-1709; havighurstcenter@muohio.edu; <http://www.muohio.edu/havighurstcenter/>.

Social Science Research Council (SSRC)

International Dissertation Field Research Fellowships provide up to \$20,000 to full-time Ph.D. candidates in US programs studying in the social sciences or humanities for 9-12 consecutive months of dissertation field research on all world regions. Deadline: 11/1/2006. Contact: IDRF, Social Science Research Council, 810 7th Ave, New York NY 10019; Tel: 212-377-2700; Fax: 212-377-2727; idrf@ssrc.org; <http://www.ssrc.org/>.

SSRC's **Eurasia Program** has fellowships for **Predissertation Training, Dissertation Write-up, and Postdoctoral Research**. Deadline: 11/14/2006. Contact: Eurasia Program, Social Science Research Council, 810 Seventh Ave, New York NY 10019; Tel:

212-377-2700; Fax: 212-377-2727; eurasia@ssrc.org;
<http://www.ssrc.org/>.

Soros Foundations Network

Paul and Daisy Soros Fellowships for New Americans provide \$20,000 annual stipend and one-half tuition, for up to two years of graduate study in the US. Fellowships are for individuals who have applied for naturalization, have been naturalized as US citizens, or are the children of two parents who are both naturalized citizens. Applicants must have Bachelor's degree, be pursuing graduate study, or be in their final year of undergraduate studies at the time of application. Applicants must be at least 20-28 years old. Deadline: 11/1/2006. Contact: Paul and Daisy Soros Fellowships for New Americans, 400 W 59th St, New York NY 10019; Tel: 212-547-6926; Fax: 212-548-4623; pdsoros_fellows@sorosny.org; <http://www.pdsoros.org/>.

Spencer Foundation

Dissertation Fellowships provide a stipend for the completion of dissertations on topics concerning education. Applicants must be candidates for the doctoral degree in any field of study at a graduate school in the US but need not be US citizens. Deadline: 11/1/2006. Contact: Spencer Foundation, 875 N Michigan Ave Ste 3930, Chicago IL 60611-1803; Tel: 312-337-7000; Fax: 312-337-0282; fellows@spencer.org; <http://www.spencer.org/>.

Townsend Center for the Humanities

Dissertation Fellowships provide \$18,000 to grad students in the humanities advanced to candidacy by the next June. Fellows will participate in the Townsend Fellowship Group, meeting weekly. Deadline: 11/20/2006. Contact: Townsend Center for the Humanities, 220 Stephens Hall # 2340; <http://ls.berkeley.edu/dept/townsend/>.

UC Berkeley

Graduate Division Summer Grants provide a \$3,200 stipend, plus fees for three units, to doctoral students in the humanities, social sciences, and professional schools during the summer months. Deadline: 10/25/2006. Contact: Graduate Fellowships Office, 318 Sproul Hall # 5900; Tel: 510-642-0672; <http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/financial/deadlines.shtml>.

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

The **Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies** supports research and writing projects for which the sponsor's archival and other resources are critical, or for which there is a special justification to undertake the project in residence. Eligible applicants are Ph.D. candidates, postdoctoral researchers, and senior scholars. Funding is available for three months to one full academic year in residence. Deadline: 11/25/2006. Contact: Visiting Scholar Programs, 100 Raoul Wallenberg Place SW, Washington DC 20024-2126; Tel: 202-314-0378; Fax: 202-479-9726; wlower@ushmm.org; <http://www.ushmm.org/research/>.

University of California

The **President's Postdoctoral Fellowship** provides \$40,000-50,000 plus benefits. Fellowships are designed to enhance one's prospects for appointment to faculty positions at UC or other institutions. Applicants must obtain the sponsorship of a UC faculty member, other than their thesis advisor, to serve as a mentor during the fellowship. Deadline: 11/1/2006. Contact: Office of the President, University of California, 1111 Franklin St 11th Fl, Oakland CA 94607-5200; Tel: 510-987-9500; <http://www.ucop.edu/acadadv/>.

US Dept of Education / UC Berkeley

Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Academic Year Fellowships provide a \$15,000 stipend for 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. All courses must meet a minimum number of contact hours of instruction. Students wishing to use an award for a formal study abroad program must be at the intermediate or advanced level of language proficiency, or at the beginning level if an appropriate beginning language program in the student's language is not available in the US. Summer awards are not available for dissertation research.

Deadline: 1/29/2007. Contact: Graduate Fellowships Office, 318 Sproul Hall # 5900; Tel: 510-642-0672; <http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/financial/deadlines.shtml>.

Wenner-Gren Foundation

Individual Research Grants provide up to \$25,000 for basic research in all branches of anthropology. They offer Dissertation Fieldwork Grants, Post-Ph.D. Grants, and Richard Carley Hunt Postdoctoral Fellowships. Deadline: 11/1/06. Contact: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research Inc., 220 Fifth Ave 16th Fl, New York NY 10001-7708; Tel: 212-683-5000; Fax: 212-683-9151; <http://www.wennergren.org/>.

Wolfsonian-Florida International University

Funding is available for 3-5 weeks of research using the **Wolfsonian Collection** on North American and European decorative, propaganda, and fine arts of the period 1885-1945, including the former Soviet Union and Hungary. Eligibility is limited to those with a master's degree or higher; doctoral candidates are eligible to apply. Deadline: 12/31/2006. Contact: Academic Programs Coordinator, The Wolfsonian-FIU, 1001 Washington Ave, Miami Beach FL 33139; Tel: 305-535-2613; Fax: 305-531-2133; research@thewolf.fiu.edu; <http://www.wolfsonian.fiu.edu/education/research/index.html>.

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Funding Opportunities, continued

Woodrow Wilson Center

East European Studies Short Term Grants provide up to one month of specialized research in East European and Baltic studies that requires access to Washington, DC and its research institutions. Grants do not include residence at the Wilson Center. Deadline: 12/1/06; also 3/1, 6/1, 9/1 each year. Contact: East European Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center, One Woodrow Wilson Plaza, 1300 Pennsylvania Ave NW, Washington DC 20523; Tel: 202-691-4000; Fax: 202-691-4001; kneppm@wwic.si.edu; <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/>.

Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation

Charlotte W. Newcombe Doctoral Dissertation Fellowships provide \$18,000 for 12 months of full-time dissertation writing. Awards encourage original and significant study of ethical or religious values in all fields of the humanities and social sciences. Applicants must be candidates for Ph.D. or Th.D. degrees, and have fulfilled all pre-dissertation requirements and expect to complete their dissertations by the end of the award term. Deadline: 11/7/2006. Contact: Charlotte Newcombe Dissertation Fellowships, Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, CN 5281, Princeton NJ 08543-5281; Tel: 609-452-7007; Fax: 609-452-7828; charlotte@woodrow.org; <http://www.woodrow.org/newcombe/>.