



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

Spring 2007
Volume 24, Number 1

In this issue:

Notes from the Director	1
Miller Endowment Campaign	2
Campus Visitors	3
Spring 2007 Courses	4
Elif Kale Lostuvali	
<i>Summer in Samarkand</i>	5
Graduate Student Paper	
Competition	7
Berkeley-Stanford Conference	8
James Krapfl	
<i>Czech Perceptions of Roma in the</i>	
<i>First Republic</i>	9
Upcoming Events	13
Outreach Programs	21
Faculty and Student News	22
Associates of the Slavic Center	25
Funding Opportunities	26
Funding for East European	
Studies	28

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

University of California, Berkeley
Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies

260 Stephens Hall # 2304
Berkeley, CA 94720-2304
iseees@berkeley.edu
<http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~iseees/>

Editors: Stella Bourgoïn and Barbara Voytek.

Subscriptions are free of charge.
Submit mailing changes to the above address or call (510) 642-3230.

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 and a happy new year!

Our brown bag lunch series on Wednesdays begins with a talk cosponsored with the Institute of International Studies. Valerie Bunce, the Aaron L. Binenkorb Professor of International Studies, Professor of Government, and Chair of the Department of Government, Cornell University, will speak on a very current topic—"When American Democracy Promotion Works: Revolutionary Change in the Post-Communist World."

The Annual Lecture Series on the Balkans, funded in part by our NRC grant from the US Department of Education under Title VI, will continue. Two talks are already on the books, one scheduled for April 4 by Isabelle Delpla, Assistant Professor in Philosophy, University of Montpellier, France, on the social effects of war crimes trials in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The other, also on Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Carl Dahlman, Associate Professor at Miami University, is being arranged for April as well.

The first lecture in our joint series with UCLA, the West Coast Forum on Politics and Islam, will be given on February 21 by Professor Susan Woodward of the Graduate School of the City University of New York and a well-known expert on former Yugoslavia. Her talk is entitled "Is Democracy Possible in Southeast Europe? Debates on Bosnia, Kosovo/a, and Serbia."

On February 22, our very own Richard Taruskin, Professor of Music, will deliver the Annual Colin Miller Memorial Lecture. The title of his talk is "Shostakovich: Some Post-Centennial Reflections." The event will take place at 4 p.m. in the Alumni House. We will use the occasion to launch a drive to increase the Colin and Elsa Miller Endowment. Please read more about this effort in the Newsletter.

April 19 is the date of our Annual Peter N. Kujachich Lecture in Serbian and Montenegrin Studies. We are very fortunate to have been able to arrange a visit by Jasna Dragovic-Soso, of the University of London. The title of her lecture is "Coming to Terms with the Recent Past: Intellectual Discourse and Public Polemics in Post-Milosevic Serbia." The lecture will be held at 4 p.m. in the Heyns Room of the Faculty Club.

One of the highlights of the spring semester is our 31st Annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference, to be held here at Berkeley on Friday, March 2. The theme of the conference is "Ukraine: History and Society." Please see the program in this Newsletter. Another major event this spring is the Annual Teacher Outreach Conference, scheduled for Saturday, April 14. This year's topic is "Remembering the Russian Revolution: 1917-2007." The schedule will be ready by the end of February.

In addition to these public events, we are proceeding with our Mellon Sawyer Seminar on Private Wealth and Public Power: Oligarchs, Tycoons, and Magnates in Comparative Perspective. The seminar has brought

several important scholars to Berkeley to discuss their research with faculty and students. It will continue for another year.

Finally, I would like to use this opportunity to thank the Associates of the Slavic Center. We are working hard to set

up a permanent endowment to help our graduate students. We are very grateful to all of you for your help.

Yuri Slezkine
ISEEES Director
Professor of History

Campaign for the Colin and Elsa Miller Endowment Fund

The Annual Colin Miller Memorial Lecture honors the memory of a man who was devoted to the Center for Slavic and East European Studies (as ISEEES was called then). After more than twenty years as a journalist and as a radio and television producer, Colin Miller came to Berkeley and audited a variety of courses on Soviet history, politics, and foreign policy, particularly in the area of Soviet-American relations. His interest in the field of Slavic, East European, and Soviet studies drew the attention of the Chancellor of UC Berkeley who appointed him a member of the Center's Executive Committee. Upon his death in 1983, his widow, Elsa Miller established an endowment in his memory, administered by ISEEES. The endowment funds an annual lecture given by a respected scholar in the field of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies. Elsa Miller passed away in 1997. Upon her death, ISEEES renamed the endowment the Colin and Elsa Miller Endowment.

Since 1984, when the series was inaugurated, the Colin Miller Memorial Lecture has become an extremely well known, well attended, and eagerly anticipated event in the life of our Institute, the University of California as a whole, and the field of Russian and East European studies in this country and beyond. We have had academics, journalists, and politicians lecture on a wide variety of topics. We have been able to introduce our students, colleagues, and affiliates to some of the best specialists on what is still one of the most fascinating and volatile parts of the world. We are very proud to have been able to continue successfully what was started over 20 years ago. This year's Colin Miller Memorial Lecture will be delivered by the world's greatest authority on the history of Russian music and one of the most accomplished public speakers anywhere, Professor Richard Taruskin.

Unfortunately, however, we may not be able to keep doing this at the same level for much longer. The Colin and Elsa Miller Endowment, which supports the annual lecture, is not very large. The return is \$1,500 to \$1,600 a year. The costs attached to the event are growing faster than the principal of the endowment, and soon we will not be able to bring top people to Berkeley anymore.

We would, therefore, like to attempt to raise additional funds in an effort to preserve this valuable tradition. Doubling the endowment would be ideal, but even half of that would go a long way toward creating an endowment that would allow us to fund one successful lecture a year by a distinguished speaker (travel, hotel, reception, dinner, and a modest honorarium). We have been able to progress toward this goal with a generous gift from Elsa Miller's daughter. Now, we are asking those of you who remember this fine man and friend of the Institute to consider making a donation. Please help us continue the great tradition that is the Annual Colin Miller Memorial Lecture.



Annual Colin Miller Memorial Lecture
Thursday, February 22, 2007

Richard Taruskin, Professor of Music, UC Berkeley
"Shostakovich: Some Post Centennial Reflections"

Toll Room, Alumni House, 4 p.m.

Campus Visitors

Vesna Aleksic is visiting Berkeley this spring through the American Councils' Junior Faculty Development Program to conduct research on US history. She is with Geoeconomics Faculty at Megatrend University in Belgrade, Serbia.

Neven Andjelic is a Fulbright scholar with ISEEEES this academic year, conducting research and teaching a course on human rights. He is on the faculty of the Center for Interdisciplinary Postgraduate Studies in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina.

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.

Reyila Dawuti, a professor at Xinjiang University in China, is visiting UC Berkeley this spring and is teaching a course on Muslims in China for the Department of Anthropology. 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 scholar in social sciences this spring, writing her book *Off and Out: Software Services in St. Petersburg, Russia*.

Ulla Hakanen is a visiting student researcher at the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures this 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.

Tobias Holzlehner is our Mellon-Sawyer Postdoctoral Fellow this 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."

Thomas Keijser, a postdoctoral scholar from the Netherlands, is visiting ISEEEES this spring on a research scholarship from the Dutch Niels Stensen Fund. He will be working on the issue of ethnicity in the works of Lermontov.

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.

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.

Rajna Sosic comes to Berkeley this spring with funding through the American Councils' Junior Faculty Development Program. She is on the faculty of the Department of Archaeology at the University of Zagreb, Croatia, where she specializes in stone tools of the Stone Age in Croatia.

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

Julien Zarifian, Ph.D. candidate at the French Institute of Geopolitics, Saint Denis University, France, is visiting 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 Russian Jewish music in the spring.

Spring 2007 Courses

Selected faculty course offerings and selected area-related courses

Anthro 166	Language in Society	A. Yurchak
Anthro 188	Chinese Muslims: Religious History and Ethnography	R. Dawuti
Anthro 250X.7	Graduate Seminar	A. Yurchak
Comp Lit 155.2	The European Avant-Garde: From Futurism to Surrealism	H. Ram
Econ 163	Special Topics in Economic Systems (Post-Socialism)	Staff
English 125C (Slavic 133)	The European Novel: History and the Novel	L. Golburt
English 203.7 (Journ 251)	Graduate Readings: Chekhov, the Conventions of Realism, and the Depiction of Reality	R. Hass / M. Danner
Geog 170	Post-Socialist Spaces	Staff
History 100.3 (IAS 150/Music 139.1)	Russian-Jewish Music: History and Today	I. Zemtsovsky
History 101.10	Religion and Ideology in Late Modern Europe	V. Smolkin
History 103B.2	European Radicalism in the 19th Century	V. Frede
History 103B.4	Was Ivan IV Really "Terrible"?	J. Kollmann
History 171A	Russia to 1700	J. Kollmann
History 171C	Soviet History, 1917–1991	D. Kozlov
History 177A	Armenia, From Ethnogenesis to the Dark Ages	S. Astourian
History 280B.1	Early Modern East Central European History	D. Frick
IAS 150 (Hist 100.3/Music 139.1)	Russian-Jewish Music: History and Today	I. Zemtsovsky
Journ 234	International Reporting: Eastern Europe	S. Tolan
Journ 251 (Eng 203.7)	How To Tell the Story: Chekhov and the Depiction of Reality	M. Danner / R. Hass
Music 77	History of Western Music: The 20th Century	R. Taruskin
Music 139.1 (Hist 100.3/IAS 150)	Russian-Jewish Music: History and Today	I. Zemtsovsky
NES 126	Silk Road Art and Archaeology	S. Mehendale
Poli Sci 210.1	Comparative Politics: A History	A. Janos
Poli Sci 210.2	Philosophy of Social Science	M. Bevir / J. Wittenberg
Slavic 46	20th-Century Russian Literature	O. Matich
Slavic 50	Introduction to Slavic Peoples and Cultures	A. Timberlake
Slavic 130	Introduction to the Culture of Medieval Rus'	V. Zhivov
Slavic 131 (CL 155.2)	The European Avant-Garde: From Futurism to Surrealism	H. Ram
Slavic 133 (Eng 125C)	The Novel in Russia and the West: History and the Novel	L. Golburt
Slavic 134C	Dostoevsky	O. Matich
Slavic 134E (Theater 126.1)	Chekhov	A. Muza
Slavic 162	Czech Literature	A. Timberlake
Slavic 172	Topics in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian	R. Alexander
Slavic 182	Pushkin and His Myth	L. Golburt
Slavic 242	History of the Eighteenth-Century Russian Literature	V. Zhivov
Slavic 245A	Readings in Russian Romanticism	H. Ram
Slavic 280.1 (History 280B.1)	Early Modern East Central European History	D. Frick
Slavic 280.2	Graduate Linguistics Seminar	A. Timberlake
Slavic 281	Methods and Aims of Literary Scholarship	E. Naiman
Slavic 301.1	Language Pedagogy	L. Little
Socio 101C	Contemporary Sociological Theory	M. Burawoy
Theater 125	Stanislavsky in Hollywood: Method Acting in the American Film	M. Gordon
Theater 126	Performance Literature: Chekhov	A. Muza
Theater 151B	Theater History	M. Gordon

Language Courses: The Slavic department has courses in Armenian, Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian, Bulgarian, Czech, Georgian, Hungarian, Polish, and Russian.

September in Samarkand¹

Elif Kale Lostuvali

Elif Kale Lostuvali is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Sociology. For her dissertation, she is studying the remaking of the musical landscape and experience in Uzbekistan and Turkey during the first half of the twentieth century.

If you happen to be in Samarkand in early September one of these years, you will see many signs celebrating the beauty of Samarkand and the independence of Uzbekistan; you will hear wedding music echoing in the dark streets of the *makhallas*² pretty much every night (and probably be invited to one every week); and you will get to eat more grapes than you thought you ever could. If you stay until late September, you will first watch meticulously dressed children start going to school and, soon after, see buses lined up in front of institutions of higher learning to take students to cotton fields. You will have a day or two of rain, which will help settle down the dust raised by the *marshrutkas* (minibuses) whizzing on the wide streets of the newer part of the city. And when you no longer hear of any weddings, you will know that Ramadan has begun.

“Samarqand yer yuzining sayqalidir”³

On September 1st, 2006, Uzbekistan celebrated the fifteenth anniversary of its independence from the Soviet Union. The

streets of the city were marked with numerous banners calling people to rejoice in the independence and bright future of their country. My host, Uncle Misha, started early in the morning to prepare the *pilov* (rice with meat and carrots) for the celebration at the *makhalla's caykhana* (teahouse). In the evening, the center of the city was populated by nicely dressed people walking to and from the concert in Registan Square. Those who preferred to stay home were most probably tuned to the live broadcast of the concert in Tashkent featuring many of the most popular singers of the country.

On one of my first days in Samarkand, I attempted to read the lead article in one of the local newspapers and found it to be about the governor's efforts to beautify the city in preparation for the Independence Day. It turns out that many improvement projects have taken place throughout Samarkand over the past decade. Arriving at the city center, you may not have much difficulty in guessing that the Amir Timur⁴ statue has not been there for too long. But, you may have a harder time guessing that the square where this statue stands was opened only in the mid-1990s by

razing a whole *makhalla*. Mainly, by creating such spaces, the Uzbek government strives to encourage tourists and locals alike to imagine the grandeur of the golden age of Samarkand as a basis for the bright future of independent Uzbekistan. Yet, for tourists, there is much more to be imagined about the history of the city by bringing together the pieces that are dispersed throughout its neighborhoods. And, for locals, the departures that mark everyday life probably make it somewhat hard to imagine any continuity from the fourteenth century to their near future.



Then and Now

Unlike the much renovated grand structures from the fourteenth century that constitute the main tourist attractions, such as the *madrasahs* surrounding the Registan Square, Bibi Khanum Mosque (named after Amir Timur's favorite wife), and the Gur Emir (Amir Timur's mausoleum), the unseemingly, partly dilapidated city museum on Rashidov Street⁵ encourages a deeper contemplation of how time has made its way through this city. This is a set of two-story buildings surrounding a wide rectangular courtyard. You enter the museum through a door at the far left corner of the courtyard and walk rightward through the buildings to follow a quick snapshot of the history of the city from the ancient times to the early twentieth century. After some archeological items chronicling the ancient inhabitants of the region come maps of the Sogdian (seventh century), Samanid, Karakhanid, Seljuk (tenth to twelfth centuries), Mongolian (thirteenth century), and Timurid (fourteenth century) empires. After Amir Timur's death, Samarkand continues to prosper under his grandson, Ulug Beg (1393–1449), and later under his great grandson, Babur (1483–1530). Yet, from sixteenth century onward, the Shaybanid and the Astrakhanid dynasties choose Bukhara as their capital, and the latter grows at the expense of Samarkand. Hence, you soon arrive in the section covering the second half of the nineteenth century. This section displays interesting biographical material and photos both about the Russian settlers who followed the tsarist general Kaufmann's conquest of the city in 1868 and about some of the prominent Jadids, who strove to reform Central Asian society from within. The changes experienced in this period are most effectively summarized in the full-sized printing press that stands in one corner of this room. The walk through history ends right before the October Revolution and, ironically, in the very room where the initial Communist Party meetings were held. It turns out that this set of buildings used to be a synagogue and the living quarters of its rabbi. After the revolution, its main hall proved to be a suitable place for Party meetings. When the capital of the Uzbek SSR was moved from Samarkand to Tashkent in 1929, the site was turned into the city museum.

Khudjum is a factory built in 1927 not only to produce silk, but also to emancipate women. That is why it was given the name *Khudjum* (assault), referring to the Soviet attack on the veil as the symbol of oppression of women by the traditional society, and why it employed only female workers. Like many factories of the Soviet period, it was for a long time the center and the source of livelihood for a whole little town built around it. Today, it stands as one of the oldest factories in Samarkand (some of its buildings that are not being used have been placed under UNESCO protection), and it still employs only women. Yet, for these women, factory employment is in no way a means to an emancipated city life. All of the eight hundred female workers commute to the factory from *kishloks* (rural

settlements) outside of the city, spend the entire day feeding silk to the machines located in poorly ventilated halls, and make about \$40 a month. The factory has recently been bought by a company from Singapore, and its output is sold to Dubai. Walking around on the factory's site, it is hard not to remember Engels' description of the working class of mid-nineteenth century Manchester.⁶

A City of Departures

Between *Khudjum* and the Registan Square is the part of the old city that was once populated by Jews. As in many old neighborhoods, the narrow winding streets paved by asphalt and lined by courtyard walls make one lose all sense of direction. Yet, the *hamam* (bathhouse) and the synagogue that are located not far from one another appear to have been the centers of this neighborhood. This synagogue happens to be the oldest standing and one of the two that are currently active in Samarkand. Its rabbi recounts that once there were thirty-seven active synagogues but that now there are only about eight hundred Jews, mostly from the older generation. The new residents of this neighborhood are mainly Tajiks; either Tajiks of Samarkand or Tajiks who escaped the Tajik civil war (1992–97). Unlike in Soviet times, the independent Uzbek government does not support education in Tajik and has closed down most Tajik schools, except for a few. And unlike Tajiks of Samarkand, those who came during the Tajik civil war are not granted Uzbek citizenship.

The Jews were perhaps the first group to start leaving but have not remained the only. Bahriev Jamshed, a sociologist working on questions of ethnicity and immigration, reports that 70% of the factories of Samarkand have shut down and that the remaining 30% operate with a much smaller number of employees. Hence, most Crimean Tatars, Russians, Ukrainians, and Germans have left; and most of the remaining families have one or two their members working abroad, mainly in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Kazan, and Krasnodar. At the same time, the Uzbek government continues the Soviet practice of using student labor in the cotton harvest. Except for those who study in Tashkent and those few who can pay their way out, all university students, soon after classes begin, make their way to the cotton fields for days of labor. Cotton export remains the major source of government spending in Uzbekistan, with the exact income figures held top secret.

A City of Toys

But, *toys* (feasts) go on, and so does life—as so much of life seems to revolve around *toys*. Families in Uzbekistan mark not only the weddings of their children, but also the circumcision of their sons, the haircutting of their daughters, and the anniversaries of the passing away of their

loved ones by inviting a large number of guests and providing them with an ample amount of food. Uncle Misha recounts how much in advance one had to begin procuring all the foodstuffs and drinks needed for a *toy* during Soviet times. Now, one has to begin that far in advance to save the funds needed for a *toy*.

Wedding *toys* are held either on the street in front of the host's house or in open-air restaurants. The tables are prepared in advance and filled with food and drinks. The bride and groom sit at a table placed centrally without much talking or eating and definitely without any dancing throughout the whole evening. Most marriages are arranged by the parents, and most of the newlywed couples settle to live with the groom's family. Newlywed young women wear a special costume, or at least its head gear, for a period between one to three months after their wedding. And newlywed couples who happen to study at a university are apparently exempted from cotton picking.

Close and Far

If you happen to spend a couple of weeks in Samarkand one of these years, your friends may ask you what it is like in this city that inescapably evokes everything that one would like to imagine about Central Asia and the Silk Road. And you may have a hard time talking about how looking from near is different from looking from afar and how it is, nevertheless, impossible to get close enough...

Notes

¹ I would like to thank the organizers of the Samarkand Summer School (the Italian Association for the Study of Central Asia and Caucasus, and the Samarkand Institute of Foreign Languages), and especially Prof. Marco Buttino for creating the opportunity to live and study in Samarkand. The Samarkand Summer School combines language instruction in Uzbek and Tajik with seminars by local and foreign researchers about Uzbekistan. It will continue to be held in the upcoming years. For more information, contact Prof. Marco Buttino at <marco.buttino@unito.it>.

² *Makhalla* means neighborhood, but, more specifically, refers to the administrative unit that has its precise borders and administrative board. The head of the *makhalla* administration is elected by the residents; yet, its funding and direction comes mainly from the state.

³ The slogan on a street banner put up by the Samarkand city administration: "Samarkand is the luster of the earth."

⁴ Amir Timur (1336–1405) is the founder of the Timurid Empire (1370–1405) that had its capital in Samarkand and extended from today's southeastern Turkey and Syria through Central Asia towards Kashgar in China. Since independence, he has been identified as the heroic founder of the Uzbek nation.

⁵ This street is also known to locals by its former name: *Sovetskaya Ulitsa*.

⁶ Engels, Friedrich. 1972 [1844]. "Working-Class Manchester" pp.579–85 in *The Marx-Engels Reader* edited by Robert C. Tucker. New York: Norton.

Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies
University of California, Berkeley

Graduate Student Paper Competition

Graduate students are invited to submit papers devoted to Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. The paper may be in any field of study represented by the AAASS—including Anthropology, History, Linguistics, Literature, Political Science, Sociology, and the Visual Arts and Architecture.

The winning paper will be published as a BPS Working Paper with a summary in the ISEEEES Newsletter, and the author will receive a \$300 honorarium. The paper will also be entered in the national AAASS graduate student paper competition for 2007. The winner of the AAASS competition receives free travel and room at the AAASS annual convention.

Papers must have a minimum word count of 7,500 and a maximum word count of 14,000 (25 to 50 pages approximately) inclusive of footnotes and bibliography.

They should be submitted in electronic format to iseees@berkeley.edu.

Entries for the graduate student paper competition should be submitted to Barbara Voytek (at iseees@berkeley.edu) by April 13, 2007.

Contact information:

Barbara Voytek, Ph.D.
Executive Director
Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian
Studies
University of California, Berkeley
260 Stephens Hall #2304
Berkeley, CA 94720-2304
(510) 642-3230
bvoytek@berkeley.edu

The Institute of Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies at the University of California, Berkeley, and the
Center for Russian, East European and Eurasian Studies at Stanford University
present the

31st ANNUAL BERKELEY-STANFORD CONFERENCE

UKRAINE: HISTORY AND SOCIETY

Friday, 2 March 2007
Heyns Room, Faculty Club
University of California, Berkeley

-
-
- | | |
|---|---|
| 9:45 a.m. Introductory Remarks
Yuri Slezkine, Professor of History and ISEEEES Director,
UC Berkeley | “Laboratory of Soviet Dreams? Ukraine and the Soviet
Union”
Amir Weiner, Associate Professor of History, Stanford |
| 10 a.m. Panel I: Culture
Chair: Olga Matich, Professor of Slavic Languages and
Literatures, UC Berkeley | 3 p.m. Coffee Break |
| “Ruthenian Identity in Seventeenth-Century Wilno”
David Frick, Professor of Slavic Languages and
Literatures, UC Berkeley | 3:15 p.m. Panel III: Politics and Economics
Chair: Jason Wittenberg, Assistant Professor of
Political Science, UC Berkeley |
| “The Beginnings of Modern Ukrainian Literature”
Roman Koropecyk, Associate Professor of Slavic
Languages and Literatures, UCLA | “Rapacious Individualism and the Evolution of
Democracy in Contemporary Ukraine”
Lucan Way, Assistant Professor of Political Science,
University of Toronto |
| “Composer Lesia Dychko: A Voice of the Re-Emerging
Ukrainian Nation”
Marika Kuzma, Associate Professor of Music, UC
Berkeley | “The Transition Economy of Ukraine: Kudy?”
Roy J. Gardner, Professor of Economics, Indiana
University; Academic Director, MA Program in
Economics, Ukrainian National University “Kyiv-
Mohyla Academy” |
| 12 noon to 1 p.m. Lunch Break | “Economic Development of Ukraine after the Orange
Revolution”
Nazar Kholod, Associate Professor of Economic
Theory, Ivan Franko National University of Lviv;
Fulbright Fellow, Wilson Center |
| 1 p.m. Panel II: History
Chair: Victoria Frede, Assistant Professor of History,
UC Berkeley | 5:30 Closing Remarks
Nancy Kollmann, Professor of History, Director of
CREEES, Stanford |
| “The Cossacks in Global Perspective”
Robert Crews, Assistant Professor of History, Stanford | |
| “Ukraine in World War II: A Central European
Perspective”
John Connelly, Professor of History, UC Berkeley | |
- A reception will follow.

Contact ISEEEES at (510) 642-3230, iseees@berkeley.edu, or <http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~iseees/berk-stan.html>.

Berkeley's ISEEEES and Stanford's CREEES are National Resource Centers,
with funding from the US Department of Education under Title VI.

Czech Perceptions of Roma in the First Republic

James Krapfl

James Krapfl is a Ph.D. candidate in history. His dissertation focuses on the transformation of political culture in Czechoslovakia between 1989 and 1992.

Cikanka: a daisy, popularly called “poor-flower,” used as a folk medicine.¹

The First Czechoslovak Republic deservedly won praise for having one of the most progressive minorities policies in interwar Europe.² Its constitution guaranteed full civil, political, and economic rights to minorities, free use of any language, and native-language education in areas where a minority made up over 20% of the population. For the most part, these guarantees were honored, even to the point of minority parties being included in governing coalitions.³ At a time when most European states were flirting with nationalisms that glorified the “nation” against internal or external “others,” Czechoslovakia appeared to remain a bastion of enlightenment and tolerance.

To the Romany minority, however, blessings of tolerance were not forthcoming. Discussions of minority affairs routinely ignored the Gypsies,⁴ and Czechoslovak laws on the Roma adopted in the late 1920s were, together with Bavarian policies, the most severe and repressive in Europe—arguably violating the Czechoslovak constitution.⁵ Law 117 on Nomadic Gypsies required the issuance of Gypsy identification cards to all Roma in Czechoslovakia, whether nomadic, semi-nomadic, or fully settled, and authorized random detention of Gypsies for up to fourteen days in order to verify identity. Nomadism was defined as a privilege, rather than a right, requiring a license in order to practice it; travelling in extra-familial groups was forbidden. Roma could be forcibly subjected to medical examination, disinfection, inoculation, and isolation, and Gypsy children could be taken from their parents whenever a court or Red Cross official ruled that the children’s upbringing was endangered.⁶ Measures discussed before adoption of Law 117 contained even clearer violations of human rights (including concentration camps and forced labor camps), but failed to receive governmental approval.⁷

A disjunction of this magnitude requires explanation. Why were the Roma treated so differently? What social mechanisms permitted what amounted to a collective resonance of persecution in a liberal democracy that guaranteed minority rights, without this seeming to many Czechs to be at all contradictory?⁸ What does this disjunction tell us about Czech society during the interwar period?

A wave of discourse on the Gypsy question in the first half of 1927 provides a compelling locus for examining this cluster of questions. In the winter of that year, a band of Gypsies were investigated in Kosice on several counts of theft and murder, and finally of cannibalism. This sensational affair prompted fresh reflection on the nature of the Roma and their place in the Czechoslovak Republic, and culminated in July with Law 117 on Nomadic Gypsies. Examining the Czech component of this discourse, this essay argues that Czechs during the First Republic viewed Gypsies “pharmaceutically”—that Czech perceptions constructed the Roma not only as “other,” but as paradoxically embodying good and evil qualities in a mythic fashion which made the Gypsy a potential target for persecution. The Gypsies’ poverty, disorganization, and lack of international patrons, moreover, removed the possibility of reprisal should persecution occur. In a social crisis generated by an apparently dramatic increase in crime, the Czech construction of Gypsies combined with the Gypsies’ weakness to permit the engagement of a scapegoating mechanism, a reflexive attempt to purify society of its ailments.

The Pharmaceutical Gypsy

The interpretation of Czech perceptions as “pharmaceutical” is informed by certain post-structuralist reflections on the relationship between violence and the sacred, particularly the work of Jacques Derrida and Rene Girard. Complex and not uncontroversial, Derridean and Girardian theories fortunately need not be espoused in their entirety in order to proceed with the present argument, nor need they be fully expounded here. Since their vocabulary is useful for this inquiry, however, clarification of a few fundamental concepts is in order.

Pharmaceutical in our usage refers to the ancient Greek concept of *pharmakon*, from which the modern English word is derived. A *pharmakon* is a substance exhibiting the dual properties of poison and remedy, sickness or cure; whether the outcome of an interaction with a *pharmakon* is positive or negative depends not on the essence of the substance, but on the dosage and the circumstances. It can also depend on time—an initially beneficial interaction may be followed by harmful after-effects, and vice versa. Medical connotations are

instructive: alien to the body, the *pharmakon* is both the contagious element which sparks the onset of disease and the cathartic substance which induces a cure. “The *pharmakon* is thus a magic drug or volatile elixir, whose administration had best be left by ordinary men in the hands of those who enjoy special knowledge and exceptional powers—priests, magicians, shamans, doctors, and so on.”⁹

“Ordinary men” preserve a certain distance between themselves and the *pharmakon* (and even experts approach it with caution), yet this distance is laced with fascination. The *pharmakon* is dangerous, because it can cause death, yet it is also enticing, because it can invest life. The ambivalence of the *pharmakon* places it at the edge of human understanding, inviting imagination to take over where rational knowledge remains incomplete. By identifying interwar Czech perceptions of the Roma as “pharmaceutical,” it is suggested that both distance and ambivalence characterized these perceptions. Residing on the edge of Czech understanding as he resided on the edge of Czech society, the Gypsy-*pharmakon* was associated with beneficial and malevolent powers outside the corpus of Czech culture.

The demographics of the Romany population in interwar Czechoslovakia could only have augmented the distance between Gypsies and everyday Czech experience. According to a census undertaken in conjunction with Law 117, there were 2,652 Roma in the Czech lands, 62,192 in Slovakia, and 94 in Subcarpathian Ruthenia.¹⁰ Census data of this kind are notoriously suspect, and it is clear from other evidence that the Romany population was markedly higher,¹¹ but it is apparent that in a country of roughly 14 million, Gypsies were not a large minority.¹² While naturally the nomadism of Roma in the Czech lands made them more visible than they would have been otherwise,¹³ they accounted there for less than a tenth of one percent of the total population.¹⁴ News did reach Czech audiences of Gypsy happenings in Slovakia and Ruthenia, but here distance was further accentuated by geography.

Cultural differences as well ensured the externality of Gypsies to Czech thinking. In the Czech lands, Gypsies were predominantly nomadic; Czechs of course were overwhelmingly sedentary. The Roma spoke their own language which only a handful of Czech scholars learned, and not all Gypsies were proficient in Czech.¹⁵ As a result, Gypsies and Czechs in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia may have occupied the same geographic space, but they lived in separate societies, interacting only marginally. That Czechs in fact perceived cultural difference in these terms can be seen in repeated identification of Gypsies as a “primitive” race, in contrast to the “European,” “civilized” residents of Czechoslovakia. An article in the liberal *Lidove noviny*, for example, argued that sedentary Gypsies in Slovakia were not the “scourge” for surrounding populations that nomadic Gypsies were in the Czech lands. “They have their own magistrates,” the article noted, “who mediate relations

between the Gypsy hamlets and the more civilized world.”¹⁶ Settled Gypsies, in other words, were less civilized than Czechs and Slovaks; the perceived distance between nomadic Gypsies and the majority populations can be readily imagined.

The distance between Czech and Gypsy—the externality of the Gypsy to everyday Czech experience—favored the use of imagination to provide understanding which experience could not furnish. The resulting stereotypes reveal the ambivalence in Czech perceptions between Gypsy as beneficial and Gypsy as harmful, and are laced with the almost mystical fascination that characterizes man’s relationship with the *pharmakon*.

Ottuv slovník naučný, a monumental encyclopedia which remained standard at least until 1925, described Gypsies as follows:

Gypsies are nervous. In happiness they rejoice, in sorrow they despair, in joy they drink. They like to indulge in dreams and fashion themselves as mystics. Their philosopher John Bunyan (in England under James II) was a mystic. They are intoxicated by nature. The tent is their home, they scorn a settled life and are given over to nomadism. They are enthralled by feverish wandering. They must constantly have new, lively, deep impressions. Of the future they do not concern themselves, of responsibility they have no concept. Honesty is foreign to them and they do not understand principles. Their feeling is deep, their greed insatiable. Their grief and passion appear in their music. Their poetry is simple enough; short, sad tunes, jokes, satires, short stories. They sing and compose verses to accompany dancing. The women as dancers and the men as musicians are famous. Gypsies have their superstitions, they believe in a variety of spirits and natural powers. Although they traffic in witchcraft and magic, they themselves are the greatest believers. They have naturally never revised their opinions and in them there is no consistency. They adopt the faith of their land, but without pause give their children to be baptized numerous times (because of gifts from the godparents), or adopt another faith. The men do not excel at morality, the women still less. They are sadly famous for thievery and promiscuity. Their love for their children is remarkable. They avoid work. They love horses and traffic in them. They are also blacksmiths, goldsmiths, colliers, mountebanks, and bear-handlers. The women are fortune-tellers, jugglers, and midwives.¹⁷

In order to see the pharmaceutical dimension of this text, we must look for those characterizations of Gypsies which are foreign to mainstream Czech cultural norms, particularly those which, by their incorrect application to all Roma, reveal distance and incomplete understanding. Most glaring is the association of Gypsies with mysticism, magic,

and witchcraft. No creature could be more pharmaceutical than the witch—able either to aid or curse those who seek her out, by means beyond natural experience. Though the encyclopedia notes that Gypsies were the most stalwart believers in magic, Gypsy fortune-tellers and card-readers did not lack Czech customers.¹⁸ The Roma's perceived love of nature forms another point of ambivalence, for while nomadism, laziness, and "feverish wandering" might be considered repulsive, the Bohemian freedom of this lifestyle was also captivating, providing the inspiration for more than one romantic idyll.¹⁹ Even criminality can arguably be seen as a point of ambivalence, as shall be shown momentarily.

Not only the individual stereotypes, but the system of stereotypes as a whole create pharmaceutical ambivalence. Here is the Gypsy as prodigal musician or useful tinkerer on the one side; lazy, promiscuous criminal on the other. But since the stereotypes are applied to all Gypsies, the stereotypical Gypsy (the perceived Gypsy) must embody both aspects.

Gypsies were grouped together in their entirety with "harmful wanderers, specializing in a certain kind of punishable activity, as well as wandering thieves, swindlers," etc.²⁰ The association of Roma with criminality was so strong that newspaper reports of robberies committed by Gypsies frequently carried such ironic headlines as "Gypsies at Work,"²¹ "When Gypsies Buy Shoes,"²² and "When Gypsies Go Shopping."²³ Yet there was pharmaceutical fascination with this aspect of perceived Gypsy nature, as can be seen in the children's tale entitled "The Clever Gypsy":

A Gypsy stole a horse and was leading him along a road. Unfortunately he met policemen. They immediately asked "Where did you steal this horse, Gypsy?" The Gypsy swore by all that is holy that he had not stolen the horse, that he had honestly bought it. But the policemen did not believe him. "Who ever heard of a Gypsy actually buying a horse?" they said. They were about to take the Gypsy and the horse with them, when the Gypsy said: "If you don't believe, sirs, that I honestly bought the horse, wait here, and I will bring you the farmer who sold it to me." The policemen agreed. The Gypsy gave them the horse and left. He did not, however, return.²⁴

Stories—especially children's stories—are not without morals, and the moral of this story can only be that it pays to be clever.²⁵ Yet it is significant that the criminal in this story gets the better of the policemen, and thus escapes punishment. While the criminality of the Gypsy is not expressly condoned, neither is it in any way condemned. Logically, criminality is tolerated. We are again faced with a point of ambivalence.

A final encounter with pharmaceutical perceptions can be found in portrayals of the Gypsy in opera, film, and music. The Gypsies in *Carmen* and *La Boheme* enchanted

Czech audiences throughout the 1920s, and melodramatic films like *Cikan* and *Cikanska laska* won extended showings at Prague cinemas.²⁶ Though the authors of these works were not Czech, they nonetheless formed part of a European-wide construction of the Gypsy, in which Czechs shared. The most well-known, specifically Czech work touching on the Gypsies is undoubtedly Leos Janacek's *Prihody Lisky Bystrousky*, in which a village schoolmaster recalls being bedazzled in his youth by a dancing Gypsy beauty. In a flashback he chases after the girl, who at first flees before him, but then seems to respond to his affections. The affair ends sadly, however, for the girl moves away with her band, and we see that all along she has simply been teasing the young man. Our hero is left with only sorrow, shame, and disgrace. That the Gypsy is here conceived pharmaceutically is obvious. The young man is attracted to the mysterious "other" by her uncommon beauty and charm. Initial encounters with the *pharmakon* prove satisfactory, but as always, the drug has another side. Suddenly and without warning, the beneficial aspects of the pharmaceutical Gypsy become destructive. Her *nature* has not changed, however; it is simply a question of dosage.

Just as the *pharmakon* of medicine must be properly measured to ensure that the prescribed dosage serves as remedy rather than poison, so an attempt was made during the inter-war period to measure (and thereby control the effects of) the Gypsy population. It has already been noted that administration of the *pharmakon* is best left by ordinary men in the hands of those who enjoy special knowledge and exceptional powers—priests, magicians, shamans, and so on. In the age of modernity, the place formerly given to religion was supplanted by science, and hence with respect to the pharmaceutical Gypsy, special credence was allotted to "scientific" interpretations: medical, anthropological, and sociological. Scientists and doctors took the place formerly occupied by priests and shamans with respect to the *pharmakon*.

In the context of an attempt to fashion laws dealing with the Gypsy Question, legislators frequently turned to the advice of scientists and medical specialists. Repeatedly cited in these discussions was a letter from one J. Tillich to President Masaryk, written in October of 1922. Dr. Tillich accused Gypsies of introducing typhoid into his district, resulting in over seventy people becoming ill. In response to this hygienic transgression, Dr. Tillich recommended the adoption of regulations modelled on German policies, which gave medical authorities the power to compel Gypsies to submit to medical examination and inoculation, and barred Gypsies from entering certain regions, all in the interest of public health.²⁷ The association of Gypsies with contagion is an idea to which we shall return.

The young science of anthropology also informed discussions on Gypsy regulation. Distinguishing features of a 1912 French law—upon which the 1927 Czechoslovak law was later modelled—were anthropometric identification

cards and official records of physical anthropological data. These records were to include for all nomads and vagabonds a photograph, description, and complete set of fingerprints. Such information was of course not required of ordinary French citizens, and the recourse to anthropology can be interpreted as an effort to control the unpredictable *pharmakon* scientifically.

These scientifically grounded efforts at measurement and administration were not limited to the Gypsy Question, but blended with a technocratic spirit that characterized the interwar period throughout Europe. Legislators and bureaucrats of many political persuasions sought to alleviate social and economic problems through modern, scientific techniques of regulating pharmaceutical phenomena. In Prague, however, legislative efforts to respond scientifically to the Gypsy Question repeatedly became stagnated in the bureaucratic complexity and inter-party rivalry which characterized the First Republic.²⁸ In order for an effective response to the Gypsy contagion to be enacted, a catalyst was needed.

“Gypsies in Slovakia—Cannibals?”

News of the murder and robbery of a Slovak shopkeeper by a band of three Roma appeared in the Czech press in late January 1927. The man had been found on the morning of January 19, and police investigation traced the crime to the 22-year-old Gypsy Sandor Filke.²⁹ According to newspaper reports, Filke confessed the crime and named his two accomplices—who also confessed upon arrest. Though the murder was a sensational one (the man had been killed with an axe), the National Socialist *Ceske slovo* was the only Czech daily to report it.³⁰

Nothing further was mentioned of the case until February 23, when *Lidove noviny*—reporting first of all that the January murder had happened—announced that further investigation had implicated the Gypsies in two further axe-murders near the village of Mokranice. What was more, Filke had confessed involvement in the abduction and murder of a Hungarian woman on the road from Moldava to Mindsent, and had denounced a hitherto unnamed Gypsy as the main perpetrator.³¹ Finally, on February 22, “the biggest surprise awaited the investigators, when the interrogated Gypsies (now numbering twenty in custody) confessed to five further murders.” The police claimed not to be convinced of the truth of all these confessions, but promised that investigations would continue.³²

A bigger surprise there was, however, when on March 2 *Lidove noviny* reported the implication of the Moldava Gypsies in still another murder, as well as Sandor Filke’s “calm” announcement that his band had cannibalized four or five (the exact number he claimed not to recall)³³ of their victims. Other Gypsies, held in isolation, corroborated Filke’s story. The court was dubious of this “unbelievable

news,” however, and in a few days bones were brought from Moldava to Kosice for examination by physical anthropologists.³⁴

By March 4 there were a total of 26 Gypsies being held in Kosice in connection with twelve murders, the earliest of which had occurred in 1923. Convincing evidence existed in ten of the twelve cases, though the charge of cannibalism remained unsubstantiated.³⁵ The affair now became an almost daily feature in the Prague and Brno press, and may have sparked an even larger international sensation, with Austrian, French, and Hungarian journalists present in Kosice for the duration.³⁶

By March 10 Filke had confessed to three more murders, bringing the total to fifteen.³⁷ An examination of the bones brought in from Moldava identified them as animal, not human, thereby casting doubt on the Gypsies’ claims of cannibalism.³⁸ Over the course of the next two weeks, new murders were confessed, and further bone analyses proved negative. “The longer this goes on,” *Ceske slovo* wrote, “the more convincing is the idea that the Gypsies’ confession [of cannibalism] is invented, there being no evidence for it. Yesterday the investigating committee went again to Moldava, where according to the accused they would find the buried bones of the cannibalized victims. None were found.”³⁹

Since the evidence discredited the confessions of cannibalism early on (the Gypsies in fact later admitted that the confessions were false), it is interesting to contrast the stances of Czech newspapers toward the issue. The National Democratic *Narodni listy* and Social Democratic *Pravo lidu* had little interest in the whole affair, and in fact the first reports they printed told of the falseness of the allegations of cannibalism.⁴⁰ *Lidove noviny*, the Legionary paper *Narodni osvobozeni*, and *Ceske slovo* adopted a neutral stance of “watchful waiting.” The Agrarian *Venkov*, on the other hand, never really abandoned the idea of the Moldava Gypsies being cannibals—even though it published the same wire reports as the other papers of the bone analyses proving negative. The Communist *Rude pravo*, too, clung to a cannibalistic presentation—and not until much later did it report evidence of the confessions’ falseness. For *Rude pravo*, the perceived cannibalism of the Moldava Gypsies provided a glorious opportunity to condemn as a dismal failure the “humanistic” policies of T. G. Masaryk and his “democratic” Czechoslovak Republic.⁴¹

Among the more amusing rumors to appear in the Czech press was that of the Moldava Gypsies being card-carrying members of the Communist Party. *Narodni listy* reported on March 13 that “the rank and file of them are fully organized members of the Communist Party,” whereas *Venkov* three days later incriminated only two. In both cases, Filke was held to be especially involved in Communist intrigues.⁴² While the origin of these rumors remains uncertain, they evidently resonated (however illogically)

continued on page 16

Upcoming Events

Monday, January 22, 2007. *Colloquium:* Renee Perelmutter, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, UC Berkeley, will speak on "Viewing without a Viewpoint: On Aspectual Choice and Perception Strategies in Modern Russian." In 160 Dwinelle Hall, 4 p.m. Sponsored by the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, (510) 642-2979.

Monday, January 29, 2007. *Colloquium:* Ann Dwyer, Department of Comparative Literature, UC Berkeley, will speak on "Of Hats and Trains: Nikolai Leskov and Fyodor Dostoevsky Between Russia and The West." In 160 Dwinelle Hall, 4 p.m. Sponsored by the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, (510) 642-2979.

Monday, February 12, 2007. *Colloquium:* Michael Kunichika, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, UC Berkeley, will speak on "The Cultural Life of a Russian Modernist Artifact." In 160 Dwinelle Hall, 4 p.m. Sponsored by the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, (510) 642-2979.

Monday, February 12, 2007. *Film Screening:* United Nations Association Traveling Film Festival, featuring *Armenian Lullaby* (Irina Patkanian, Armenia/Russia/USA), 5 min, and *Sierra Leone's Refugee All Stars* (Z. Niles and B. White, Sierra Leone/USA), 80 min. Discussion to follow. Admission: \$8 students, \$10 non-students." In Pacific Film Archive Theater, 2575 Bancroft Way, 7 p.m. Sponsored by ISEEEES and the United Nations Association of the USA - East Bay Chapter. For information, please contact: UNA-USA East Bay Chapter, (510) 849-1752 or <http://www.unausaeastbay.org/>.

Wednesday, February 14, 2007. *Brown Bag Talk:* Valerie Bunce, the Aaron L. Binenkorb Professor of International Studies, Professor of Government, and Chair of the Department of Government, Cornell University, will speak on "When American Democracy Promotion Works: Revolutionary Change in the Post Communist World." In 223 Moses Hall, 12 noon. Sponsored by ISEEEES and Institute of International Studies.

Wednesday, February 21, 2007. *Brown Bag Talk:* Olga Litvak, Assistant Professor, Department of History, Princeton University, will speak on "Portrait of an Artist as a Young Man: Marc Chagall's Experiments in Russian-Jewish Self-Fashioning." In 270 Stephens Hall, 12 noon. Sponsored by ISEEEES and the Program in Jewish Studies, the Department of History, the Institute of European Studies.

Wednesday, February 21, 2007. *Lecture Series on the Balkans:* Susan Woodward, Professor of Political Science, The

Graduate Center, City University of New York, will speak on "Is Democracy Possible in the Balkans? The Debates in and on Bosnia, Kosovo/a, and Serbia." In 270 Stephens Hall, 4 p.m. Sponsored by ISEEEES.

Thursday, February 22, 2007. *Annual Colin Miller Memorial Lecture:* Richard Taruskin, Professor and Class of 1955 Chair, Department of Music, UC Berkeley, will speak on "Shostakovich: Some Post Centennial Reflections." In the Toll Room, Alumni House, 4 p.m. Sponsored by ISEEEES.

Friday, February 23, 2007. *Colloquium:* Renate Lachmann, Konstanz University, Germany, will speak on "The Fascination with Secret Knowledge in Literary Texts (Hoffman, Pushkin, Poet, Wells, Bulgakov)." In 160 Dwinelle Hall, 4 p.m. Sponsored by the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, (510) 642-2979.

February 24–March 4, 2007. *Performance:* The San Francisco Ballet will perform Tchaikovsky's *The Sleeping Beauty*, choreographed by Helgi Tomasson after Petipa. At War Memorial Opera House, 301 Van Ness Ave, San Francisco, times vary by date. Fees: \$18–205. Contact: San Francisco Ballet, <http://www.sfballet.org/> or (415) 865-2000.

Sunday, February 25, 2007. *Performance:* Soyeon Lee, piano, will perform in honor of Chopin's birthday. At Old First Church, 1751 Sacramento St at Van Ness Ave, San Francisco, 4 p.m. Fees: \$15 general, \$12 students/seniors. Tickets are available from their website or by phone for a \$3 surcharge. Contact: Old First Concerts, <http://www.oldfirstconcerts.org/> or (415) 474-1608.

Sunday, February 25, 2007. *Performance:* National Philharmonic of Russia. At Davies Symphony Hall, 201 Van Ness Ave, San Francisco, 7 p.m. Fees: \$25–91. 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, February 28, 2007. *Noon Concert:* UC Berkeley student Tony Lin, piano, will perform works by Shostakovich, Tchaikovsky, Stravinsky, and Prokofiev. At Hertz Hall, UC Berkeley, 12:15 p.m.; doors open at 11:55 a.m. Fees: Free. Children must be able to listen quietly. Contact: Department of Music, (510) 642-4864 or <http://music.berkeley.edu/>.

Friday, March 2, 2007. *Annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference:* "Ukraine: History and Society." In the Heyns Room, Faculty Club, 9:45 a.m. Sponsored by ISEEEES and the

Center for Russian, East European, and Eurasian Studies, Stanford University. See page 8 for the conference schedule.

Friday–Saturday, March 2–3, 2007. *Concert:* Pacific Boychoir will perform Rachmaninoff's *Vespers* and Barber's *Agnus Dei*. On Fri at Grace Cathedral, 1100 California St, San Francisco, 7:30 p.m.; on Sat at St. Augustine Church, 400 Alcatraz Ave, Oakland, 7:30 pm. Fees: \$20 general, \$15 students/seniors. Contact: Pacific Boychoir Academy at (510) 652-4722 or <http://www.pacificboychoir.org/>.

Monday, March 5, 2007. *Colloquium:* Olga Sedakova, Moscow poet, will read her work in Russian and English. In 160 Dwinelle Hall, 4 p.m. Sponsored by the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, (510) 642-2979.

March 7–11, 2007. *Performance:* Eifman Ballet of St. Petersburg. At Zellerbach Hall, UC Berkeley, times vary by date. Fees: \$32–56. Contact: Cal Performances, <http://www.calperfs.berkeley.edu/> or (510) 642-9988.

Thursday, March 8, 2007. *Performance:* "Musical Fortunes," featuring new music based on East European Romani and Jewish songs. At First Congregational Church, Dana & Durant Sts, Berkeley, 7:30 p.m. Fees: \$22 advance, \$25 general, \$20 seniors and students. Tickets are available through Brown Paper Tickets, <http://www.brownpapertickets.com/> or (800) 838-3006. Contact: Kitka, <http://www.kitka.org/> or (510) 444-0323.

Sunday, March 11, 2007. *Performance:* Natasha Paremiski, Russian-American pianist. At Florence Gould Theater, Legion of Honor, San Francisco, 2 p.m. Tickets are available online or by calling (415) 392-2545. Contact: San Francisco Performances, <http://performances.org/> or (415) 398-6449.

March 14–17, 2007. *Performance:* Yundi Li, piano, will perform Liszt's Piano Concerto No. 1, among other works. 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.

Friday–Saturday, March 16–17, 2007. *Public Performance:* "The Silk Road Ensemble with Yo-Yo Ma, cello." In Zellerbach Hall, 8 p.m. This ticketed event has sold out. Sponsored by Cal Performances.

Saturday, March 17, 2007. *Symposium:* "Cultural Exchanges Along the Silk Road," presented in conjunction with the Silk Road Ensemble's performance. In Hertz Hall, 2–5 p.m. Free admission. Sponsored by Cal Performances, the Department of Music, ISEEES, BPS, and CCASP.

Sunday, March 18, 2007. *Performance:* Russian Chamber Orchestra. At St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, 3 Bay View Ave, Belvedere, 5 p.m. Fees: to be announced. Contact: Russian Chamber Orchestra Society, <http://www.russianchamberorch.org/> or (415) 453-3116.

Friday, March 23, 2007. *Noon Concert:* UC Berkeley students April Paik, violin, Jessica Ling, violin, Tovah Keynton, viola, and Kai Chou, cello, will perform works by Shostakovich. At Hertz Hall, UC Berkeley, 12:15 p.m.; doors open at 11:55 a.m. Fees: Free. Children must be able to listen quietly. Contact: Department of Music, (510) 642-4864 or <http://music.berkeley.edu/>.

Friday, March 23, 2007. *Performance:* The Oakland East Bay Symphony will perform works by Shostakovich and Rimsky-Korsakov. At Paramount Theatre, Oakland, 8 p.m. Fees: \$16–54. Contact: Oakland East Bay Symphony, <http://www.oeps.org/> or (510) 444-0801.

Sunday, March 25, 2007. *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.

Wednesday, April 4, 2007. *Lecture Series on the Balkans:* Isabelle Delpla, Assistant Professor in Philosophy, University of Montpellier, France, will speak on "Topoi of International Justice: The Social Effects of War Crimes Trials in Bosnia-Herzegovina." In 270 Stephens Hall, 12 noon. Sponsored by ISEEES and the Human Rights Center.

Wednesday–Saturday, April 4–7, 2007. *Performance:* The San Francisco Symphony, Michael Tilson Thomas conducting, will perform works by Tchaikovsky and Stravinsky. 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.

Monday, April 9, 2007. *Colloquium:* Susanne Stratling, Humboldt University, Berlin, will speak on "Hand and Word: Concepts of Text in the Russian Avant-Garde." In 160 Dwinelle Hall, 4 p.m. Sponsored by the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, (510) 642-2979.

Wednesday, April 11, 2007. *Elizabeth Elkus Memorial Noon Concert:* The University Symphony Orchestra, David Milnes, conducting, will perform Sostakovich's Violin Concerto no. 1. At Hertz Hall, UC Berkeley, 12:15 p.m.; doors open at 11:55 a.m. Fees: Free. Children must be able to listen quietly. Contact: Department of Music, (510) 642-4864 or <http://music.berkeley.edu/>.

April 11–17, 2007. *Performance:* The San Francisco Symphony Chorus and Richard Stoltzman, clarinet, will perform Stravinsky's *Symphonies of Wind Instruments*. At Davies Symphony Hall, 201 Van Ness Ave, San Francisco. Fees: \$31–114. 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.

Saturday, April 14, 2007. *Annual Teacher Outreach Conference:* "Remembering the Russian Revolution: 1917–2007." In the Toll Room, Alumni House, a schedule will be announced. Registration will be required. Sponsored by ISEES.

Saturday, April 14, 2007. *Performance:* St. Petersburg String Quartet. At Margaret Leshner Theatre, Leshner Center for the Arts, Walnut Creek, 2:30 p.m. Fees: \$39. Tickets are available at <http://www.chambermusicsf.org/walnutcreek.html> or (925) 943-7469. Contact: Chamber Music San Francisco, <http://www.chambermusicsf.org/walnutcreek.html> or (415) 759-1756.

Sunday, April 15, 2007. *Performance:* Chronos Quartet will perform Polish composer Henryk Mikolaj Gorecki's Third String Quartet. At Hertz Hall, UC Berkeley, 3 p.m. Fees: \$48. Contact: Cal Performances, <http://www.calperfs.berkeley.edu/> or (510) 642-9988.

Monday, April 16, 2007. *Colloquium:* Nikolai Bogomolov, Moscow State University, will speak on "Serebrianyi vek: opyt ratsionalizatsii poniatia." Note that this talk will be presented in Russian." In 160 Dwinelle Hall, 4 p.m. Sponsored by the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, (510) 642-2979.

Tuesday, April 17, 2007. *Brown Bag Talk:* Dominic Boyer, Associate Professor, Department of Anthropology, Cornell University, will speak on "Beyond Algos and Mania: The Politics of the Future in Eastern Europe." In 270 Stephens Hall, 12 noon. Sponsored by ISEES and Institute of European Studies.

Thursday, April 19, 2007. *Seventh Annual Peter N. Kujachich Lecture in Serbian and Montenegrin Studies:* Jasna Dragovic-Soso, University of London, will speak on "Coming to Terms with the Recent Past: Intellectual Discourse and Public Polemics in Post-Milosevic Serbia." In the Heyns Room, Faculty Club, 4 p.m. Sponsored by ISEES.

Sunday, April 22, 2007. *Festival:* San Francisco Festival of the Mandolins. At the Croatian American Cultural Center, 60 Onondaga Ave, San Francisco. A time and fees will be announced. Contact: Croatian American Cultural Center, <http://www.slavonicweb.org/> or (510) 649-0941.

Saturday, April 28, 2007. *Performance:* Russian pianist Nikolai Demidenko. At Florence Gould Theater, Legion of Honor, San Francisco, 2 p.m. Fees: \$34–38. Tickets are available through City Box Office, <http://www.cityboxoffice.com/> or (415) 392-4400. Contact: Chamber Music San Francisco, <http://www.chambermusicsf.org/> or (415) 759-1756.

Thursday, May 3, 2007. *Performance:* Steven Isserlis, cello, and Kirill Gerstein, Russian pianist, will perform works by Russian composers. At Herbst Theatre, 401 Van Ness Ave, San Francisco, 8 p.m. Tickets are available online or by calling (415) 392-2545. Contact: San Francisco Performances, <http://performances.org/> or (415) 398-6449.

Friday–Saturday, May 4–5, 2007. *Performance:* University Symphony Orchestra, David Milnes, conductor, with the University Chorus, Marika Kuzma, director. The program will include Rachmaninoff's *Symphonic Dance*. At Hertz Hall, UC Berkeley, 8 p.m. Fees: \$12 general, \$8 students/seniors/UCB faculty and staff, \$4 UCB students. Contact: Department of Music, (510) 642-4864 or <http://music.berkeley.edu/>.

Sunday, May 6, 2007. *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.

Saturday, May 19, 2007. *Festival:* Saintra Kiril & Methody Bulgarian Festival, featuring music, dancing, and food. At the Croatian American Cultural Center, 60 Onondaga Ave, San Francisco. A time and fees will be announced. Contact: Croatian American Cultural Center, <http://www.slavonicweb.org/> or (510) 649-0941.

Sunday, May 20, 2007. *Recital:* Ukrainian tenor Vladimir Kuzmenko, accompanied by Svetlana Gorshevskaya, piano. At Herbst Theatre, 401 Van Ness Ave, San Francisco, 5 p.m. Fees: \$25–35. Tickets are available through the City Box Office, <http://www.cityboxoffice.com/> or (415) 392-4400.

Sunday, June 3, 2007. *Performance:* Symphony Parnassus will perform Shostakovich's Symphony No. 11 in G minor, Op. 103, "The Year 1905". At Herbst Theatre, 401 Van Ness Ave, San Francisco, 3 p.m. Fees: \$15–22. Tickets are available through the City Box Office, <http://www.cityboxoffice.com/> or (415) 392-4400. Contact: Symphony Parnassus, <http://www.symphonyparnassus.org/> or (415) 728-5997.

Czech Perceptions, continued from page 12

with a widespread view of the Romany lifestyle as one of primitive communism.⁴³ *Rude pravo*, for its part, scoffed at these ideas, remarking satirically that they were only partially true. Soviet agents, it wrote, “had given the Gypsies strict orders to kill and eat all members of the Agrarian Party weighing 100 kg and higher.... The Czechoslovak Gypsies, however, had been led by the humanitarian care of the Czechoslovak state to such a high cultural level that they declared their refusal to eat such swine,” and chose other victims instead.⁴⁴

Many of the papers expressed a kind of national self-consciousness over the affair, worrying that the attention given it by foreign newspapers would tarnish Czechoslovakia’s international reputation. “Certain Viennese and Budapest correspondents,” wrote *Ceske slovo*, “lingering in Kosice, are sending abroad reports based not on fact, but on their own speculation or rumors.... Thus do foreigners easily receive news, the goal of which is to represent our state as a land of the lowest civilization, where cannibalism still flourishes.”⁴⁵ *Narodni osvobozeni* criticized the sensational reportage in the Parisian press, and lamented that the French word for Gypsies was “Bohemiens.”⁴⁶

The first clamor in the press for a new law on Gypsies appeared March 8. “In parliamentary circles,” wrote *Ceske slovo*,

particularly Agrarian and Slovak, an urgent intervention in the government is being prepared, in order to speed up parliamentary discussion of a law on the establishment of Gypsy labor colonies. This question is all the more timely since the well-known developments in Slovakia have considerably roused and alarmed the public. It particularly addresses the fact that existing police regulations are only an insufficient defense of the security of property and lives of the rural population.⁴⁷

Though forced labor camps for Gypsies were never constructed, the discussion sparked by the Kosice affair did continue through the spring, resulting eventually in the passage of Law 117 in July. We shall return to this matter shortly.

The investigation into the affair of the Moldava Gypsies continued through 1928, and the Gypsies finally went to trial in 1929, but little appeared in the press after April 1927. The verdict—announced in Kosice on July 20, 1929—found eight of the Gypsies guilty on six counts of murder, sentencing them to a total of 83 years in penitentiary and four years in a local prison.⁴⁸

The few secondary sources dealing with the history of Roma in the First Republic tend to obscure the situation by accusing the press of a smear campaign. Zdenka Jamnicka-

Smerglova, writing in 1954, insists that “the trial and press were intentionally prepared and manipulated by the bourgeois government coalition,” the sensational reportage “enabling them to earn unheard-of sums.”⁴⁹ Ctibor Necas speaks more plausibly of a “practically universal hysteria.”⁵⁰ While it is true that tabloids like the *Prazsky illustrovany kuryr* may have been guilty of exaggerated journalism,⁵¹ the mainstream dailies can hardly be accused of indiscretion. (Indeed, if any newspaper adopted a sensationalist style of reporting, it was the Communist *Rude pravo*, which highlighted Gypsy accounts of how they had prepared the meat, what vegetables had gone well with it, and how it had tasted.⁵²) *Narodni listy* and *Pravo lidu*, for their part, scarcely mentioned the whole affair,⁵³ and the popular Prague evening paper *Tribuna* carried not one article on the investigation during the entire period from January through April. Reading the newspapers as a whole, moreover, one realizes that coverage of the Kosice affair did not exceed what would have been normal for such an event (cannibalism, after all, is not an everyday occurrence in Central Europe), nor did it receive an ascendant position with respect to other significant issues of the day—reports of an influenza epidemic actually received more coverage. The Kosice affair was also but one of a number of criminal sensations to hit the press during the first three months of 1927, and in order to understand the influence it exerted on passage of Law 117, it is necessary to view it in this context.

On March 13 *Lidove noviny* carried a front-page editorial discussing the ethics of journalism with respect to reportage of crime. While the philosophical arguments are themselves peripheral to the present inquiry, the context in which they were set is enlightening:

From the beginning of the new year the public has been almost continuously unsettled by crimes occurring in various parts of the republic.... The murder in Namest, the mystery of the stolen auto in Zlin, the Lecian crimes, the murder of a maid in Vysocany, the poisoning of pani Vojtechovska, the rampage of the Gypsies in East Slovakia, suspected even of cannibalism, the unexplained attempted murder in Napajedla—what manner of terrible film of human bestiality, marking not only the collectivity of the criminal phenomena, but even the cruelty and peculiarity of each individual case. This is no longer a series, but a season of criminality like the influenza infection sweeping over the world, with the same impervious enigma of its origins and in its moral consequences worse than the parallel epidemic with all its great number of victims.⁵⁴

A letter to the editor several days later again raised the issue of a disturbing crime wave, and invited other readers “to sacrifice a moment of their time” by writing in their ideas on the origins of contemporary criminality, since “understanding causes is the first step to the possibility of rectification.”⁵⁵

While *Lidove noviny* was content to speculate about causes, *Venkov* demanded action. In an article published on

April 10, a group of Agrarian parliamentary deputies explained their position:

These events force us not merely to serious reflection on the causes of rising crime, but also to immediate and energetic intervention by all means available to the state. It is first of all necessary that state organs address with utmost decisiveness the cause of these phenomena, *which is above all the vagrancy and nomadic lifestyle of individuals and groups, particularly Gypsies*, for vagrancy is emphatically the germ of moral ruin and crime, breeding ever more dangerous individuals and criminals.⁵⁶

Again we have the idea of a “germ” (the seed of an infection) bringing about “moral ruin” (a societal illness). Nomadic Gypsies, moreover, are identified as a chief *cause* of the infection—Gypsies as societal pathogen.

In the same issue of *Venkov* an article appeared examining possible remedies for this infection. “We recall the endeavor of our deputy Beran,” the author wrote, “that [nomadic Gypsies] be placed in special penal colonies, but immediately we observe that *against a serious illness such medicine is too mild.*”⁵⁷ The author suggested instead the adoption of a law, modelled on French and Bavarian examples, which would “strictly regulate” the movement and behavior of the entire Gypsy population. Agrarian deputies introduced this proposed law soon afterwards in parliament, and with minor alterations it passed in July as Law 117 on Nomadic Gypsies.

The Generative Scapegoating Mechanism

At this point it is appropriate to return to introduce the word *pharmakos*, which raises *pharmakon* to an explicitly human level. At least through the time of Plato, ancient Athenians maintained a number of unfortunate men to be sacrificed whenever a calamity or danger threatened the city, as well as at ritually prescribed seasons of the year. Like the *pharmakon*, the *pharmakos* possessed an ambivalent character: before his expulsion, he was paraded through the city, reviled, and insulted, in order to draw to himself the violence infecting the population; when successful, however, the expulsion served as a cathartic act restoring the city to wholeness and purity—and the victim came to be regarded as sacred.⁵⁸

The city’s body *proper* thus reconstitutes its unity, closes around the security of its inner courts...by violently excluding from its territory the representative of an external threat or aggression. That representative represents the otherness of the evil that comes to affect or infect the inside by unpredictably breaking into it. Yet the representative of the outside is nonetheless *constituted*, regularly granted its place by the community...in the very heart of the inside.⁵⁹

The *pharmakos* of society is thus analogous to the *pharmakon* of the body. Like the *pharmakon*, the *pharmakos* can be seen as the cause of an infection—the pathogenic particle which brings crisis into the social organism. Just as the restoration of the body can be accomplished through expulsion of the *pharmakon*, moreover, the societal crisis can be alleviated by violent expulsion of the *pharmakos*.

Given the foregoing discussion of the Gypsy as a “germ” effecting a social “illness,” the idea suggests itself that—in connection with the Kosice affair and passage of Law 117—Czechs made of the Gypsies a *pharmakos*. In the crisis of a perceived rise in crime, creating unbalanced dissonance in social relations, Czechs instinctively sought a scapegoat on which to channel their frustration. Let us now sketch the process in detail.

In the sense used here, “societal crisis” refers to an unstable level of reciprocal violence in a society, threatening or impairing the perceived normal functioning of that society. This reciprocal violence need not be overt—taking the form perhaps of blood feuds and civil wars—it can also be quite subtle, as when courtesies or other “proper” social interchanges are withheld. The violence need not even be “real”; perception is enough to motivate human action. Crime-related reports in the Czech press in early 1927 were at least enough to prompt concern of an “epidemic” threatening Czechoslovak society; one might call it paranoia.

The emergence of such discourses suggests a disintegration—however slight—of healthy human relations. The perception of disintegration may of course be greater than the reality, but since human beings act on perceptions, reality soon catches up. The subjects of these relations cannot be utterly innocent of the phenomenon, but “rather than blame themselves, people inevitably blame either society as a whole, which costs them nothing, or other people who seem particularly harmful for easily identifiable reasons.”⁶⁰

To be sure, not all Czechs took the increased violence of 1927 out of proportion, or failed to see their connectedness to it. With regard to Gypsy crimes, for example, voices existed which drew attention to the isolation of the Roma in cages of Czech stereotypes as an important contributing cause. A Social Democratic deputy declared, “We must recognize that long unculturedness and isolation from the circles of human society have molded a certain portion of the wandering Gypsies into dangerous elements.”⁶¹ That this was not a majority position, however, is shown by the fact that Law 117 was, in fact, passed. Within the ranks of those who supported the law (at least), frustration and helplessness in the face of the perceived rise in crime prompted the search for a scapegoat. “The crowd tends toward persecution since the natural causes of what troubles it and transforms it into a *turba* [mob] cannot interest it. The crowd by definition seeks action but cannot

affect natural causes. It therefore looks for an accessible cause that will appease its appetite for violence.”⁶²

The choice of scapegoat can theoretically be arbitrary, but usually it is not so. The crowd seeks a victim easily identifiable as being outside the community, who moreover cannot defend himself. This combination eliminates the possibility of reprisal—the perpetuation of violent dissonance through an ongoing process of aggression and vengeance. Given the choice of scapegoats available to the interwar Czech mind, including Germans, Jews, and Poles among others, the Roma fit these requirements most perfectly. Being poor and scattered, they had no organization which could fight persecution; having no powerful ethnic cousins in other countries, and not even the League of Nations as a patron, there could be little danger that measures taken against the Gypsies would have any violent repercussions whatsoever.

The “otherness” of Gypsies was repeatedly emphasized in newspaper reports of the Kosice investigation, and again in parliamentary debates on Law 117. *Lidove noviny*, for example, exclaimed that “cannibalism [is] now a crime of such infrequent kind among civilized European nations.”⁶³ Implied were uncivilized, non-European nations, in which cannibalism might have been expected to occur with greater frequency. According to this logic, the accused Gypsies at least could be identified as uncivilized non-Europeans; Gypsies as a group were also distanced. In parliament, the Agrarian deputy Viskovsky defended Law 117 by saying that “This is a war of two principles—civilization and primitivism.”⁶⁴ “Those who themselves have established themselves outside the cultural world cannot be disciplined by cultural means.... This is not subjugation of a race, this is self-defense, which dictates that we adopt certain severe measures.”⁶⁵

“Ultimately,” Girard tells us,

the persecutors always convince themselves that a small number of people, or even a single individual, despite his relative weakness, is extremely harmful to the whole of society. The stereotypical accusation justifies and facilitates this belief by ostensibly acting the role of mediator.... If the wrongdoers, even the diabolical ones, are to succeed in destroying the community’s distinctions, they must either attack the community directly, by striking at its heart or head, or else they must begin the destruction of difference within their own sphere by committing contagious crimes.⁶⁶

Much like the Jews, the Roma were accused throughout their medieval and early modern history of such crimes as ritual infanticide, stealing children, and of course cannibalism.⁶⁷ They were held to have violated the strictest taboos, to have attacked the very foundations of cultural order. Nothing changed with regard to scapegoat mechanisms in the twentieth century, except that now more rational crimes were demanded.

There exists a group of people who are neither lunatics nor knaves. They are something in between. We do not have a box for them. It is a group of people who belong neither among the criminal nor among the insane. When I say that they are indescribable, it means as a result that they are dangerous. It is necessary that they be somehow isolated, but such isolation in a penal manner is not 100% justified. Today all these Gypsies, when they go out, will steal, because it is their nature. Society is protected from them only when we exclude them from human society.

—Dr. A. Stuchlik, 1927

(Quoted in Jamnicka-Smerglova, p. 74.)

It is a fact that during the First Republic a remarkable percentage of Roma *were* guilty of criminal acts; the contemporary scholars Daniel and Horvathova—themselves Roma—acknowledge that petty thievery was one of the mainstays of Romany survival.⁶⁸ In the context of endless newspaper reports on robberies, swindles, and other crimes perpetrated by nomadic and settled Gypsies, one can almost sympathize with the frustration Czechs must have felt. But certainly not all Roma were guilty. At play was an oversimplification—assigning the perceived qualities of one or a few to an entire group.

From a process perspective, however, the question of guilt is irrelevant. The *mechanics* of scapegoating remain the same whether the object “merits” his expulsion or not; the role played by the scapegoat in the construction of the persecutor’s worldview remains potent. Roma were not the only ones guilty of major crimes in early 1927, yet to some extent they were singled out for punishment. Judging by the frequent calls for “exceptional” and “extraordinary” government action, it is clear that there was a strong desire for something to be done about the perceived rise in crime; Roma as a group (and especially nomadic Roma), simply provided a convenient—and perhaps the only possible—object for systematic action.

By making a scapegoat of the Gypsies, Czechs established them as a generative signifier of their own sense of community. It enabled Czechs to see themselves as cultured, civilized, and European at a time when the legitimacy of these terms went unquestioned, but the extent of their applicability to Czechoslovakia did. Czechs’ concern with how other European nations would see Czechoslovakia during the Kosice investigations—as well as their adoption

of a law *modelled* on those of other European states—reveal how fragile their own sense of identity was in a state that until recently had been a mere daydream, in a world where the great powers were still relatively ignorant of who exactly the Czechoslovaks were. The action of mobilizing to persecute—even through the indirect methods of the legal apparatus—united Czechs and reinforced their belief in the vitality and security of their community. It is tempting to see in the passage of Law 117 yet one more reason to challenge Czechoslovakia’s reputation as one of interwar Europe’s brightest examples of liberal democracy, but similar resonances of persecution in democratic states in even more recent times should help us realize the pointlessness of such a view. Instead, Law 117 merely demonstrates that even liberal democracy is not immune to the banality of the scapegoat mechanism. The structures of liberal democracy cannot prevent the sacrifice of certain groups’ civil liberties on the altar of political profit or the false god of security. The roots of scapegoating are not structural, but cultural. As long as societies continue to view certain people “pharmaceutically”—with distance and ambivalence rather than real knowledge—persecution will continue.

Notes

¹ *Masarykuv slovník naučný*, vol. 1 (Prague: Československý kompas, 1925), p. 797. All translations from Czech in this essay are my own.

² George Bernard Shaw, for example, called Czechoslovakia “the model European State in this respect.” Letter from Shaw to Karel Capek, 10 October 1928, published in *Lidové noviny*, 28 October 1928, morning edition, p. 1.

³ David Crowe, *A History of the Gypsies of Eastern Europe and Russia* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1994), p. 44.

⁴ See for example “Stavby menšinových škol,” *Lidové noviny*, 5 February 1924, afternoon edition, p. 3; “Zakony o menšinách v Polsku,” *Lidové noviny*, 8 July 1924, afternoon edition, p. 1; “Profesor Murray o menšinách,” *Lidové noviny*, 4 September 1924, morning edition, p. 3; “Poměry na Podkarpatsku,” *Lidové noviny*, 2 February 1927, morning edition, p. 2; “Národní demokracie a menšiny,” *Národní listy*, 4 February 1927, p. 1; and “Menšiny protestují proti vládní předložce reformy veřejné správy,” *Právo lidu*, 30 June 1927, p. 2.

⁵ Ctibor Necas, *Romové v České republice včera a dnes* (Olomouc: Vydavatelství Univerzity Palackého, 1995), p. 32.

⁶ “Zákon ze dne 14. července 1927 o potulných cikánech.” Reprinted in Necas, pp. 73–74.

⁷ See “Navrh zákona o zřizování cikánských kolonií,” *České slovo*, 8 March 1927, p. 8.

⁸ The term “collective resonance of persecution” refers to an act of persecution legal in form but stimulated by the extremes of public opinion, as opposed to a “collective

persecution,” which would suggest an act of violence perpetrated directly by a mob. See René Girard, *The Scapegoat*, translated by Yvonne Freccero (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), p. 12.

While discussion of Slovak perceptions would be appropriate, inclusion of the Czech-Slovak moment would raise issues extraneous to my focus on perceptions of the Roma. Czechs and Slovaks, though both majority nations of Czechoslovakia, cannot be assumed to have identical or even similar worldviews, so that the perceptions of each nation must really be addressed in their own right.

⁹ René Girard, *Violence and the Sacred*, translated by Patrick Gregory (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), p. 95. See also pp. 286–288, 296–297; and Jacques Derrida, “Plato’s Pharmacy,” in *Dissemination*, translated by Barbara Johnson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), pp. 61–171, especially pp. 70–71.

¹⁰ Necas, p. 24.

¹¹ In Užhorod, for example, *Lidové noviny* reported in 1927 (the same year that the census was conducted) that there were approximately 200 Gypsies, and estimated the total Romany population of Supcarpathian Ruthenia to be around 4,000. (“Cikánská škola v Užhorode,” 5 April 1927, afternoon edition, p. 1.)

¹² See the discussion in Crowe, pp. 44–45.

¹³ Gypsies in the Czech lands were rarely settled, in contrast to populations in Slovakia and Ruthenia. Zdenka Jamnická-Smerglová, *Dejiny násich cikánu* (Prague: Orbis, 1955), p. 60.

¹⁴ Census data is taken from Joseph Rothschild, *East Central Europe between the Two World Wars* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1974); p. 89.

¹⁵ Bartolomej Daniel, interview by Amanda Carriere, Brno, 18 November 1996.

¹⁶ “Solidnost slovenských cikánu,” *Lidové noviny*, 28 August 1924, morning edition, p. 5.

¹⁷ *Ottův slovník naučný*, vol. 5 (Prague: J. Otto, 1892), p. 366.

¹⁸ Jamnická-Smerglová, p. 60; Jana Horváthová, lecture entitled “Dejiny Romů v Československé republice, 1900–1945,” Univerzita Palackého, Olomouc, 5 November 1996.

¹⁹ Bartolomej Daniel, *Dejiny Romů: Vybrané kapitoly z dějin Romů v západní Evropě, v českých zemích a na Slovensku* (Olomouc: Pedagogická fakulta Univerzity Palackého, 1994), p. 126.

²⁰ Necas, p. 30.

²¹ “Cikáni při práci,” *Lidové noviny*, 18 January 1924, afternoon edition, p. 2; “Cikáni v práci,” *Lidové noviny*, 30 September 1924, afternoon edition, p. 30.

²² “Když cikáni kupují boty,” *Lidové noviny*, 23 January 1927, morning edition, p. 7.

²³ “Když čini nakupy cikáni,” *Lidové noviny*, 4 February

1927, afternoon edition, p. 2.

²⁴ Frantisek Homolka, "Chytry cigan," in "Detsky koutek," *Ceske slovo*, 20 February 1927, p. 17.

²⁵ For a discussion about interpreting tales across cultures, see Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Vintage Books, 1985), pp. 9–72.

²⁶ See the cultural listings in *Lidove noviny*, 12 August 1924, afternoon edition, p. 4; *Narodni listy*, 13 January 1927, p. 4; *Narodni listy*, 28 January, 1928, p. 8; Karel Strass, "Respektiva desiti let," *Lidove noviny*, morning edition, 26 October 1928, p. 11; among many others.

For more on the image of Gypsies in film and opera, see Gerard-Louis Gartier, "L'Image du gitan dans le cinema," *La Revue du cinema*, 393 (1984), pp. 81–96; Susan McClary, *Georges Bizet: Carmen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Dick Pels and Aya Crebas, "Carmen—or The Invention of a New Feminine Myth," trans. Cornelis Disco, *Theory, Culture and Society* 5:4 (November 1988), pp. 579–610; and Thomas Sobchack, "Gypsies, Children, and Criminals: Anti-Authority Themes in Early British Silent Film," *Journal of Popular Film and Television* 17:1 (Spring 1989), pp. 15–19.

²⁷ Necas, p. 30.

²⁸ See Rothschild, p. 106.

²⁹ This name was an alias; the man's given name was Jan Koloman ("Rozsudek nad moldavskými cikany," *Lidove noviny*, 21 July 1929, morning edition, p. 4).

³⁰ "Bestialni vrazda," *Ceske slovo*, 26 January 1927, p. 4.

³¹ The "Moldava" here referred to is a village near Kosice, and should not be confused with Bessarabia.

³² "Dvacetielenna tlupa cikanu-vrahu," *Lidove noviny*, 23 February 1927, morning edition, p. 5.

³³ He later claimed that this was because he could not count ("Moldavsti cikani lidojedy?" *Lidove noviny*, 11 March 1927, afternoon edition, p. 3).

³⁴ "Hruzne priznani moldavskych cikanu," *Lidove noviny*, 2 March 1927, morning edition, p. 3.

³⁵ "Kanibalstvi na Slovensku?" *Ceske slovo*, 4 March 1927, p. 2; "Cikani na Slovensku—lidozrousti?" *Narodni osvobozeni*, 4 March 1927, p. 5.

³⁶ "Moldavsti cikani lidojedy?" *Lidove noviny*, 11 March 1927, afternoon edition, p. 3; "Zajem zahranicnich novinaru o kanibalske cikany," *Narodni listy*, 12 March 1927, p. 3; "Loupezne vrazdy moldavskych cikanu," *Ceske slovo*, 20 March 1927, p. 11; "'Jsou jeste lidojedi!'," *Narodni osvobozeni*, 24 March 1927, p. 4.

³⁷ "Vysetrovani zlocinu moldavskych cikanu," *Lidove noviny*, 10 March 1927, morning edition, p. 3.

³⁸ "Nove odhaleni v zalezitosti moldavskych cikanu," *Ceske slovo*, 10 March 1927, p. 5; "Vysetrovani zlocinu moldavskych cikanu," *Lidove noviny*, 10 March 1927,

morning edition, p. 3; "Povesti o lidojedstvi cikanu falesne," *Pravo lidu*, 10 March 1927, p. 7.

³⁹ "Dalsi zlocin moldavskych cikanu ve vych. Slovensku," *Venkov*, 11 March 1927, p. 7; "Loupezne vrazdy moldavskych cikanu," *Ceske slovo*, 20 March 1927, p. 11.

⁴⁰ "Zajem zahranicnich novinaru o kanibalske cikani," *Narodni listy*, 12 March 1927, p. 3; "Povesti o lidojedstvi cikanu falesne," *Pravo lidu*, 10 March 1927, p. 7.

⁴¹ "Lidozroustvi na Slovensku," *Rude pravo*, 7 November 1927, evening edition, p. 2; "Kdo prozradil moldavske lidozrousty," *Rude pravo*, 10 March 1927, evening edition, p. 4.

⁴² "Kanibalstvi cikani komunisty," *Narodni listy*, 13 March 1927, p. 4; "Komunisticke legitimace moldavskych cikanu-lidojedu," *Venkov*, 15 March 1927, p. 7.

⁴³ "Cikani, lidozrousti a komuniste," *Rude pravo*, 9 March 1927, morning edition, p. 6. See also Frantisek Stampach, *Cikani v Ceskoslovenske republice* (Prague: Ceskoslovenska akademie ved a umeni, 1929), p. 43.

⁴⁴ "Cikani, lidozrousti a komuniste," *Rude pravo*, 9 March 1927, morning edition, p. 6.

⁴⁵ "Loupezne vrazdy moldavskych cikanu," *Ceske slovo*, 10 March 1927, p. 11.

⁴⁶ "'Jsou jeste lidojedi!'," *Narodni osvobozeni*, 14 March 1927, p. 4.

⁴⁷ "Navrh zakona o zrizovani cikanskych kolonii," *Ceske slovo*, 8 March 1927, p. 8.

⁴⁸ Rudolf Kotol, "Po moldavske porote," *Lidove noviny*, 26 July 1929, morning edition, p. 2.

⁴⁹ Jannicka-Smerglova, p. 72.

⁵⁰ Necas, p. 30.

⁵¹ "'Jsou jeste lidojedi!'," *Narodni osvobozeni*, 24 March 1927, p. 4.

⁵² See, for example, "Lidozroustvi na Slovensku," *Rude pravo*, 3 March 1927, evening edition, p. 4; and "Lidozroustvi v Ceskoslovenske republice," 5 March 1927, evening edition, p. 3.

⁵³ Each paper devoted only two articles to the Moldava Gypsies during the period from January through April.

⁵⁴ "Noviny a zlociny," *Lidove noviny*, 13 March 1927, morning edition, p. 1.

⁵⁵ "Co je pricinou dnesni zlocinnosti?" *Lidove noviny*, 20 March 1927, morning edition, p. 30.

⁵⁶ "Pro bezpecnost na venkove," *Venkov*, 10 April 1927, p. 3. Emphasis added.

⁵⁷ "Branme se cikanum," *Venkov*, 10 April 1927, pp. 3–4. Emphasis added.

⁵⁸ Derrida, pp. 130–134; Girard, *Violence and the Sacred*, pp. 94–95.

⁵⁹ Derrida, p. 133.

⁶⁰ Girard, *Scapegoat*, p. 15.

⁶¹ Quoted in Daniel, p. 127.

⁶² Girard, *Scapegoat*, p. 16.

⁶³ “Kanibalstvi moldavskych cikanu,” *Lidove noviny*, 6 March 1927, morning edition, p. 4.

⁶⁴ Quoted in Daniel, p. 127.

⁶⁵ “Branme se cikanum,” *Venkov*, 10 April 1927, pp. 3–4.

⁶⁶ Girard, *Scapegoat*, p. 15.

⁶⁷ Jammicka-Smerglova, p. 69.

⁶⁸ Daniel, p. 125; Horvathova, op. cit.

Outreach Programs

Teaching About Soviet Prison Camps

GULAG: Soviet Prison Camps and Their Legacy is a wonderful curriculum unit that was recently produced by our colleagues at Harvard University’s National Resource Center for Russian, East European, and Central Asian Studies. Authored by David Hosford, Pamela Kachurin, and Thomas Lamont, this publication is a product of a collaborative effort between the National Park Service and the Harvard NRC, with funding from the Park Service and the Bradley Foundation. The collaboration also produced two exhibitions on the GULAG that were on display in Boston last fall.

Bringing together materials from many sources into a complete unit, the publication will be invaluable for teaching this important subject. California state content standards for History–Social Science specify teaching the GULAG to grade 10 under the heading 10.7, analyzing the rise of totalitarian governments after World War I. But this material will also be relevant to teaching literature—for example, Solzhenitsyn’s work—or to other topics in the Social Science classroom—for example, how twentieth-century technological advances enabled the creation of prison camps or how the GULAG compares with Nazi camps.

The 42-page unit is divided into three lessons of reading and exercises. It includes reference materials that are essential, such as a map with GULAG locations and a brief timeline of the camps’ development. Other materials that may be less familiar but which make this unit so valuable include details about how food was rationed (how much and to whom) and an example of a code that prisoners could use to communicate with someone in solitary confinement. Students will get the big picture with topics like Stalin’s cult of personality, will be intrigued by the classroom exercises (like choosing who to arrest and why or denouncing their classmates for “crimes” real or imaginary), and will hopefully be inspired by the human rights movement that grew in reaction to this system of terror. The unit includes some primary sources and references to major works for more in-depth research.



Best of all, *GULAG: Soviet Prison Camps and Their Legacy* is available free of charge. Printed copies can be obtained through the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies [davisoutreach@fas.harvard.edu or (617) 495-8095], and the unit is also posted as a PDF at <<http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~nrc/#downloads>>.

Teaching About the Russian Revolution

Our teacher outreach conference for 2007 is entitled “Remembering the Russian Revolution: 1917–2007.” It will be held on Saturday, April 14 on campus. The conference is designed for educators but will be open to the public as well. This event is free of charge, though we will be ask for advance registration. Once the program for the daylong event is finalized, information will be sent to educators on our mailing list, and details will also be posted to our Web site. Please mark your calendar now!

Stella Bourgois is the ISEEEES Outreach Coordinator.

Faculty and Student News

Olga Gurevich was awarded a Ph.D. from the Department of Linguistics in spring 2006 for her dissertation entitled “Constructional Morphology: The Georgian Version.” She is currently a visiting researcher at Princeton University.

Patrick Henry was awarded a Ph.D. from the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures in spring 2006 for his dissertation on “Metarealism and the Question of Russian Postmodernism.” He is currently the deputy editor of *The Moscow Times*.

Traci Lindsey, Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, presented “Bulgarian Motion Verbs: Manner and Path in a Balkan Context” at the inaugural meeting of the Slavic Linguistics Society, which was held September 8–10, 2006 at Indiana University Bloomington.

Elena Morabito, Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, was awarded an Instructional Research Fellowship from the Berkeley Language Center in fall 2006 for her project Designing a Bosnian Language Corpus.

Julia McAnallen, Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, presented “Word Order in *Xozdeniia Igumena Daniila*: Evidence for a Three-Way Split” at the inaugural meeting of the Slavic Linguistics Society, which was held September 8–10, 2006 at Indiana University Bloomington.

Stiliana Milkova, Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Comparative Literature, was awarded an Instructional Research Fellowship from the Berkeley Language Center in fall 2006 for her project Designing Communicative Tasks for the Bulgarian Language Classroom.

Johanna Nichols, professor of Slavic languages and literatures, was elected as a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. The induction ceremony will take place in February 2007 at the AAAS’s annual meeting.

She also presented “Stance Verbs and the Sociolinguistics of the Slavic Expansion” at the inaugural meeting of the Slavic Linguistics Society, held at Indiana University Bloomington in September 2006.

William Quillen, Ph.D. candidate in the Department Music, presented a paper entitled “Shostakovich’s Late *Simfonism*” at the conference Shostakovich - 100, which was held at the University of London in September 2006.

Andrey Shcherbenok was awarded a Ph.D. from the Department of Rhetoric in spring 2006 for his dissertation

on “Trauma and Ideology in the Soviet Film of 1929–1945.” He is currently as postdoctoral fellow with the Columbia University Society of Fellows.

Richard Taruskin, professor in the Department of Music, received the American Musicological Society’s Otto Kinkeldey Award for outstanding musicological scholarship by a scholar not in the early stages of his career. He was recognized for his six-volume *The Oxford History of Western Music*, which was published in 2005.

AAASS Convention 2006

The AAASS annual convention was held in November 2006 in Washington, DC. The following ISEES affiliates made presentations.

Ronelle Alexander, professor in the Slavic department, participated in the roundtable entitled Teaching All Three: Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian.

George Breslauer, Executive Vice Chancellor and Provost and Chancellor’s Professor of Political Science, participated in the Ed Hewett Memorial Roundtable discussion Russia in the Year 2006.

John Connelly, associate professor of history, participated in the roundtable discussion entitled What Was the Post-Communist Era? A First Look by Historians.

Anne Dwyer, graduate student in the Department of Comparative Literature, presented “Modernism and the End of Empire: Alfred Doblin and Viktor Shklovsky” at the panel on Cross-Cultural Imports over Slavic Borders.

Jonathan Stone, graduate student in the Slavic department, presented “Falling into the Symbol: The Russian Reevaluation of Decadence” at the panel.

M. Steven Fish, professor of political science, participated in the roundtable discussion Whither the Russian Regime? Parties, Politics, and the 2007–08 Elections.

Jordan Gans-Morse, graduate student in political science, co-presented a paper entitled “Restructuring Post-Communist Welfare States and the End of the ‘World’” at the panel Restructuring Post-Communist States.

Jason Wittenberg, assistant professor of political science, served as one of the panel’s discussants.

Luba Golburt, assistant professor in the Slavic department, was a participant in the roundtable discussion Ruins and

the Avant-Garde: The Afterlife of a Clean Sweep. She also presented “How Eighteenth-Century Men and Women Grew Old” at the panel On the Corruption of Morals: Nineteenth-Century Representations of Russia’s Eighteenth Century.

Magdalena Kay, graduate student in comparative literature, presented “Julia Hartwig’s Poetry of Rebellion” at the panel on Polish Women’s Poetry. She also chaired the panel The East and West in the Post-1989 World: Polish Literary Perspective on Change.

Anastasia Kayiatos, graduate student in the Slavic department, presented “Andrei Platonov’s Sentimental Journey: Gender Transitions, Genders in Transition, and the Gendering of Tradition in ‘Semen’” at the panel on Andrei Platanov in the 1930s.

James Krapfl, graduate student in history, presented “Civic Forum, Public Against Violence, and the Struggle for Slovakia” at the panel Facing the Others: Intra-National and International Attitudes among Neighbors in Central Europe.

Michael Kunichika, graduate student in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, was the discussant on the panel Museums, Monuments, and National Memory.

Tatyana Mamut, graduate student in anthropology, presented “Beauty and Business: Feminine Self-Confidence in Russian Hygiene Advertising” at the panel Marketing the New Russian Woman: Representations of Gender Identities in Popular Culture.

Olga Matich, professor in the Slavic department, chaired the roundtable entitled Mikhail Kuzmin’s *Wings*, 1906–2006: Russian Decadence and Coming-Out Manifestos. She also presented “Gaping Mouth: The Disgusting in Andrei Bely’s *Petersburg*” at the panel on The Poetics of Disgust in Modern Russian Culture.

At the panel entitled Paintings and Panoramas: Picturing Tolstoy and Dostoevsky, **Molly Jo Brunson**, graduate student in the Slavic department, presented “Pierre’s Panorama: Optical and Novelistic Illusion in *War and Peace*.”

Polina Dimova, graduate student in comparative literature, presented “Semiotics of Laughter and the Smile in Dostoevsky’s *The Idiot*” at the panel.

And **Stiliana Milkova**, graduate student in comparative literature, presented “Ekphrasis and the Grand Tour: Dostoevsky’s *The Idiot*.”

Anna Muza, lecturer in the Slavic department, chaired the panel entitled The People’s Capitol: Works by Aleksandr Deineka, Valera and Natasha Cherkashin, Vitaly Komar, and Alex Melamid.

Eric Naiman, associate professor in the Slavic and comparative literature departments, presented “Rereading as Rewriting: King, Queen, Knave” at the panel Nabokov, Rereading, and Rereading Nabokov.

Irina Paperno, professor in the Slavic department, participated in the roundtable discussion on Lydia Ginzburg: Authorship and Analysis. She also chaired the panel entitled From Physiology to Degeneration: Dostoevsky, Nekrasov, and Saltykov Shchedrin between the Natural School and Decadence.

Harsha Ram, associate professor in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, served as the discussant for the panel Borders and Masks: Orientalism in Russia and the Play of Identity.

Jarrod Tanny, graduate student in history, presented “Sashka’s Fiddle and Shneerson’s Wedding: The Myth of Old Odessa and the Jews, 1905–1920” at the panel on Jewish Urban Life in Late Imperial Russia.

Allyson Tapp, graduate student in the Slavic department, chaired the panel entitled “From Social Justice to Selling Out: Developments in Russian Children’s Literature.” She also presented a paper on “The Soundtrack to Platanov’s *Happy Moscow*” at the panel on Andrei Platanov in the 1930s.

Alan Timberlake, professor in the Slavic department, presented “The Tower of Babel: Graphic Representation of Relationships among Hamartolos, Tolkovaia Paleia, Nachal’nyi svod, and the Povest’ vremennykh let” at the panel on Medieval Slavic Electronic Text Resources.

Michele Viise, graduate student in Slavic languages and literatures, presented “From Orthodox Disunity to Unity in L’viv, 1573–1586: The Printer Ivan Fedorov and the Emergence of the L’viv Orthodox Brotherhood of the Dormition Church” at the panel on Orthodox Texts.

Edward W. Walker, served as a discussant to the panel Spatial Approaches to Eurasian Islam: Its Peculiarities and Dynamics. He also was a discussant for the panel on Islam and Post-Socialism: Interdisciplinary Approaches.

Alexei Yurchak, assistant professor in the Department of Anthropology, presented “Necroaesthetics and the Politics of Indistinction: Post-Soviet Artistic Ideologies of Monstrosity” at the panel Monstrosity: The Politics and Aesthetics of Incompatibility in Russia. He also chaired the panel Questions of Cinematography: The Work of Andrei Moskvin.

AATSEEL Conference

The American Association of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages (AATSEEL) held its annual conference in December 2006. The following Berkeley affiliates made presentation:

Polina Barskova (Ph.D. in Slavic Languages and Literatures) presented “The Colorful Nights of the Siege: An Analysis of the Unexpected Reincarnation of the Petersburg Text” at the panel on Representing the Siege: Narratives, Images, Sounds.

Anne Dwyer, Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Comparative Literature, presented “‘Gogol in Palestine’: Toska and Obnazhenie in Viktor Shklovsky’s *A Sentimental Journey*” at the panel on Modernist Travel through Imperial Spaces.

Michael Kunichika, Ph.D. candidate in the Slavic department, presented “The Archaeology of Russian Modernist Scythianism” at the panel on Modernist Travel through Imperial Spaces.

Ellen Langer, lecturer in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, presented “The Language of Karel Havlicek Borovsky” at the panel on Czech Literature and Culture.

Alexis Peri, Ph.D. candidate in history, presented “Deteriorating Toward Humanity: The Transition to Blockade Life in

Leningrad Proposed Placement” at the panel on Representing the Siege: Narratives, Images, Sounds.

Renee Perelmutter, Ph.D. candidate in the Slavic department, presented “Predicate Adjectives under Negation in Modern Russian” at the panel on Morphosyntax.

Harsha Ram, professor in the Slavic department, was the discussant for the panel on Modernist Travel through Imperial Spaces.

Victoria Somoff, Ph.D. candidate in the Slavic department, presented “No Need for Dogs or Women: Ivan Turgenev’s *Mumu* and Interpretation of Silence” at the panel on Defining Genres and Aesthetic Programs.

Jonathan Stone, Ph.D. candidate in the Slavic department, presented “Skorpion and the Instantaneous Canonization of Russian Symbolism” at the panel on Russian Symbolism: Ideas and Texts.

Alan Timberlake, professor in the Slavic department, was a discussant at the roundtable entitled Slavic Dialogues. He also presented “Three Accentual Changes in Lithuanian” at the panel on Phonology and Accentology.

Alexei Yurchak, professor of anthropology, was a discussant at the panel entitled The Peripheral Genre in Soviet Culture.

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 September 1, 2006 and January 31, 2007.

BENEFACTORS

Bea and Richard Heggie*
Jane and Serge Petroff*

MEMBERS

Tony Peter Bernabich*
Laurie Bernstein and Robert Weinberg*
Harald Drews*
Margaret and Peter Edgelow*
Mary and Herbert Engstrom
Paula and Eric Gillett*
Esther Goldberg*
Milton Gordon*
Mary Louise Green*
Barbara and Earl Hamlin*
Krista Hanson*
Lise Morje and Marc Howard*
Charles V. Hughes*
Anonymous*
Shirley Thurston Lee*
Jane Carroll McCoy*
Mary and John Macmeeeken*
Rachael Marzion
J. Clay Moltz*
Deborah L. Pearl*
Patricia Polansky*
George Ponomareff*
Tomasz Potworowski*
Mildred and Ronald Radakovich*
R. Anthony Reese
Carol Timko Santos*
Kathleen E. (Kelly) Smith*
Valerie Sperling*
F. Jeffrey Strum*
Tamara and Don Van Atta*
Katalin Voros*
Dorothy Vucinich*

* 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:
Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies
University of California, Berkeley
260 Stephens Hall #2304
Berkeley CA 94720-2304

Name(s) _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Home _____ Business _____

Phone _____ Phone _____

If your employer has a matching gift program, please print name of corporation below:

____ I have made a contribution but wish to remain anonymous.

Funding Opportunities

ISEEES Graduate Student Paper Competition—see page 7 for details. Deadline: 4/13/07.

The **Drago and Danica Kosovac Prize**—see page 2 for details. No deadline.

The **Hertelendy Graduate Fellowship in Hungarian Studies**—see page 28 for details. Deadline: 3/23/07.

Funding from the **Peter N. Kujachich Endowment in Serbian and Montenegrin Studies**—see page 28 for details. Deadline: 3/23/07.

American Councils

The **Eurasian Regional Language Program** is fee-based, but some fellowships are awarded. It allows grad students to study any of the languages of the former Soviet Union abroad. Deadline: 3/1/07 summer, 4/1/07 fall or AY. Contact: Outbound Programs, American Councils, 1776 Massachusetts Ave NW Ste 700, Washington DC 20036; Tel: 202-833-7522; outbound@americancouncils.org; <http://www.americancouncils.org/>.

Berkeley Language Center

Instructional Research Fellowships for Graduate Students are available for one semester during the next AY to enable GSIs to work on special projects both to improve the quality of language instruction in their departments and to enhance their professional development. Graduate students teaching any foreign language at UCB are eligible to apply. Deadline: 3/1/07. Contact: Professor Richard Kern, BLC Fellowship Program, Berkeley Language Center, B-40 Dwinelle Hall #2640; rkern@berkeley.edu; <http://blc.berkeley.edu/>.

Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies

The **Helen Darcovich Memorial Doctoral Fellowship** provides up to \$12,000 to a student writing a dissertation on a Ukrainian or Ukrainian-Canadian topic in education, history, law, humanities, arts, social sciences, women's studies, or library sciences. All degree requirements, up to the dissertation, must be completed by award period.

The **Marusia and Michael Dorosh Master's Fellowship** provides up to \$10,000 to a student writing a thesis on a Ukrainian or Ukrainian-Canadian topic in education, history, law, humanities, arts, social sciences, women's studies, or library sciences. All degree requirements, up to the thesis, must be completed by the time the award period.

The **Neporany Doctoral Fellowship** provides \$5,000-\$15,000 for one year of doctoral research specializing on Ukraine in

political science, economics, and related fields. Preference is given for completing the dissertation. Holders of major funding awards are ineligible.

Deadline: 3/1/07. Contact: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 450 Athabasca Hall, Edmonton AB, Canada T6G 2E8; Tel: 780-492-2973; Fax: 780-492-4967; cious@ualberta.ca; <http://www.cius.ca/>.

Coordinating Council for Women in History

The **CCWH Catherine Prelinger Award** provides \$20,000 for scholars with a Ph.D. or A.B.D. who have not followed a traditional academic path of uninterrupted and completed secondary, undergraduate, and graduate degrees leading into a tenured faculty position. The recipient's degrees need not be in history, but his/her work should clearly be historical in nature. Applicants must be CCWH members. Deadline: 3/16/07. Contact: Carol Gold, University of Alaska Fairbanks, Department of History, PO Box 756460, Fairbanks AK 99775-6460; Tel: 907-474-6509; ffc@uaf.edu; <http://theccwh.org/awards.htm>.

Harvard University

The **Ukrainian Research Institute** offers the **Eugene and Daymel Shklar Fellowship in Ukrainian Studies** with a stipend of \$3,300.00 per month. While in residence, Shklar Fellows will use the University's unique resources to work on significant and innovative projects in Ukrainian studies, and in general to further their development. The average tenure for a fellow is four months. Deadline: 3/16/07. Contact: Shklar Fellowship Program, Ukraine Research Institute, 1538 Massachusetts Ave, Cambridge MA 02138; <http://www.huri.harvard.edu/>.

Human Rights Center

Summer Internships with Human Rights Organizations provide \$3,500 for registered UCB and GTU students to carry out clearly defined projects and/or internships with specific organizations related to the student's area of study. Deadline: 2/28/07. Contact: Human Rights Center, 460 Stephens Hall # 2300, Berkeley CA 94720-2300; Tel: 510-642-0965; Fax: 510-643-3830; <http://www.hrcberkeley.org/>.

Institute of International Studies

The **Allan Sharlin Memorial Award** is granted to a Berkeley grad student conducting dissertation research in historical sociology, historical demography, or social history.

The **John L. Simpson Memorial Research Fellowship in International and Comparative Studies** is awarded to Berkeley graduate students conducting dissertation research.

The Reinhard Bendix Memorial Research Fellowship

provides dissertation funding to a promising Berkeley grad student in political and social theory or historic studies of society and politics.

Deadline: 4/2/07. Contact: IIS, 215 Moses Hall #2308; Tel: 510-642-2472; <http://globetrotter.berkeley.edu/fellowship/>.

Newberry Library

Short Term Fellowships provide \$1,200/month, for 1 week to 2 months, to Ph.D. candidates or postdocs from outside of the Chicago area who have a specific need for Newberry collections. Deadline: 3/1/07. Contact: Committee on Awards, 60 W Walton St, Chicago IL 60610-3380; Tel: 312-225-3666; research@newberry.org; <http://www.newberry.org/>.

Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America

The **Kazimierz Dziewanowski Memorial Dissertation Award** provides \$1,000 to the best doctoral dissertation on a Polish topic filed at an American university in the past calendar year. Deadline: 4/06/07. Contact: Dr. Thaddeus V. Gromada, Executive Director, Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America, 208 E 30th St, New York NY 10016; Tel: 212-686-4164; Fax: 212-545-1130; piasany@verizon.net; <http://www.piasa.org/>.

UC Berkeley

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

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

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

Deadline: 3/1/07. Contact: Graduate Fellowships Office, 318 Sproul Hall # 5900; Tel: 510-642-0672; <http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/financial/deadlines.shtml>.

University of Illinois

The **Russian and East European Center's Summer Research Lab on Russia & Eastern Europe** is fee-based, but some free housing awards are available. Summer research associates receive full library privileges for research during June-August, while two weeks of programs include a symposium, workshops, lectures, and films. Deadline: 4/1/07 for non-citizens, 4/15/07 for citizens. Contact: Russian and East European Center, University of Illinois, 104 International Studies Bldg, 910 S Fifth St, Champaign IL 61820; Tel: 217-333-1244; Fax: 217-333-1582; reec@uiuc.edu; <http://www.reec.uiuc.edu/srl/srl.html>.

Wenner-Gren Foundation

The **Individual Research Grants Program** provides up to \$25,000 for basic research in all branches of anthropology. The foundation under this program, offers Dissertation Fieldwork Grants, Post-Ph.D. Grants, and Richard Carley Hunt Postdoctoral Fellowships. Deadline: 5/1/07, 11/1/07. Contact: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research Inc., 220 Fifth Ave 16th Fl, New York NY 10001-7708; Tel: 212-683-5000; Fax: 212-683-9151; <http://www.wennergren.org/>.

Woodrow Wilson Center

East European Studies Short Term Grants provide up to one month of research in Washington, DC to grad students and postdocs for 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: 3/1/07; also 6/1, 9/1, 12/1 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/>.

The Wilson Center's **Kennan Institute** offers the **Galina Starovoitova Fellowship on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution** that provides 9 months of support to postdocs in residence. The award includes a monthly stipend, research facilities, word processing support, and research assistance. The Starovoitova fellow is expected to hold public lectures on themes of conflict resolution and human rights while conducting research on a specific topic and will actively participate in Kennan Institute programs. Deadline: 4/1/07. Contact: Fellowships and Grants, Kennan Institute, One Woodrow Wilson Plaza, 1300 Pennsylvania Ave NW, Washington DC 20523; Tel: 202-691-4100; Fax: 202-691-4001; popsonna@wwic.si.edu; <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/>.

University of California, Berkeley
Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies
260 Stephens Hall # 2304
Berkeley, CA 94720-2304

NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATION
U.S. POSTAGE PAID
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

ADDRESS SERVICE REQUESTED

Funding for East European Studies

Drago and Danica Kosovac Prize

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

Hertelendy Graduate Fellowship in Hungarian Studies

The Hertelendy Graduate Fellowship in Hungarian Studies offers partial support in AY 2007–08 to UC Berkeley-enrolled grad students working in Hungarian studies and/or US-Hungarian or European- (including EU) Hungarian relations. The application includes a dissertation prospectus or research proposal, one letter of recommendation, a budget, and a timeline. The deadline is **Friday, March 23, 2007**.

Peter N. Kujachich Endowment in Serbian and Montenegrin Studies

The Peter N. Kujachich Endowment in Serbian and Montenegrin Studies will award approximately \$10,000–13,000 for AY 2007–08 to faculty and/or student projects that focus on the experience of the Serbian and Montenegrin peoples. Possible projects entail research, instruction, colloquia, symposia, lecture series and publications, and creative thought and writing in the social sciences, humanities, and arts. Proposals should include a budget and a timeline. Details on funding from the Kujachich Endowment can be found at <http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~iseees/kujachich.html>. The deadline is **Friday, March 23, 2007**.

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