ISSN 1536-4003

University of California, Berkeley

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

Spring/Summer 2016
Volume 33, Number 1

In this issue:

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://iseees.berkeley.edu/

Editor: Zachary Kelly

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

Notes from the Director

Our region continues to do what it does best: confound predictions about its future. A century ago Eastern Europe seemed a quiet backwater of four land empires, yet it produced the sparks of Sarajevo. Russia was the first power to fall out of the war that followed, but how many Marxists thought it was ripe for socialist revolution? And of the victorious Bolsheviks, how many could imagine Stalinism?

Americans at Paris in 1919 thought East Central Europe, now liberated from imperial oppression, would become a zone of democratic nation states, but what they got by the 1930s was authoritarian regimes on the outskirts of fascism. Then came the Hitler-Stalin pact. An eye witness in Vilnius was Czesław Miłosz, later of our Slavic Department, who recollected as follows: "Generations of German professors had studied the Slavic world, but all their graphs and statistics were useless. From the point of view of German interests, Nazi policy, after the take-over of Poland, the Ukraine, and Byelorussia, was non-sense."

Stalinists everywhere were shocked by Nikita Khrushchev's revelations made in a secret party congress in February 1956; but neither disciples nor successors of the reformer Khrushchev imagined Gorbachev's destructive yet liberating reforms of the 1980s. Gorbachev in turn had no idea that by "restructuring" he was doing the bidding of Ronald Reagan: taking down the Berlin wall. And neither Reagan nor George H.W. Bush anticipated that democratization in Eastern and East Central Europe would one day give us today's leaders, one of whom – Hungary's Viktor Orbán – calls himself an "illiberal democrat."

But in the past few months some of academia's leading experts have helped us make sense of the confounding present on the background of its deeper past.

On February 2, Dr. Fiona Hill, Director of the Center on the United States and Europe and Senior Fellow in Foreign Policy at the Brookings Institution, gave the 31st annual Colin and Elsa Miller Lecture to an overflow audience at the Alumni House on the UC Berkeley campus. Her subject was Vladmir Putin.

This year's annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference on Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies was hosted by our friends and colleagues at the Center for Russian, East European and Eurasian Studies at Stanford University on Friday, March 4. This year's topic – *Dislocation* – elicited presentations by faculty from both universities on subjects such as ethnic cleansings in Poland and Lithuania, war poetry in the Donbas, Czech nationalism, the Armenian genocide, and legacies of the Soviet war in Afghanistan.

Presenters included Stephan Astourian (History, Berkeley), Tomas Balkelis

(CREEES, Stanford), John Connelly (History, Berkeley), Robert Crews (History, Stanford), Michael Dean (History, Berkeley), Yuliya Ilchuk (Slavic, Stanford), Pavle Levi (Film and Media Studies, Stanford), Karla Oeler (Art and Art History, Stanford), Ruprecht von Waldenfels (Slavic, Berkeley), and Jason Wittenberg (Political Science, Berkeley). ISEEES will host the 41st annual edition in spring 2017 on the UC Berkeley campus.

Our biennial all-day Educator Outreach Conference examined recent economic, political, and social developments in Ukraine. Guest speakers included professors Gérard Roland and Yuriy Gorodnichenko of UC Berkeley's economics department; Sarah Phillips, Professor of Anthropology at Indiana University; Alina Polyakova, Deputy Director of the Eurasia Center at the Atlantic Council; Professor Edward Walker, Executive Director, Berkeley Program in Eurasian and East European Studies; and Lucan Way, Professor of Political Science at the University of Toronto.

On April 5, at the annual Peter N. Kujachich Lecture in Serbian and Montenegrin Studies, Professor Tomislav Longinović (University of Wisconsin – Madison), examined the intriguing and unique case of Serb nationalism through the monumental efforts of Vuk Karadžić (1787-1864) to record the oral traditions of the Serbs during their struggles for independence from the Ottoman Empire. We were delighted to have Peter Kujachich in the audience, and we thank him for his continuing generous support of Serbian and Montenegrin studies at Cal.

At various points our sponsored talks included explorations of the current crises in Polish politics (Prof. Anna Grzymala-Busse, University of Michigan), Polish memory politics (Anna Bikont, *Gazeta Wyborcza*), NATO missile emplacement (Ivanka Barzashka, Stanford), and media politics in Russia (Maria Stepanova, Colta.ru).

We continue a successful faculty/graduate student lunchtime seminar series with former Institute-affiliated graduate students who are now leading scholars to discuss their trajectories in the context of trends in their disciplines and in the study of our region. Spring seminars were led by Sean McMeekin, Bard College; Erik Scott, University of Kansas; and Alexis Peri, Boston University.

For information about these and upcoming events, please continue to visit our website and events calendar at http://iseees.berkeley.edu/; and please include Thursday, September 15 on your calendar as the date of our annual ISEEES fall reception.

Lastly, as many of you know, UC Berkeley is facing significant financial challenges. I would like to thank those who have contributed to one of our various funds. During these trying times, your contributions enable us to maintain support for the research of our students and faculty, provide educational opportunities to the public, and attract new students to our programs. If you haven't yet had the opportunity, giving can easily be done online through our website at http://iseees.berkeley.edu/give or you may see page 10 for more opportunities.

Sincerely yours,

John Connelly
ISEEES Director
Professor of History

Campus Visitors

Nathalia Saliba Dias is a Visiting Student Researcher with ISEEES during the 2015-2016 academic year. Ms. Dias is currently a PhD student at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Her current research interests are the works of Vladimir Nabokov. While at Berkeley, she will pursue research on 'literary incest' or the meaning of 'incest' in Nabokov's works.

Jeong Hwan Kim is a Visiting Scholar with ISEEES during the 2015-2016 academic year. Dr. Kim is currently an associate professor in the Department of Romanian Studies at Hankuk University of Foreign Studies in South Korea. His current research interests are Romanian diaspora literature and Romanian folklore. While at Berkeley, he will pursue research on these topics.

Silvana Tarlea is a Visiting Scholar with ISEEES during the Spring 2016 semester. Dr. Tarlea is a Max Weber Post-Doctoral Fellow at the European University Institute in Florence, Italy. Her current research interest is political economy in Central and Eastern Europe. While at Berkeley, she will work on a book manuscript and a new research project on individual preferences towards trade and education expansion.

Ruprecht von Waldenfels is a Visiting Scholar with ISEEES during the 2015-2016 academic year. Dr. von Waldenfels is hosted by Professor Johanna Nichols in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures. He is working on the project Convergence and divergence of Slavic from a usage based, parallel corpus driven perspectives, funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation. His research interests include linguistic variation, corpus linguistics, and digital humanities.

Inside Russia's "Internet Achipelago"

Joy Neumeyer
Graduate Student, History, UC Berkeley

Last September, the Russian website Colta.ru organized a nostalgic celebration of the 1990s in a Moscow park. Dubbed "'90s Island," it featured panels with major cultural figures such as artist Oleg Kulik, lectures on fashion and media, and a concert by the band Auktsyon. The festival was most notable, however, for prompting a nationwide outpouring of personal memories online. Social media was flooded with photographs of younger selves with bad haircuts, accompanied by the hashtag #90sIsland (#Ostrov90kh).

Colta's embrace of the '90s as a time of possibility and freedom rejected the official depiction of that decade as the lawless "wild '90s," the modern equivalent of the Time of Troubles preceding the Romanov dynasty. As the photos flourished, federal news channels declared that "the liberals want to rewrite history." According to the tabloid *Komsomolskaia Pravda*, '90s Island was a sinister celebration of "devastation, collapse, chaos, war, and hunger."

The furor surrounding '90s Island reveals Colta's central role in fostering alternative narratives of Russia's past and present. At a time when most independent news outlets have been shut down or brought under Kremlin influence, Colta is Russia's only site for news and culture that is entirely crowdfunded. According to editor-in-chief Maria Stepanova, it currently draws 900,000 unique visitors per month. It is at the vanguard of an online movement that Stepanova calls "the Internet archipelago"—a set of small, independently funded sites outside state control.

In an April 4 talk at Berkeley titled "The Media and the Message: Russian Sensibility in Putin's Times," Stepanova said that the Russian media has become "a pure kind of propaganda" with little connection to life on the ground. "There is this myth of massive support for Putin," she said. "Billions have been spent to convince the West of this… [but] the reality is not so straightforward."

Stepanova entered journalism much later than most of her colleagues, she said in a pre-talk interview. An acclaimed poet whose work has been translated into several languages, she attended the Gorky Literature Institute in Moscow in the early '90s, when the Soviet system of cultural patronage was in the midst of collapse. Stepanova, like many of her peers in the creative intelligentsia, went to work in advertising. She later joined the channel NTV. Then the country's main independent news channel, it was famous for shows such as "Kukly," which satirized politicians in puppet form. Stepanova created commercials to promote the channel's content, work that she compared to making candy wrappers.

"As time went on, it became increasingly apparent that the candy had an unpleasant taste," she said.

Vladimir Putin's assumption of the presidency in 2000 initiated a series of what Stepanova calls "zachistki," or "cleansings." Such "cleansing" tactics have ranged from putting pressure on owners to passing new regulations, such as the recent laws limiting foreign ownership of media and banning the promotion of homosexuality to minors. Most insidious, she said, is the practice of "internal censorship," which she compared to the Soviet notion of "the inner editor."

The first media outlets to face "zachistki" were television channels, which were brought under state control early in Putin's first term. In 2001, NTV was taken over by Gazprom, leading to an exodus of journalists and the end of critical content such as "Kukly." Pressure then moved to newspapers. A key turning point was the transformation of the respected business newspaper *Kommersant*, which was sold in 2007 to the oligarch Alisher Usmanov. Around the time that the Bolotnaya protests against corruption began in winter 2011, the newspaper was subjected to "shock treatments" that included firing editors, closing major projects, and pressing journalists to omit critical information. In one prominent example, Usmanov fired the editor of the weekly *Kommersant-Vlast* for printing a photo of an electoral ballot bearing an obscene message to Putin. Today, Stepanova said, *Kommersant* is "sufficiently loyal, and hardly reliable."

The online media landscape has also shifted dramatically, particularly in the wake of Maidan and the annexation of Crimea. In March 2014, Galina Timchenko, the editor-in-chief of the popular news site Lenta.ru, was fired by Lenta's billionaire owner Alexander Mamut for publishing an interview with a far-right Ukrainian nationalist. Most of the site's staff quit in protest.

Stepanova said the overall result has been "a more or less total substitution of classical media outlets with phantom or sham television channels, newspapers, or Internet projects, the sole objective of which is to imitate the existence of a free press under un-free conditions."

"In contrast to the tectonic shifts that are happening in the Western media," she said, "this crisis is one hundred percent manmade."

By the mid-2000s, Stepanova realized that it had become "completely impossible" to work in television and began to think of starting something new. At the time, she said, there was no Russian publication dedicated to critical analysis of culture. She and several colleagues decided to fill the gap, launching the website Openspace.ru in spring 2008. The site initially focused on reviews, with sections on art, film, music, literature, and theater. Several months after OpenSpace launched, however, the war in Georgia started, leading to a new section, "society," in which writers could address political and social issues more directly.

As OpenSpace's engagement with politics grew, so did its readership. In 2012, when it was providing close coverage of the Bolotnaya protests, its unique visitors peaked at around 500,000 per month. Around the same time, the site's owners announced an overhaul of the site, and Stepanova's removal. The current editors quit and decided to put their compensation packages toward creating a new version of OpenSpace. Two weeks later, Colta was live.

Colta soon announced its first crowdfunding drive, which gathered 700,000 rubles. It has relied entirely on donations ever since. "The site can't be pressured," Stepanova said. "There's no owner who could be called to the president's administration and told, 'How about you be more careful.'"

Today, Colta's coverage ranges from reviews of a new Hamlet production to an analysis titled "The Internet and Protests: What are the Connections Between Them?" The site also analyzes the Russian media landscape. Last summer, it published a tell-all account of the state TV channel Russia-1 in which former employees described how Kremlin officials dictated their coverage of Ukraine.

While state television remains a pervasive news source, Internet usage has spiked in recent years, from less than half the population in 2011 to over seventy-one percent in 2016. Stepanova says Colta's audience ranges from urban college students to older readers scattered across the country. The site has no paywall, ensuring free access.

A handful of other independent news sites compose "the Internet archipelago," including the business-oriented *Slon*, online TV channel *Dozhd*, and *Meduza*, a reincarnation of Lenta now based in Latvia. An active blogosphere and Alexei Navalny's Anti-Corruption Foundation have also spearheaded a new breed of investigative journalism online. In December, the latter released a documentary on YouTube that linked the family of General Prosecutor Yuri Chaika to a notorious criminal gang. As of mid-April, it had garnered over 4.75 million views.

Most independent sites rely on some degree of crowdfunding. Stepanova said that Russia's current financial crisis has made gathering donations "difficult, to put it mildly." As the ruble has reached historic lows, "people are growing poorer, and financially supporting any kind of media has become quite hard."

Stepanova said that the backdrop to Russia's current difficulties is a global fear of the future, which is felt particularly intensely in Russia. Most Russians, she said, wish to stay in the present, however flawed, out of fear that whatever comes next will only be worse. Meanwhile, "the past is fiction," subject to endless revision in keeping with current whims.

However, Colta's experience suggests that there is still much at stake in interpreting Russia's recent history. The site's embrace of the '90s poses a clear challenge to Putin's image as sober foil to the boozy, reckless Boris Yeltsin ('90s Island, notably, is supported by the Yeltsin Center). Tickets are already on sale for the next festival, which is slated to take place on April 24 in Yeltsin's hometown of Ekaterinburg.

After her talk, Stepanova concluded that today, journalism's primary function in Russia is to "give readers a feeling of being heard, confirming their preexisting and not always realistic worldview… at present journalism is not a tool for understanding, but a kind of therapy, individual and group."

Save the Date

*Upcoming event during the Fall 2016 semester***

ISEEES Annual Fall Reception

Thursday, September 19, 2016
4:00 p.m.
Toll Room, Alumni House
UC Berkeley Campus

***Please note that event details may change. Updates will be sent out by email and can be found online at* http://iseees.berkeley.edu/.

Cal Day 2016

Zachary Kelly
Assistant Director, ISEEES

ISEEES and the Slavic Department made their presence at Cal Day this year in full force. The language instructors offered short introductory language courses to give potential students and community members a taste of what languages we offer during the academic year. There were also introductory courses for the Cyrillic and Armenian alphabets. Professor Victoria Frede (History, Berkeley) delivered a lecture entitled "Alexander I: A Constitutionalist on the Throne in early 19th-century Russia." Finally, the students put on a culture show highlighting various aspects of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian culture through musical performances, poetry recitals, and theatrical performances (see page 19 for a complete overview of the show).

This year also saw a very unique presentation on campus of the Tsar Bell, the largest bell ever cast at over 200 tons. The bell project was originally completed in 1735 in Moscow. Strangely enough, the bell was broken during casting and hence was never rung. It is currently on display on the grounds of the Moscow Kremlin with the broken portion set next to the rest of the bell.

The history of the Tsar Bell actually dates back to the 10th century; the bell you would see in Moscow is actually the third bell. The first bell was completed in 1600 and weighed 40,000 lbs. It required 24 men to ring its clapper. This bell was housed in the original wooden Ivan the Great Bell Tower in the Moscow Kremlin but was destroyed in a fire during the 17th century. The second Tsar Bell was cast in 1655 using the remnants of the original bell. This bell weighed 220,000 lbs. but was again destroyed in a fire in 1701.

Once Empress Anna Ivanovna came to the throne, she commissioned a third bell to be cast using the remnants of the second (and first) Tsar Bell. She ordered that the remnants be used and the weight of the new bell be increased by yet another 100 tons. A bell this size was unprecedented for the times, and foreign help was sought to bring the Tsar Bell project to fruition.

The energy put into creating such a bell added to the extended time frame of its creation. The bell had to be cast in a pit dug into the ground, and the walls of the pit had to be reinforced to withstand the heat of the molten metal. In addition to the original remnants of the bell, silver and gold were added to the mix to create the third bell. The casting was started in 1734. This attempt was unsuccessful – the designer of the bell, Ivan Motorin, died before the second casting in 1735. His son Mikhail continued the project, and the second casting was deemed successful at the end of 1735. Various ornamentation was added during the cooling period. The bell was not raised from the casting pit until 1737.

Moscow has a long history of being plagued by fire. Significant fires have wreaked havoc on the city in 1547, 1571, 1752, and 1812. There were even the recent forest fires outside of Moscow in 2010 that left the city in a cloud of smoke. The Tsar Bell itself was unable to escape the fate of fire in Moscow. In 1737 a major fire broke out in the Kremlin. The fire spread to the wooden structure surrounding the bell, and firefighters responded by throwing cold water on the area. Their efforts caused eleven cracks to form on the bell, resulting in a huge piece of the bell to break off. Attempts at raising the bell were unsuccessful. While its size could be viewed as a constant burden, this burden also spared the bell from serving as a 'trophy' for Napoleon to bring back to France during his occupation of Moscow in 1812. Fortunately, the bell was finally raised in 1836 and placed on a stone pedestal in the Kremlin grounds, where it still stands today.

To this day, the original bell has never been rung. The Tsar Bell project was created to finally replicate the sound of the bell using scientific means. Computers and software were implemented to recreate the sound based on other bell models. The project team is comprised of artists, scholars, and musicians, and includes Ed Campion, Chris Chafe, Jeff Davis, Olya Dubatova, John Granzow, Jeff Lubow, Perrin Meyer, Greg Niemeyer, and James O'Brien.

On Friday, April 15, 2016, the Tsar Bell was first heard on campus as part of the regular carillon performance at 12:00 p.m. – a piece by Jeff Davis entitled *The Bing Bong*. Later in the evening, Chris Chafe performed *June's Ring*, Jeff Davis reprised his earlier performance, and DJ Spooky delivered *New Forms*.

Cal Day saw a continuation of the events, starting with a panel discussion in the morning with all the project collaborators. At 12:00 p.m., 2:00 p.m., and 4:00 p.m. there were carillon concerts, which included the Tsar Bell. If the listener was near central campus during these times, they could almost feel the bass notes of the bells, which were like a deep, cavernous thud that resonated throughout central campus. The sound was truly unique, albeit atonal in quality. Similar to the usual bass thump from a subwoofer on a stereo system, this sound was as physical as it was aural. The evening concluded with the same three performances from Friday.

ISEEES was fortunate to be able to co-sponsor such a unique event on campus. Other sponsors were Meyer Sound, the Berkeley Arts + Design Initiative, made@Berkeley, the Berkeley Center for New Media, the UC Berkeley Center for New Music and Technology, Stanford Center for Computer Research in Music and Acoustics, and the University of Michigan. More information about the project can be found online at http://www.tsarbell.com.

The Russian Student Association Makes a Comeback!

Maria Martirosyan
Undergraduate Student, Political Science and Slavic Languages and Liteartures, UC Berkeley

The UC Berkeley Russian Student Association (RSA) has been officially reinstated as an ASUC-sponsored registered student organization on campus after having been inactive for some time. Maria Martirosyan (senior), Marta Lokhava (senior), Anastasia Desyatnikov (junior), Paul Bitutsky (freshman), and Kanstantsin Kastsevich (sophomore) oversaw the revival of the group.

The Russian Student Association (RSA) is a student-run organization that strives to present, educate, and enjoy the language, history, culture, and traditions of Russia. RSA is organized to inspire exploration and understanding of Russian culture for members of the Russian speaking, learning, and exploring communities.

The organization aims to provide a safe space for community building, academic support, networking opportunities, and more. RSA brings individuals together who share a common background and/or are interested in discovering and learning about the Russian language, history, culture, and traditions by engaging in various educational, social, and cultural events and activities.

This semester RSA members participated in a large variety of cultural, social, and educational events. On February 5 the RSA had their first general meeting and social. After introducing the new executive board and laying out plans for the semester, members socialized over tea and snacks, while enjoying a mini Russian language lesson or playing games such as "durak" and chess.

The second RSA meeting was "Classic Movie Night." The present members voted to watch the movie *Невероятные приключения итальянцев в России* (*Unbelievable Adventures of Italians in Russia*), a 1974 comedy about Italians who travel to St. Petersburg to find treasure. The guests left the Dwinelle classroom with their hearts content and their stomachs full of popcorn, pizza, and hot tea. Then, on February 28 members celebrated the Russian Festival in San Francisco, hosted by the Russian Federation of San Francisco. The event offered an exciting experience for those interested in learning more about Russian culture. Guests were able to try traditional Russian food: fresh blini with red caviar, borscht, pelmeni, Napoleon cake, and many other authentic national dishes and drinks. Attendees also had an opportunity for cultural enrichment through dances, music, songs, games, and an arts and crafts exposition.

In March the RSA celebrated Maslenitsa as part of the Cal Food Fair on Sproul Plaza. RSA attracted a lot of attention for their blini and sladkiy chai (sweet tea). Patrons were not only delighted to try homemade blini with sour cream or honey, but they were also introduced to the traditions of celebrating Maslenitsa, a Russian winter farewell festival. Before the event, RSA members organized a blini-cooking master class, where the participants learned the niceties and secrets of making thin and creamy Russian crepes. As a part of the Cal Food Fair, members also performed songs by Bulat Okudzhava and had a guitar-accompanied poetry reading of two Alexander Pushkin poems.

The RSA also celebrated Cal Day by welcoming prospective students on Sproul Plaza. Visitors were offered pryaniki (Russian cookies) and kvass. Afterwards, members attended and assisted in the organization of the Cal Day Culture Show. A few active members were part of the line-up of performers.

To conclude this semester, RSA hosted two final events on Sunday, May 1. The first event was a potluck picnic on Memorial Glade held in the afternoon. Members gathered to enjoy Russian snacks, play games, recap the events of the current semester, greet new members, and discuss plans for the upcoming academic year. Later that evening, RSA hosted a farewell karaoke party where members, alumni, and prospective members gathered to celebrate the end of the semester and wish farewell to the graduating seniors. The evening consisted of three hours of singing and dancing to Russian and English songs.

In addition to Russian events, RSA members also attended cultural exchange events. Three times during the spring semester members of RSA, Cal alumni, and graduate students gathered at Starry Plough in Berkeley to experience the vibrant traditions of the Balkan region through dance and music.

Over the course of the semester, RSA was able to provide a space for individuals with common interests to come together and form a community of growth, cultural exchange, and support, as members engaged in activities and attended events that promoted Russian culture, language, history, and traditions. Upholding a welcoming atmosphere, RSA prides itself for its diversity, as it has become home to students from diverse backgrounds, education levels, majors, and interests. Members include undergraduate students, graduate students, international students, heritage speakers, students studying Russian, and students who come from

the Slavic, East European, and Eurasian region. Moreover, the welcoming atmosphere of RSA allows for many of the students who struggle with the transition to life at Cal to find support and guidance. At a university as large as UC Berkeley, students often find it difficult to find their niche. Thus, RSA strives to provide a community where students with similar interests or backgrounds can come together to form a supportive group. As we move into academic year 2016-2017, RSA looks forward to continuing its mission on campus for all interested students.

To learn more about the Russian Student Association, please visit russian.berkeley.edu or find us on Facebook by searching "UCB Russian Student Association."

Maslenitsa on Sproul Plaza
March 2016
Photo: Russian Student Association

Faculty and Student News

George Breslauer (Political Science) was honored with the Clark Kerr Award for exceptional leadership in higher education by the UC Berkeley Academic Senate in March 2016. He also published a revised, expanded, and updated version of an earlier article: George W. Breslauer, "UC Berkeley's Adaptations to the Crisis of Public Higher Education in the U.S.: Privatization? Commercialization? or Hybridization?" in Elizabeth Berman and Catherine Paradeise, eds., *The University Under Pressure*. Emerald Group Publishing, 2016.

Levi Bridges (MA student, Journalism) was selected this winter as a reporting fellow by the Overseas Press Club Foundation, which offers support to aspiring foreign correspondents. Fellows spend the summer reporting with a foreign bureau overseas. He will be working with the Associated Press in Moscow for the summer.

Bathsheba Demuth (PhD 2016, History) has accepted a position as Assistant Professor in the Department of History and Fellow at the Institute at Brown for the Environment and Society at Brown University beginning in fall 2016.

Cammeron Girvin (PhD candidate, Slavic) has agreed to serve as Editor of *Bulgarian Studies*, a new online journal established by the Bulgarian Studies Association.

Laura Jakli (Graduate student, Political Science) has received the University's "Outstanding Graduate Student Instiructor Award" for Academic Year 2015-2016.

Josefina Janjić (PhD candidate, Slavic) has been named one of twenty Charlotte W. Newcombe Doctoral Dissertation Fellows for 2016 at the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation. The Newcombe Fellowship is the nation's largest and most prestigious award for PhD candidates in the humanities and social sciences addressing questions of ethical and religious values. Josefina is completing her dissertation, entitled "Shalamov's Late Style." Her dissertation explores the late works by the Russian 20th century writer Varlam Shalamov and the tension in them between the witness (he survived some 20 years in the Gulag) and the author (whose professional recognition he wanted).

Eric Johnson (PhD candidate, History) presented the paper "Going to the People: Problems of Revolutionary Identity in the Mid-1870s" as part of "Cultural Orders: An Interdisciplinary Workshop for the Study of Literary Discourse, Historical Identity, Art, Religious Culture, Linguistic Systems and Collective Memory in Russia and the Soviet Union" at UC Berkeley in April 2016.

Joseph Kellner (PhD candidate, History) presented a paper at the Western Social Science Association's annual conference in Reno, NV, for which he has won the WSSA's "John Wicks Dissertation Award," for the conference's best paper derived from a dissertation.

Matthew Kendall (PhD candidate, Slavic) presented a paper, "The Meeting Place has Been Changed: Domestic Transformation and Television Serials in the Late Soviet Union," at the 2016 Society for Cinema and Media Studies conference in Atlanta, GA.

Chloë Kitzinger (PhD 2016, Slavic) is finishing up her dissertation, "Illusion and Instrument: The Lives of Characters in Dostoevsky and Tolstoy," which she has been completing on a year-long dissertation grant from the Mabelle McLeod Lewis Fund. This year she has also been a Dissertation Fellow at Berkeley's Townsend Center for the Humanities. Next year she will begin a three-year postdoctoral fellowship at the Princeton Society of Fellows in the Liberal Arts, working on a book project related to her dissertation and teaching in the Slavic Department and the Program in Humanistic Studies at Princeton University.

Jesús Madrigal (Graduate student, History) presented the paper "Sergei Eisenstein and Mexican Muralism" at the Western Social Science Association in Reno, NV, which won best graduate student paper. He also received the Institute for International Studies Pre-Dissertation Research grant to visit archives in Moscow.

Jessica Merrill (PhD 2012, Slavic) has been appointed as an Assistant Professor of Slavic Languages at Columbia University.

Lisa Min (PhD candidate, Anthropology) delivered a paper called "'Communist Sovereignty' in North Korea: From Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin to Kim, Kim, Kim," as part of a SOYUZ sponsored panel called *Sovereign Returns: Genealogies of Power After Communism* at the American Anthropological Association meeting in November 2015. She will spend September and October in an art residency at the South Korean DMZ exploring the visual and haptic dimensions of the border. In December, she will head to Almaty, Kazakhstan, for six months with the support of American Councils' Title VIII Research Scholar Program to conduct dissertation research. There she will engage with the imagination of exile, revisiting the memory of the Soviet Korean

delegation sent to North Korea by the Soviet Communist Party in the mid-1940s, as well as the Kazfilm archive that holds Mosfilm and Lenfilm footage during their evacuation to Almaty at the onset of WWII.

Eric Naiman (Slavic) has published an article, "Nabokov's McCarthyisms: Pnin in the Groves of Academe" in *Comparative Literature* and delivered a talk, "Gospel Rape: Sex and Text in Crime and Punishment" at Oberlin College. He has also been elected to the board of ASEEES.

Anne Nesbet (Slavic) has received a Divisional Distinguished Teaching Award and published her third novel for young readers, *The Wrinkled Crown*, with Harper Collins.

Lily Scott (PhD candidate, Slavic) has received the University's "Outstanding Graduate Student Instiructor Award" for Academic Year 2015-2016.

Yana Skorobogatov (PhD candidate, History) has received the University's "Outstanding Graduate Student Instiructor Award" for Academic Year 2015-2016.

Katherine Zubovich (PhD 2016, History) has accepted a position as Assistant Professor of History at the Unviersity of Arkansas at Little Rock. She also presented at the Design History Society conference last fall.

Save the Date

*Upcoming event during the Fall 2016 semester***

The Polish Citizenship Model and the Hegemony of the Intelligentsia: A Historical and Critical Perspective

Tomasz Zarycki, *University of Warsaw*

Thursday, September 8, 2016
4:00 p.m.
270 Stephens Hall
UC Berkeley Campus

***Please note that event details may change. Updates will be sent out by email and can be found online at* http://iseees.berkeley.edu/.

Make a Gift to ISEEES!

The loyal support of private donors like you supplements the funding we receive from other sources and enables us to meet the standards of excellence required of us by the University of California, Berkeley as an organized research unit and by the U.S. Department of Education as a Title VI National Resource Center. Your support helps to expand and sustain a robust area-specific international education for our students, furthers research opportunities for faculty focusing on our region, and allows us to respond to new programming opportunities and to expand public outreach.

Our Federal and state funding have faced continued reductions, compelling us to draw more and more on our modest endowments to maintain the superior programming and research and academic support our student, faculty, and public constituents have come to expect. As a result, we have expanded opportunities for more targeted giving in order to encompass a variety of ISEEES programs. Contributions of any size are appreciated and contribute directly to ISEEES's continued accomplishments. We would be very happy to discuss details of these funds or other giving opportunities. Jeff Pennington, executive director of ISEEES, can be reached at jpennington@berkeley.edu or (510) 643-6736.

GIVING OPPORTUNITIES

ISEEES General Support Fund
The ISEEES General Support Fund is an unrestricted fund that is used to: provide travel grants to affiliated graduate and undergraduate students for the purpose of presenting papers at academic conferences; provide research assistance to affiliated faculty members; convene conferences, open to the public, that examine current topics in Slavic, East European, and Eurasian studies; host an annual reception to foster community building among faculty, students, and the public; and augment the state and grant funds that provide minimal support for ISEEES operations.

ISEEES Graduate Student Support Fund
The ISEEES Graduate Student Support Fund is a new UCB Foundation endowment that was established by a generous gift from an anonymous donor. When fully funded, the ISEEES Graduate Student Support Fund will be used to support graduate students in the field of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies. The endowment was launched by the initial gift and matching funds from the Graduate Division. Additional gifts to the Fund are encouraged and gratefully accepted.

Colin and Elsa Miller Endowment Fund
The Annual Colin Miller Memorial Lecture honors the memory of a journalist and radio and TV producer who was devoted to the Center for Slavic and East European Studies (as ISEEES was called before the year 2000). The endowment funds an annual lecture given by a respected scholar in the field of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies.

Hungarian Studies Fund
This fund promotes the teaching of the Hungarian language at UC Berkeley, provides research assistance to faculty and students studying Hungarian topics, and supports lectures, workshops, and conferences devoted to Hungarian studies.

Fund for Romanian Studies
This fund promotes the teaching of the Romanian language at UC Berkeley; supports lectures, workshops, and conferences devoted to Romanian topics; and provides research assistance to faculty and students pursuing Romanian studies.

Support Our Institute!

Associates of the Slavic Center

ISEEES acknowledges with sincere appreciation the following individuals who made their annual contribution to ISEEES between December 2015 and May 2016.

CENTER CIRCLE
Donald A. Van Atta*
Krista Hanson*

SPONSORS
Ruth Arnold
Jay Espovich
Karen Greenley*
Alexandra Karriker*
Hugh McLean
Nicholas & Catherine Molnar
Tomasz Potworowski*
Carol & Ramon Santos*
Susan Southworth*
Katalin Voros*

MEMBERS
Gloria Lew
Walter Parchomenko*
Deborah Pearl*
Michael Richards*
Kathleen E. Smith*
Robert C. Smith*
Valerie J. Sperling*
Katherine Zubovich

**gift of continuing membership*

Your gift will qualify you for membership on our annual giving program: Associates of the Slavic Center. Descriptions of membership benefits by level are included below. Thank you for your continued support.

Members (Gifts under $100). Members are notified in writing about major upcoming ISEEES events.

Sponsors (Gifts of $100—$499). ASC Sponsors receive a specially designed gift that bears the ISEEES logo, promoting Slavic and East European Studies at Berkeley.

Benefactors (Gifts of $500—$999). ASC Benefactors receive a complimentary copy of a book authored by ISEEES faculty.

Center Circle (Gifts of $1,000 and above). Members of the Center Circle will qualify for the Charter Hill Society at UC Berkeley. The Charter Hill Society is Berkeley's new program designed to recognize donors' annual giving to the campus. Benefits of this program include a subscription to *Berkeley Promise Magazine* and an invitation to *Discover Cal* lecture.

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.

You can contribute online by visiting the ISEEES website -
http://iseees.berkeley.edu/give
- and selecting the fund to which you would like to make a gift.

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 Phone_____ Business 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.

Varieties of Capitalism in Central and Eastern Europe

A Critical Analysis of the Varieties of Capitalism and Neoliberal Convergence Approaches to Central and Eastern Europe

Laura Jakli
Graduate Student, Political Science, UC Berkeley

I. Introduction

Following Central and Eastern Europe's "return to Europe," a number of economic and political processes were adopted from the advanced democracies of Western Europe with the primary objectives of establishing liberal democracies and a strong market economy. Economic integration programs were only intensified when a majority of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE)[1] entered into the EU single market following the 2004 and 2007 accession cycles.[2] Given these immense transformations, previously distinct theoretical discourses on Western capitalism and the emerging market economies of CEE have begun to merge. Central and Eastern European countries have become "test sites" for existing Western economic theories—providing a number of fundamental challenges to prior theoretical frameworks.[3]

The Varieties of Capitalism (VoC) approach is the most prominent contemporary analytical framework for understanding economic coordination. Offering an alternative to a neoliberal model that anticipates convergence on a single Anglo-American market typology, Hall and Soskice (2001) developed this approach to explain the comparative institutional advantages of different advanced industrial nations. Differentiating amongst typologies of national political economies, Hall and Soskice focus mainly on the distinction between "liberal" and "coordinated" market economies (LMEs and CMEs)—but also vaguely distinguish a Mediterranean/Southern European hybrid.[4] Since Hall and Soskice's original VoC conceptualization, there have been several major variations on this approach, most notably from Amable (2003), and Hancke, Rhodes, and Thatcher (2007), which exploit "economic shifts and shocks" to test the "viability" of the VoC model.[5]

Given the theory's predominance in the examination of modern capitalism, a number of scholars have also sought to test the strength of the classic VoC approach through its application to other regions—most notably to Central and Eastern Europe. However, a cursory examination of the CEE literature reveals that such conceptual exercises have led to the emergence of two oppositional theoretical constructs concerning the value of the VoC model.

While many CEE scholars maintain that the post-communist EU member states may be differentiated along the same lines as the original VoC countries, a growing group of skeptics argue that the LME-CME continuum is simply inapplicable to these cases. Some of these skeptics have noted that new EU member states remain more similar amongst themselves—given their shared communist history and political culture.[6] However, the most compelling counterargument has examined evolving core-periphery relationships and other transnational forces that prevent CEEs from developing according to their own institutional advantages.[7] Indeed, according to the neoliberal view advocated most prominently by Wolfgang Streeck,[8] under the immense force of globalization, varieties of capitalism tend to converge on the liberal (LME) model. This line of theory is directly tied to the varieties of liberalization literature of Kathleen Thelen[9] as well. The dominant counterargument only reaffirms the value of the neoliberal convergence theory that VoC was initially designed to challenge.

It is evident that the CEE variety of capitalism at minimum challenges and expands upon the classic VoC. However, these two bodies of literature must be brought into direct discourse with one another to better understand *how* and *where* the classic VoC conceptualization comes to be challenged and to evaluate the *magnitude* of that conceptual challenge. This literature review will thereby examine two opposing perspectives on the value of the VoC approach, focusing on their points of contention.

Engaging with these bodies of work, this review contributes

1 These cases include: Hungary, Poland, Croatia, Slovakia, Slovenia, the Czech Republic, Bulgaria, Romania, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

2 It is important to note that the Western Balkans and several other small post-Soviet countries have yet to join the EU. However, a "pathway to membership" had been mapped out to them as well—therefore EU integration is an ongoing process between the EU and *all* CEE countries. (See Heinisch, Reinhard and Christa Landsberger. "Returning to Europe: Between Europhilia and Euroscepticism in East European Party Politics." In *The Routledge History of East Central Europe in the 21st Century Project*. Arpad Stephan Klimo, Irina Livezeanu (eds.))

3 Bluhm, Katharina. (2010) "Theories of Capitalism Put to Test: Introduction to a debate on Central and Eastern Europe" *Historical Social Research*, No. 132, 35 (2): pp.197.

4 Hall, Peter, and David Soskice. (Eds). (2001) *Varieties of Capitalism: the Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage*. New York: Oxford UP.

5 See Amable, Bruno. (2003) *The Diversity of Modern Capitalism*. Oxford: Oxford UP; and Hancke, Bob, Martin Rhodes, and Mark Thatcher. (2007) *Beyond Varieties of Capitalism: Conflict, Contradictions, and Complementarities in the European Economy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 3.

6 Torok, A. (2006) *In-depth Comment on the Varieties of Capitalism in the New Member States, as well as on the Key Issues Regarding Competition and Innovation*. Working Paper for the Lisbon Agenda Group.

7 See Bluhm, Katharina. (2010) "Theories of Capitalism Put to the Test: Introduction to a Debate on Central and Eastern Europe." In: *Historical Social Research* 35: 2, pp. 197-217. It is important to note that most of these prominent counterarguments refer to the classic work on core-periphery relations from Immanuel Wallerstein (Wallerstein, Immanuel. (1974) "The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis." *Comparative Studies in Society and History Comp. Stud. Soc. Hist*. 16.04: pp. 387-415).

8 Streeck, Wolfgang. (2013) "The Politics of Public Debt: Neoliberalism, Capitalist Development, and the Restructuring of the State" *MPIfG Discussion Paper.*

9 Thelen, Kathleen. (2014) *Varieties of Liberalization and the New Politics of Social Solidarity*. Cambridge University Press.

to an undertheorized literature on new European capitalisms and tests the conceptual power of two predominant theories of modern capitalism—classic VoC literature and neoliberal convergence theory—merging both into a single discourse centered on Central and Eastern Europe.

II. Varieties of Capitalism: Two Theoretical Perspectives in Review

i. CEE Applications of the Classic VoC

Two of the most prominent scholars to transfer the classic VoC theoretical framework to the CEE countries included Clemens Buchen[10] and Magnus Feldmann.[11] Using a qualitative research design based on what Katharina Bluhm refers to as a "maximum contrast" approach,[12] both Feldmann and Buchen took Hall and Soskice's LME-CME dichotomy as their point of origin, arguing that Estonia and Slovenia could be classified as belonging to either end of the spectrum: Slovenia developed economic institutions corresponding to a coordinated market economy (CME), while Estonia could be placed at the other end of the continuum— a liberal market economy (LME). In Buchen and Feldman's frameworks, all CEE countries were implicitly theorized to lie along the CME-LME continuum—somewhere between those two extremes. Theorizing that the other CEEs "mirror the variation" of advanced OECD countries, they found Hall and Soskice's varieties of capitalism sufficient for analyzing "all of the new economic institutions in transition countries."[13]

Other scholars chose not to rely on such implicit assumptions concerning the linear continuum, instead using a host of evaluation standards to place each country *explicitly* along it. David Lane (2005), for example, developed his empirical framework honing in on economic factors such as capital accumulation, income levels, and a country's degree of marketization and integration into the global economy.[14] Mark Knell and Martin Srholec (2007) examined an even more extensive set of factors—social, political, and economic—which could be grouped in three main categories: 1) social cohesion (which included variables such as the levels of inequality and public spending); 2) labor market regulation (which measured levels of labor market rigidity); and 3) business regulation (which looked at barriers to market entry, property rights, and the strength of the banking system).[15] Meanwhile, Cernat (2006) focused on "coordination" between firms and states, examining 1) types of labor bargaining, 2) degree of state intervention, 3) strength of financial institutions, and 4) level of institutional coherence.[16]

These varied evaluation standards have inevitably produced varied results, and have added more futile complexity to the debate than clarity—even when taking the CME-LME dichotomy as the point of origin. Lane's evaluation places Belarus, Ukraine, Slovenia and Croatia on the coordinated market economy end of the spectrum, with Russia and Estonia at the opposite end. All other cases along the spectrum are characterized as a "market uncoordinated" hybrid type of capitalism.[17] Although Knell and Srholec (2007) contend that much of Central Europe and Bulgaria qualify as LMEs, Lane's more economically narrow approach suggests that these countries have not yet surpassed a threshold of market development to qualify as such. Meanwhile, Cernat (2006) unexpectedly places Estonia under the Anglo-American typology, lumps together Poland, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Latvia, and Lithuania as part of the continental model, and gives the typology "developmental state" to Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovenia. To complicate things even further, his "cluster analyses" indicate that Romania aligns with the continental type, but then his case study of Romania reveals that the country is most accurately placed in its own category—as a "cocktail capitalism" of two models and as the "legacy of state-centered clientelistic capitalism during the 1990s."[18] For conceptual clarity, these main typologies—cited widely in the literature—are summarized in Bluhm's Table 1, replicated below:

Authors	Typologies	Indicators
Lane (2007)	**(more state-led) continental type of market capitalism:** Slovenia, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Estonia **Hybrid state/market uncoordinated capitalism**: Ukraine, Georgia, Moldova, Russia **Etatist economies:** Belarus	Private sectors share of GDP, privatisation index, stock-market capitalisation and provision of credit, participation in global economy, income inequality
Knell and Srholec (2007)	**Strategic coordination:** Belarus, Ukraine, Slovenia, Croatia, Romanian, Czech Republic, Uzbekistan **(Liberal) market coordination**: Bulgaria, Georgia, Moldova, Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Estonia, Russia	Coordination index: *social cohesion* (GINI, highest marginal personal income tax rate, government final consumption expenditure), *regulation of labour market* (World Bank criteria), *business regulation* (World Bank criteria for start ups, insolvency, property registration, stock market relative to banking sector in the financial system)
Cernat (2006)	**Anglo-Saxon**: Estonia **Continental:** Poland, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania **Developmental state:** Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovenia But in most countries with a significant degree of institutional incoherence. While the cluster analyses also subsumed Romania to the **continental type**, the case study revealed Romania as a unfortunate sort of **cocktail capitalism** of the two models and the legacy of state-centred clientelistic capitalism during the 1990s	Dominant type of labour bargaining, state intervention, the role of the banking sector and financial institutions, degree of internal institutional coherence
Hall and Gingerich (2004)	**Liberal vs. coordinated** for developed market economies (west and south Europe, USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Japan)	Coordination index: Minority shareholder rights, dispersion of control (by shareholders), size of stock market, level of wage coordination, labour turnover, degree of wage coordination

Table 1: Typologies of CEE Capitalism Invoking the VoC Framework
Source: Bluhm, Katharina. (2010) "Theories of Capitalism Put to the Test: Introduction to a Debate on Central and Eastern Europe." In: *Historical Social Research* 35: 2, pp. 201.

10 Buchen, Clemens. (2007) "Estonia and Slovenia as Antipodes." In *Varieties of Capitalism in Post-Communist Countries*, ed. David Lane and Martin Myant, pp. 65-89. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillian.
11 Feldmann, Magnus. (2007) "The Origins of the Varieties of Capitalism: Lessons from Post-Socialist Transition in Estonia and Slovenia." In *Beyond Varieties of Capitalism: Conflict, Contradictions, and Complementarities in the European Economy*, ed. Bob Hancke, Martin Rhodes and Mark Thatcher, pp. 328-350. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
12 Bluhm, Katharina. (2010) "Theories of Capitalism Put to the Test" pp. 199.
13 Feldmann, Magnus. (2007) *The Origins of the Varieties of Capitalism*, pp. 850.
14 Lane, D. (2005) "Emerging Varieties of Capitalism in Former State Socialist Societies" *Competition & Change* 9(3): pp. 227-247.
15 Knell, Mark and Martin Srholec. (2007) "Diverging Pathways in Central and Eastern Europe," in Lane, David and Myant, Martin (Eds) *Varieties of Capitalism in Post-Communist Countries*, Houndsmill: Palgrave. pp. 40-62.
16 Cernat, Lucian. (2006) *Europeanization, Varieties of Capitalism and Economic Performance in Central and Eastern Europe*. Hampshire: Basingstoke.
17 Lane, D. (2005) "Emerging Varieties of Capitalism in Former State Socialist Societies" *Competition & Change* 9(3): pp. 227-247.
18 Cernat, Lucian. (2006) *Europeanization, Varieties of Capitalism and Economic Performance*.

Given the degree of inconsistency produced by the qualitative application of VoC typologies, more and more scholars have chosen to adopt a quantitative design most prominently associated with the work of Peter A. Hall and Daniel W. Gingerich (2004). In this design, market coordination is presented on a "linear continuum," given that "developed economies differ from one another according to the extent to which firms depend on market or strategic coordination to accomplish their endeavours."[19] Knell and Srholec (2007) actually turn to this approach as well, pooling data on 20 OECD countries and 31 post-communist countries (N=51). Once this much larger pool of cases is considered, it becomes evident that the way CEEs are traditionally grouped together by qualitative VoC scholars—in categories such as the Visegrad states (V4)[20]—vary widely on the VoC dimension of firm-state coordination.

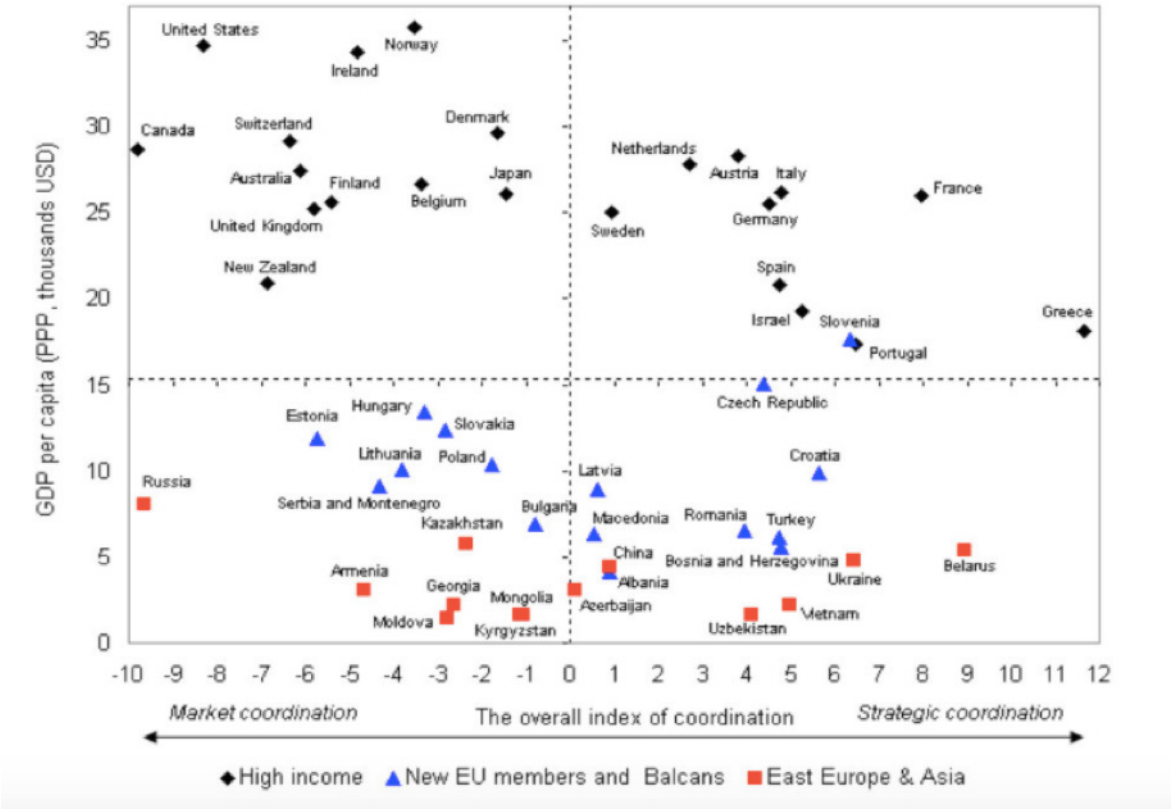

Figure 1: The Overall Index of "Coordination"
Source: Knell, Mark and Martin Srholec. (2007) "Diverging Pathways in Central and Eastern Europe," in Lane, David and Myant, Martin (Eds) *Varieties of Capitalism in Post-Communist Countries*, Houndsmill: Palgrave.

ii. New Varieties of Capitalism: The Skeptical Approach

Since the quantitative approach to VoC has continued to produce ambiguous results and offers little theoretical clarity in the examination of CEEs, a number of scholars have rejected the approach altogether— instead choosing to distinguish between three or four larger typologies based on a comprehensive sample of post-communist countries inclusive of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)[21] as well as China and Vietnam. Scholars who prefer this expanded case set argue for its precision in illustrating the degree and mode of "external pressure on the path towards market economies" and its "focus on the relative position of the economies in the globalized world."[22] In other words, this approach focuses on transnational dynamics and their influences of capitalism—rather than dynamics within the nation itself.

Under this broader theoretical perspective on capitalism, typologies are formulated emphasizing historical distinctions in these countries' *paths to capitalism*—examining whether they were subject to a Jeffrey Sachs's "shock therapy"-type design or rather evolved towards capitalism more gradually. Under this *paths to capitalism* approach, special emphasis is also placed on variables such as "elite constellation, capital inflow, the emergence of a domestic capitalist class and the relationship between state and private economy."[23] As Larry King and Ivan Szelenyi (2005) have theorized using this paradigm, the Central European typology consists of "capitalism from without" in contrast with Russian and Romanian "capitalism from above" and Chinese and Vietnamese "capitalism from below."[24] In this respect, King and

19 Hall, Peter A., and Daniel W. Gingerich. (2004) "Varieties of Capitalism and Institutional Complementarities in the Political Economy: An Empirical Analysis." *MPIfG Discussion Paper* 04/5: pp. 7.
20 The V4 consists of the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia, and Poland
21 The Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) was formed following the fall of the Soviet Union, when Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine formed a new association to replace the Soviet Union. These countries were subsequently joined by Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan as well as Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia, and Moldova.
22 Bluhm, Katharina (2010) "Theories of Capitalism Put to the Test" pp. 204.
23 Ibid.
24 King, Lawrence, and Ivan Szelényi. (2005) "Post-Communist Economic Systems." In *The Handbook of Economic Sociology*. Sec. Edition, ed. Neil J. Smelser and Richard Swedberg, 205-232. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Szelenyi still find the liberal market economy (LME) salient, as the Central European "capitalism from without" characterizes what they call a "liberal dependent type of capitalism" with large flows of foreign direct investment (FDI) through multinational corporate investors and a stable state capable of providing public goods.[25] King and Szelenyi's alternate typology is illustrated in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2: King and Szelenyi's Typology of Post-communist Capitalism

Source: King, Lawrence, and Ivan Szelényi. (2005) "Post-Communist Economic Systems." In *The Handbook of Economic Sociology.* Sec. Edition, ed. Neil J. Smelser and Richard Swedberg, pp. 205-232. Princeton: Princeton University Press.University Press.

King and Szelenyi are far from the only scholars to reconceptualize CEE markets along a framework that explicitly rejects the VoC approach. Scholars such as Maria Joao Rodrigues, David Lane, Martin Myant, and Arjan Vliegenthart, for example, argue that given their more dependent form of market economy, the Visegrad States (V4) merit their own variety of capitalism.[26] By concentrating on systems of dependency between nations, these scholars invoke Immanuel Wallerstein's concept of core-periphery relations to explain political and economic dynamics between new and old EU member states.[27] Notably, Lane deviates from his earlier focus on the application of VoC typologies to post-communist countries.[28] Adam Torok agrees with these conceptualizations, but focuses specifically on *why* these differences and dependency-based relationships persist. He discusses the implications of the Visegrad states (V4) as well as Slovenia's earlier experience with a Central European type of capitalist development prior to WWII—noting a distinct variation between the current economic and social models of Central European countries and other former Soviet republics with no prior capitalist experience. However, Torok ultimately concludes that the reconstruction of market economic institutions post-communism was still mostly "from scratch."[29] In general, the non-VoC approaches stress that these historical narratives matter substantially to how capitalism has developed in Central and Eastern Europe; these countries were not "blank slates" to which a Western LME-CME continuum could be fit.

III. Critical Analysis: Weighing In on the Conceptual Limits of VoC

The points of contention between these theoretical approaches reveal a number of important conceptual limitations to Hall and Soskice's VoC paradigm. The following section provides a critical analysis of the classic VoC framework and focuses on understanding why these limitations exist. The critical limitations concern 1) its applicability to emerging democracies, 2) its emphasis on national dynamics over transnational ones, and 3) its narrow applicability to certain institutional configurations.

i. The VoC Framework in Advanced Democracies

As evidenced by the preceding look at the literature, scholars who demonstrate the applicability of the VoC framework rely heavily on qualitative research and focus mainly on the "most advanced" transition countries—such as the Visegrad States (V4) and Estonia. Similarly to how Hall and Soskice approach the Southern European and Mediterranean "hybrid" typology, the arguably more varied and non-linear cases are simply assumed to lie along the continuum, with no real theoretical attempt at the justification of this placement.[30]

Hall and Soskice and their CEE adherents would argue that the focus is justified; the VoC approach was developed to account for advanced industrial nations. As Michael Landesmann notes, given that the most advanced post-communist EU countries are technologically and industrially quite advanced, the VoC framework may be feasibly applied to highly developed CEE states (the V4 and Estonia).[31] However, these deficits persist in the rest of the CEE, as well as in all other post-communist states. VoC skeptics would argue that even classifying the most advanced CEEs is a stretch, given transnational conditions that will be discussed in the following section.

ii. The VoC Framework and the Assumption of National Autonomy

Given that Hall and Soskice developed the VoC approach in response to neoliberal convergence theory's emphasis on globalization, the VoC approach, as Bluhm characterizes it:

> Tends to treat market economies and their national institutions as *autonomous entities* in international competition and in the international division of labor; and although the globalization of the goods and financial markets is stressed as an important and far-reaching influence, the level of the national institutions is still

25 Ibid.
26 Lane, D and M. Myant. (2007) *Varieties of Capitalism in Post-Communist Countries* Palgrave-MacMillan.
27 Wallerstein, Immanuel. (1974) "The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis." *Comparative Studies in Society and History Comp. Stud. Soc. Hist.* 16.04: 387-415.
28 Lane, D and M. Myant. (2007) *Varieties of Capitalism in Post-Communist Countries* Palgrave-MacMillan.
29 Torok, A. (2006) *"In-depth Comment on the Varieties of Capitalism in the New Member States"*
30 As Jonah Levy observes as well: "Hall and Soskice evoke a possible (third) 'Meditteranean' sybtype, characterized by a large agrarian sector and a recent history of extensive state intervention, but this subtype is mentioned in only a single paragraph, and its features and logic are not elaborated systematically" Levy, Jonah D. (2006) *The State after Statism: New State Activities in the Age of Liberalization*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, pp. 23.
31 Landesmann, Michael. (2008) "International Trade and Economic Diversification: Patterns and Policies in the Transition Economies." *Research Reports 350.* Vienna: Vienna Institute for Economic Studies. pp. 28.

considered decisive.[32]

This characterization relies on a sharply limited notion of international competition—one which excludes developing market economies that supply the global market with raw materials and unskilled labor. Meanwhile, the comparative market advantage of advanced nations is based in knowledge-based and capital-intensive industries—which effectively protects their products from extreme fluctuations in market demand and allows them to remain as independent national actors within the globalized economy.

To the credit of VoC proponents, the Visegrad States (V4) and Estonia did in fact implement relatively successful growth strategies in the past decades—based on the continual inflow of capital through substantial Federal Direct Investments (FDIs) and a focus on technologically advanced economic branches such as research and development (R&D). However, the knowledge-based, capital-intensive industries of these CEEs are *not* autonomous entities in the way in which VoC assumes them to be. Large multinational corporations and other trade partnerships were brought into the advanced CEEs with the simultaneous forsaking of autonomy along other relevant regulatory dimensions.

Indeed, the proliferation of MNCs was preceded by the "transnationalization" of the banking sectors of the new EU member states.[33] This transnationalization of the financial system is unique to the CEE member states, and cannot compare to the Hall and Soskice varieties of capitalism. While in CMEs, banks and industry are interwoven as well, the continued privatization and internationalization of the CEE banking sectors is completely distinct from this CME-type relationship.[34] The EU has put extreme pressure on the CEEs to liberalize and privatize on a number of other sectoral dimensions—including steel, natural gas, and the telecommunications industry.[35] These transnationalization measures have considerably reduced the scope of action in CEE national economic policy ever since the 1989 "return to Europe."[36]

This rapid transnationalization and interdependence promotion exacerbates a problem across all of Europe, namely the increasing institutional "incompleteness of the national level"[37] in opposition to which transnational governance is gaining power. Although this reduces the validity of the VoC approach across the spectrum, it is important to note that in Western Europe and the Mediterranean region, this transnationalization process is mediated by strongly established systems of national institutions. However, the "Europeanization" and institution building of CEE is happening simultaneously with this transnationalization—destabilizing the structures that are meant to steady it.

Another interrelated and rather shaky assumption of the Hall and Soskice VoC approach is that national institutions are still thought of as the predominant force of economic coordination, even in light of immense counterforces such as globalization, transnationalization, and EU integration. National institutions are directly tied to business strategies (i.e., strategic versus market coordination)—and this relationship is considered rather static under the VoC framework. Although some scholars call for the VoC approach to be refined in a way that accounts for strategic coordination as a multi-level, dynamic phenomenon[38]—a multi-level analysis of strategic coordination lies in fundamental opposition to the underlying assumptions which frame the VoC typology.

iii. The VoC Framework and Institutional Development

The final dimension of the VoC framework that limits its CEE applicability concerns the degree of institutional development necessary to maintaining a specific function (i.e., coordination) between the firm and the state. Indeed, the varieties of capitalism framework places decisive importance on the quality of institutions—and a high quality of statehood under a rational-bureaucratic administration is assumed.

From this perspective, the advanced market economies of the CEE are institutionally established, with the exception of more minor clientelistic linkages.[39] Basic property rights and aspects of business and labor law are assumed to function in the advanced market economies of CEE – partially under FDI conditions but also under more direct EU compliance pressures. Indeed, even the most prominent skeptics of the VoC—including King and Szelenyi (2005) distinguish on this point between the institutional maturity and political culture of the Visegrad States[40] and the post-communist countries under the Community of Independent States (CIS). Thus, King and Szelenyi (2005) describe Central Europe as a liberal system (though of a dependent liberal variety), because the formal-bureaucratic and legal capacities of the administration have been guaranteed and strengthened directly by political consultants and other technocrats of the 1989 political reconstruction period.[41] By comparison, in the CIS states, the economy and state remain essentially "patrimonial *modus operandi*."[42]

Once again, the VoC approach proves to be severely limited in its applicability to the greater post-communist world. The primacy of the institutional and strategic coordination dimensions reinforces the exclusivity of the VoC framework.

IV. Applications of Neoliberal Convergence Theory

The preceding analysis confirmed that, as of yet, it seems that many of the CEE states cannot be captured by the typologies of

32 Bluhm, Katharina (2010) "Theories of capitalism put to the test," pp. 203. [emphasis added]

33 See chapters by Lane, Vliegenthart, and Myant in Lane, David, and Martin Myant. (2007) *Varieties of Capitalism in Post-Communist Countries*. Hampshire: Basingstoke.

34 Myant, Martin. (2003) *The Rise and Fall of Czech Capitalism: Economic Development in the Czech Republic since 1989*. Cheltenham: Elgar.

35 based on the ideals of the Washington Consensus, which since has been critiqued for its lack of regard for the unique economic, political, and social context of the countries involved (Stiglitz, *Globalization and Its Discontents*, etc).

36 Grabbe, Heather. (2006) *The EU's Transformative Power. Europeanization through Conditionality in Central and Eastern Europe*. Hampshire: Palgrave.

37 Bluhm, Katharina. (2010) "Theories of Capitalism Put to the Test," pp. 204.

38 See, for example, pp. 204 in Bluhm, Katharina. (2010) "Theories of Capitalism Put to the Test."

39 Kitschelt, Herbert, and Steven Wilkinson. (2007) *Patrons, Clients, and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP.

40 Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Poland

41 King, Lawrence. (2007) "Central European Capitalism in Comparative Perspective." In *Beyond Varieties of Capitalism: Conflict, Contradictions and Complementarities in the European Economy*, ed. Bob Hancke, Martin Rhodes, and Mark Thatcher, pp. 307-327. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

42 Molchanov, Mikhail A. (2015) *Eurasian Regionalisms and Russian Foreign Policy*. Ashgate Publishing, pp. 139.

the VoC literature. However, part of the reason that CEE and the greater post-communist world may not fit within this typological framework is that these emerging economies are instead converging on a liberal market model. According to the work of Wolfgang Streeck, this neoliberal convergence is an inevitable consequence of globalization.[43] Since the VoC approach treats neoliberalization strictly "in ideal-typical terms, as a national type, it offers little analytical insight into the evolutionary trajectories of neoliberalizing reform projects and their institutional expression."[44] However, as Streeck and Thelen (2005) argue, even if the neoliberalization processes result in only incremental changes in a nation's institutions, the cumulative results can be systematically transformative.[45] This is especially true for emerging economies—which are marked by the simultaneous processes of market liberalization and transnational coordination.

VoC scholars systematically downplay the significance of incremental (and cumulative) adjustments—as they assume that national regulatory systems are left relatively undisturbed by the need to constantly adjust to the neoliberal system. These scholars generally argue that only major "external" shocks can have a significant effect.[46] However, CEE countries must constantly restructure their institutions to comply with the regulatory requirements of global neoliberal institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) or the World Trade Organization (WTO). This is especially true for those CEE countries that joined the EU in the last two rounds of accession, as the EU has a unique supranational structure that requires strict compliance to its regulations and has strong oversight mechanisms.

Given these considerations and in light of VoC's exclusion of neoliberal forces, a brief literature review of neoliberal convergence in the CEE is essential. For the purposes of analyzing neoliberal theory as it pertains to economic trends in CEE, Bohle and Greskovits's (2007) work is used primarily, as they are the most prominent theorists of this neoliberal application.[47]

Scholars—including Bohle and Greskovits—studying neoliberal convergence in CEE often invoke the work of Karl Polanyi.[48] Prior to the Cold War, he predicted that conflicts and their resolutions are driven primarily by "two organizing principles in society"— 1) economic liberalism guiding markets and their institutions, and 2) "the principle of social protection aiming at the conservation of man and nature as well as productive organization."[49] Consequently, Bohle and Greskovits define their neoliberal capitalist varieties by the terms in which marketization and social protection have been institutionalized with "different amounts of vigor" and "in varied forms."[50]

Bohle and Greskovits theorize three specific "variants" to the "transnational capitalism" emerging in these new EU member states: a *neoliberal* variety is a feature of the Baltics, an *embedded neoliberal* variety characterizes the Visegrad States (V4), while Slovenia is unique as a *neocorporatist* type. Bohle and Greskovits differentiate these regimes "by their institutions and performances in marketization, industrial transformation, social inclusion, and macroeconomic stability."[51] Their typologies place transnational influences at the center of strategic coordination. It is important to note that although they see these three distinct regime "varieties" within CEE—each typology is considered a function of neoliberal forces, under which CEE economic development has been marked by convergence rather than divergence:[52]

> In but a decade, all these countries consolidated some form of democracy. They became integrated in the global and European economy. Their trade with the EU approximates or exceeds their gross domestic product (GDP). Via substantial foreign direct investment (FDI) their assets have been incorporated into Western systems of production, commerce, and finance. Foreign control became the norm in their major export industries, services, and utilities. They are members of important international organisations.[53]

Undoubtedly, their characterization of CEE adds important theoretical nuance to the neoliberal framework; while some neoliberal scholars' understanding of convergence centers around a classic notion of a hegemonic form of capitalism, Thelen's work—while confirming a liberalizing trend across the board—also maintains that there are distinct "varieties of liberalization" associated with different distributive outcomes.[54] In addition to Thelen, scholars such as Kean Birc and Vlad Mykhnenko also warn that globalization and neoliberal integration may not be indicative of complete homogenization; rather, neoliberalization as a process has produced "varieties of neoliberalism" across Europe—not one predominant Anglo-American form of capitalism.[55] Bohle and Greskovits' neoliberal, embedded neoliberal, and neocorporatist typologies demonstrate this distinction within the neoliberal convergence literature—adding a number of decisive case studies to the discourse on convergence.

V. Concluding Remarks

Around the time of the 2004 EU accession, the VoC literature was applied to Central and Eastern Europe with great optimism, and yet soon, a number of insightful critiques began to emerge

43 Streeck, Wolfgang. (2013) "The Politics of Public Debt: Neoliberalism, Capitalist Development, and the Restructuring of the State" (PDF). *MPIfG Discussion Paper.*

44 Brenner N., Peck J. and Theodore N. (2010) "Variegated Neoliberalization: Geographies, Modalities, Pathways." *Global Networks*, 10: pp. 182–222. (pp. 189-190).

45 Streeck, W. and K. Thelen. (2005) "Introduction: Institutional Change in Advanced Capitalist Economies," in W. Streeck and K. Thelen (eds) *Beyond Continuity: Institutional Change in Advanced Capitalist Economies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 1–39.

46 Brenner N., Peck J. and Theodore N. (2010) "Variegated Neoliberalization." (pp. 189-190).

47 Bohle, D and B. Greskovits. (2007) "Neoliberalism, Embedded Neoliberalism and Neocorporatism: Towards Transnational Capitalism in Central-Eastern Europe" *West European Politics* 30(3): pp. 443-466.

48 For example, Birch, Kean and Vlad Mykhnenko. (Jan 2009) "Varieties of neoliberalism? Restructuring in large industrially dependent regions across Western and Eastern Europe." *Journal of Economic Geography.*

49 Polanyi, Karl. (1957) *The Great Transformation*. Boston: Beacon, pp. 132

50 Bohle, D and B. Greskovits. (2007) "Neoliberalism, Embedded Neoliberalism and Neocorporatism, 445.

51 Ibid, 444.

52 Ibid, 445.

53 Ibid.

54 Thelen, Kathleen. (2014) *Varieties of Liberalization and the New Politics of Social Solidarity.* Cambridge University Press.

55 Birch, Kean and Vlad Mykhnenko. (Jan 2009) "Varieties of Neoliberalism? Restructuring in Large Industrially Dependent Regions Across Western and Eastern Europe." *Journal of Economic Geography.*

concerning this theoretical approach. As this critical literature review demonstrates, there are two theoretical strands at direct tension concerning the application of the Hall and Soskice Varieties of Capitalism literature to Central and Eastern Europe. The point of contention between these two theoretical approaches is representative of a fundamental disagreement concerning the results of 25 years of transformation in Central and Eastern Europe.

At the present, this critical analysis suggests that the VoC framework holds limited explanatory power concerning the economic transformations of the CEE, given its focus on 1) advanced democracies, 2) national autonomy, and 3) a high-level of institutional development.

However, the very forces that overwhelm the autonomy of CEEs prove relevant to a second Western theoretical framework: neoliberal convergence. Indeed, the work of Bohle and Greskovits (2007) among others provides strong evidence that transnational forces have shaped the neoliberal development paths of Central and Eastern Europe—and could very well contribute to the convergence of other less advanced countries, such as CIS as well.[56] Their addition of CEE cases to this neoliberal framework demonstrates the power of convergence theory—and furthermore, it provides evidence of certain conceptualizations of neoliberal convergence above others. In this way, Thelen's concept of "varieties of liberalization" proves particularly salient as opposed to a more classic "hegemonic" variety.

Engaging with this literature from the standpoint of Central and Eastern Europe provides great enrichment to the study of varieties of capitalism and neoliberal convergence. As such, this literature review contributes to an undertheorized body of work on new European capitalisms, intertwining current debates on VoC and neoliberalism to reveal fundamental theoretical distinctions.

56 Bohle, D and B. Greskovits. (2007) "Neoliberalism, Embedded Neoliberalism and Neocorporatism: Towards Transnational Capitalism in Central-Eastern Europe" *West European Politics* 30(3): pp. 445.

Bibliography

Amable, Bruno. (2003) *The Diversity of Modern Capitalism*. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Birch, Kean and Vlad Mykhnenko. (Jan 2009) "Varieties of neoliberalism? Restructuring in large industrially dependent regions across Western and Eastern Europe." *Journal of Economic Geography*.

Bluhm, K. (2010) "Theories of Capitalism Put to Test: Introduction to a debate on Central and Eastern Europe" *Historical Social Research*, No. 132, 35 (2): 197-218.

Bohle, D and B. Greskovits. (2007) "Neoliberalism, Embedded Neoliberalism and Neo- corporatism: Towards Transnational Capitalism in Central-Eastern Europe" *West European Politics* 30(3): 443-466.

Brenner N., Peck J. and Theodore N. (2010) "Variegated neoliberalization: geographies, modalities, pathways." *Global Networks*, 10: 182–222.

Buchen, Clemens. (2007) "Estonia and Slovenia as Antipodes." In *Varieties of Capitalism in Post-Communist Countries*, ed. David Lane and Martin Myant, 65-89. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillian.

Cernat, Lucian. (2006) *Europeanization, Varieties of Capitalism and Economic Performance in Central and Eastern Europe*. Hampshire: Basingstoke.

Feldmann, Magnus. (2007) "The Origins of the Varieties of Capitalism: Lessons from Post-Socialist Transition in Estonia and Slovenia." In *Beyond Varieties of Capitalism: Conflict, Contradictions, and Complementarities in the European Economy*, ed. Bob Hancke, Martin Rhodes and Mark Thatcher, 328-350. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Grabbe, Heather. (2006) The EU's Transformative Power. *Europeanization through Conditionality in Central and Eastern Europe*. Hampshire: Palgrave.

Hall, Peter, and David Soskice. (Eds). (2001) *Varieties of Capitalism: the Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage*. New York: Oxford UP.

Hall, Peter A. (2010) "The Political Origins of Our Economic Discontents," *Politics in the New Hard Times: The Great Recession in Comparative Perspective*. edited by Miles Kahler and David Lake. pp. 129-149.

Hall, Peter A., and Daniel W. Gingerich. (2004) "Varieties of Capitalism and Institutional Complementarities in the Political Economy: An Empirical Analysis." *MPIfG Discussion Paper* 04/5: 5-43.

Hancke, Bob, Martin Rhodes, and Mark Thatcher. (2007) *Beyond Varieties of Capitalism: Conflict, Contradictions, and Complementarities in the European Economy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Heinisch, Reinhard and Christa Landsberger. "Returning to Europe: Between Europhilia and Euroscepticism in East European Party Politics." In *The Routledge History of East Central Europe in the 21st Century Project*. Arpad Stephan Klimo, Irina Livezeanu (eds.).

Hellman, Joel S. and Daniel Kaufmann, (2001) "Confronting the Challenge of State Capture in Transition Economies." In *Finance & Development* – A quarterly magazine of the IMF, 3 8 (3).

King, Lawrence, and Ivan Szelényi. (2005) "Post-Communist Economic Systems." In *The Handbook of Economic Sociology*. Sec. Edition, ed. Neil J. Smelser and Richard Swedberg, 205-232. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

King, Lawrence P. (2007) "Central European Capitalism in Comparative Perspective." In *Beyond Varieties of Capitalism: Conflict, Contradictions and Complementarities in the European Economy*, ed. Bob Hancke, Martin Rhodes, and Mark Thatcher, 307-327. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kitschelt, Herbert, and Steven Wilkinson. (2007) *Patrons, Clients, and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP.

Knell, Mark and Martin Srholec. (2007) "Diverging Pathways in Central and Eastern Europe," in Lane, David and Myant, Martin (Eds) *Varieties of Capitalism in Post-Communist Countries*, Houndsmill: Palgrave. pp. 40-62

Landesmann, Michael. (2008) "International Trade and Economic Diversification: Patterns and Policies in the Transition Economies." *Research Reports 350*. Vienna: Vienna Institute for Economic Studies.

Lane, D. (2005) "Emerging Varieties of Capitalism in Former State Socialist Societies" *Competition & Change* 9(3): 227-247.

Lane, D and M. Myant. (2007) *Varieties of Capitalism in Post-Communist Countries* Palgrave-MacMillan.

Levy, Jonah D. (2006) *The State after Statism: New State Activities in the Age of Liberalization*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP.

McMenamin, Iain. (2004) "Varieties of Capitalist Democracy: What Difference Does East-Central Europe Make?" *Journal of Public Policy*, Vol.24 (3). pp. 259-274.

Molchanov, Mikhail A. (2015) *Eurasian Regionalisms and Russian Foreign Policy*. Ashgate Publishing.

Myant, Martin. (2003) *The Rise and Fall of Czech Capitalism: Economic Development in the Czech Republic since 1989*. Cheltenham: Elgar.

Polanyi, Karl. (1957) *The Great Transformation*. Boston: Beacon.

Streeck, Wolfgang. (2013) "The Politics of Public Debt: Neoliberalism, Capitalist Development, and the Restructuring of the State" *MPIfG Discussion Paper*.

Streeck, W. and K. Thelen. (2005) "Introduction: Institutional Change in Advanced Capitalist Economies," in W. Streeck and K. Thelen (eds) *Beyond Continuity: Institutional Change in Advanced Capitalist Economies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1–39.

Thelen, Kathleen. (2014) *Varieties of Liberalization and the New Politics of Social Solidarity*. Cambridge University Press.

Torok, A. (2006) *In-depth comment on the varieties of capitalism in the new member states, as well as on the key issues regarding competition and innovation* Working Paper for the Lisbon Agenda Group.

Wallerstein, Immanuel. (1974) "The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis." *Comparative Studies in Society and History Comp. Stud. Soc. Hist.* 16.04 (1974): 387-415.

Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Culture Show
Cal Day 2016

Maria Martirosyan
Undergraduate Student, Political Science and Slavic Languages and Liteartures, UC Berkeley

On April 16, 2016, ISEEES held the first ever Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Culture Show at Cal Day – the University's annual open house that welcomes current and prospective students, faculty, and community members, to showcase and celebrate the brilliance and fun of UC Berkeley. The culture show featured undergraduate student performances representing the Slavic, East European, and Eurasian region, fusing various academic and social aspects of the undergraduate experience at Cal. The performers are members of the Russian Student Association, Kazakh Student Association, and the Armenian Student Association as well as students from the Slavic Languages and Literature Department and the Theater Department.

Under the supervision of ISEEES assistant director Zachary Kelly, senior undergraduate student and FLAS recipient Maria Martirosyan organized a culture show focusing on the undergraduate student community. Maria aimed to create a space where all interested and active students can showcase their talents. Overall, this event allowed students to demonstrate what they have learned in their language and area studies courses.

Irina Kogel, a PhD candidate in the Slavic Department and Maria Martirosyan welcomed an audience of over 70 attendees. The show commenced with a performance by the students of the three Czech classes (Beginning Czech 26B, Continuing Czech 116B, and Readings in Czech, Slavic 161) and the Czech language lecturer Ellen Langer. These students set the mood by performing a comical scene from the 1937 allegorical play "Těžká Barbora" by Voskovec and Werich.

The performance by the Czech students was followed by a striking performance from Amir Dargulov, a member of the Kazakh Student Association. Amir, a sophomore studying computer science, sang the Kazakh song "Otan Ana," which speaks about the importance of embracing one's culture and heritage. The next performer was Yana Zlochistaya (junior), who is a member of the Russian Student Association, editor of the Comparative Literature Undergraduate Journal, and a student in Anna Muza's course "Russian Culture Taught in Russian" (Slavic 190). In her performance entitled "Winter is Coming," Yana recited two Russian poems: "Winter Morning" by Alexander Pushkin and "Winter Night" by Boris Pasternak.

The Cal Armenian Students' Association Choir, Arzagank, which consists of eight female members, performed two beautiful folk songs entitled "Kaqav Trav" and "Hoy Nazan" acapella. Directed by Marina Hovannisyan (sophomore), Arzagank has previously performed at the Berkeley City Council, numerous community events in the Bay Area, and countless events on campus. Following Azargank was Kanstantsin Kastsevich (sophomore), an international student from Belarus, who captivated the audience with his outstanding reading of a selection from the Belarusian poem "New Land" by Yakub Kolas.

The final performance was a stage reading of Nikolai Gogol's *Old World Landowners*, but with a twist – sophomore undergraduate student and FLAS recipient Lana Ćosić had chosen to take an independent study in the Theater Department to produce the first English-language theatrical adaptation of Gogol's nineteenth-century short story. Inspired by the readings in Professor Luba Golburt's Nineteenth-Century Russian Literature course, Lana took the story and expanded on its characters to give them life on the stage. The group of six students charmed the audience by performing a short excerpt from the beginning of the story.

For many of the current students, this event was a reflection of their semesters' work – whether that was learning a new language or finding inspiration through a professor and/or coursework. For others, it was a chance to share their culture with fellow Bears. Nevertheless, like many of the other Cal Day events, the Culture Show focused on providing prospective students and their parents a glimpse into the various resources and opportunities available at UC Berkeley. Ultimately, this event provided a space for Cal students to showcase their talents while representing the diverse student groups on campus, highlighting the various courses, as well as displaying the overall rich culture of the campus. A special thank you to Irina Kogel, Marta Lokhava, Anastasia Desyatnikov, Paul Bitutsky, and Tahir Alizada for their assistance.

Spring 2016 Courses

Selected course offerings and selected area-related courses

Armenian 124	Armenian Literature in Social Context	Douzjian, M.
History 88	How Does History Count?	Milivojevic, A.
History 101	Empires, Migrations, Frontiers	Dean, M.
History 103B	Soviet History through Film and Fiction	Slezkine, Yu.
History 160	The International Economy of the Twentieth Century	Milivojevic, A.
History 171C	The Soviet Union, 1917 to the Present	Slezkine, Yu.
History 173C	History of Eastern Europe: From 1900 to the Present	Connelly, J.
History 275B	Twentieth Century Europe	Connelly, J.
History 280B	The History of Emotions, Late Modern Europe	Frede-Montemayor, V.
History 280F	The Ottoman Empire and its Rivals	Phillou, C.
History 280U	Comparative Genocides	Astourian, S.
Int'l &Area Studies 194	Nations and Empires in the Global 20th Century	Beecher, D.
Political Economy 101	Contemporary Theories of Political Economy	Beecher, D.
Political Science 149N	Nations, Nationalism, and Conflict in the Soviet Successor States	Walker, E.
Slavic R5A	In the Zone	Lundblad-Janjic, J.
Slavic R5B	Strange Minds	Egdorf, B.
Slavic R5B	Representing the Russian Peasant	Flaherty, J.
Slavic 24	The Mystery and Fascination of the Balkans	Alexander, R.
Slavic 39L	Russian Short Fiction	Golburt, L.
Slavic 46	Twentieth-Century Russian Literature	Douzjian, M.
Slavic 50	Introduction to Russian/East European/Eurasian Cultures	Kavitskaya, D.
Slavic 134C	Dostoevsky	Naiman, E.
Slavic 138	National Cinema: *Dziga Vertov in Context*	Nesbet, A.
Slavic 147A	East Slavic Folklore	Alexander, R.
Slavic 161	Readings in Czech Literature	Langer, E.
Slavic 170	Survey of Yugoslav Literatures	Alexander, R.
Slavic 190	Russian Culture Taught in Russian: *Country, Identity, and Language*	Muza, A.
Slavic 200	Graduate Colloquium	Paperno, I.
Slavic 242	Eighteenth-Century Russian Literature	Golburt, L.
Slavic 246A	Russian Modernism (1890s-1920s)	Matich, O.
Slavic 280	Graduate Seminar: *The 1930s*	Nesbet, A.
Slavic 280	Graduate Seminar: *Workshop on Contemporary Russian Langauge*	Kavitskaya, D.

The Slavic Department offers courses in Armenian, Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian, Czech, Hungarian, Polish, and Russian. The German Department offers Yiddish.