Notes from the Chair

The Center for Slavic and East European Studies, like the region we study, has undergone some important changes over the past decade. Most notably, the geographical and substantive interests of Center faculty and graduate students have greatly expanded and diversified. Before the collapse of Communism, most of us specialized in the study of Russia or Eastern Europe. Today, with the emergence of twenty-eight sovereign states where once there were only nine, our research and teaching extends over a vast and complex region that includes the Caucasus, the Far East, Siberia, Central Asia, Ukraine, Belarus, and the Baltic states, as well as Eastern Europe and Russia. The Slavic Center thus presides over a growing area of inquiry called Eurasian Studies.

At the same time, the Slavic Center has been in the forefront of efforts to provide support, encouragement, and a vibrant intellectual environment for innovative thinking and scholarship about our region. Our core faculty have led the way in developing the new fields of “post-Soviet” and “post-Communist” studies and in reconfiguring historical approaches to the region. Many have embraced a culturalist perspective, thereby creating a common discourse within a broad frame of studies that includes global ethnography, political and institutional culture, semiotics and symbolic systems, cultural practice, discourse analysis, and belief systems and ideology.

To accommodate both the changes in our region and new approaches to the region—its past, present, and future and its place in the world—we have undertaken an important initiative to structure the relationship of our many programs under a new title, the Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies. We believe that the establishment of an Institute will help to rationalize our organizational structure, expand our sources of extramural funding, and respond more effectively to the changing intellectual agenda in post-Communist studies, while the inclusion of the term “Eurasia” in our title reflects the geopolitical transformation of our region and the reorientation our research agenda.

Within the Institute, the Center for Slavic and East European Studies, a current Title VI National Resource Center, will be the primary unit. In addition, the Institute will include the Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies, the Program for Armenian Studies, and the Program for the Study of the Caucasus and Central Asia. With the Kujachich Endowment in Balkan Studies and the Kosovac Prize as a strong beginning, we also plan to develop a new program for Balkan Studies, while the Hertelendy Graduate Fellowship in Hungarian Studies will likewise provide the cornerstone for a future program in Hungarian Studies. These changes, which are subject to confirmation by the Academic Senate, will make it possible to serve our growing constituencies: the forty-five core UCB faculty, more than two hundred and fifty graduate students, and many members of the community who participate in our activities and provide support.
Meanwhile, of course, we are moving ahead with a variety of research and programmatic activities. I am particularly pleased to announce the forthcoming publication by Westview Press of a volume of essays—*Russia in the New Century: Stability or Disorder?*—which is the result of a two-year project funded by the Carnegie Corporation, coordinated by the Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies (BPS). The volume, which includes chapters by seven Berkeley colleagues (Victoria Bonnell, George Breslauer, Michael Burawoy, Manuel Castells, Emma Kiselyova, M. Steven Fish, and Edward Walker), together with six other contributors from the U.S., Europe, and Russia, is scheduled to appear in October 2000.

We are also very grateful to the Carnegie Corporation for providing us with a follow-on grant to support BPS’s graduate training efforts. The grant will allow BPS to increase its support for graduate student fellowships, helping us to maintain our traditionally outstanding community of graduate students, and it also provides for two visiting appointments from the region to come to Berkeley to teach over the coming two academic years. With help from the grant, we have inaugurated a new seminar series this semester for graduate students and faculty designed to present original research on the successor states of the former Soviet Union.

During the spring semester, the Slavic Center has planned a full calendar of lectures, conferences, brown bag talks, seminars, and working group meetings. Our annual outreach conference, “Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union: Ten Years After the Fall of the Berlin Wall,” took place on March 11–12. We had a large turn out, including a great many teachers from California schools. The conference included presentations that tracked developments over the past decade in individual countries: Germany, Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Poland, Yugoslavia, Russia, and the Baltic states. The juxtaposition of these excellent talks brought into sharp focus many of the contrasting features of post-Communist transitions. The Newsletter provides a list of speakers from the teachers’ outreach conference and their suggested readings.

In April, we are also cosponsoring two conferences: “Twentieth Century Genocides: Memory, Denial, and Accountability” (April 7) and “Living Traditions in the Post-Soviet World” (April 13). The annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference, “Law and Justice in the Former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe,” is scheduled for Stanford this year, on May 12. Finally, we are organizing a working conference, “Entrepreneurs, Entrepreneurialism, and Democracy in Communist and Post-Communist Societies,” that will feature a cross-regional perspective emphasizing Eastern Europe, Russia, and China. The conference, supported by the Mellon Foundation, will take place on May 19–20 and will bring to our campus distinguished scholars from the U.S., Eastern Europe, and Russia.

All in all, the spring semester has continued the spirit and energy of the fall. Although the summer will be (relatively) quiet, you will find us active again in September. And in a new suite of offices in Stephens Hall!

Victoria E. Bonnell
Chair, Center for Slavic and East European Studies and the Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies
Professor, Department of Sociology
The historian Jeffrey Herf once noted that “writing history is a matter of reconstructing the openness of past moments before choices congealed into seemingly inevitable structures.” In this spirit, I would like here to reopen a brief moment in the history of Hungarian music—a time of genuine optimism following the so-called “liberation” of Hungary by the Red Army in 1945, a time before most Hungarians had any inkling of the disastrous assaults on their freedom that were soon to come. By attending to this fleeting period of optimism we can discover how Hungarian Communists envisioned the possible future of Hungarian music under socialism; and in so doing we can gain access to some of the ways in which intellectual traditions and political exigencies shaped musical practices at the midpoint of the twentieth century.

In 1946 and ’47, Hungarians, and especially leftist Hungarians, had good reason to feel optimistic about the future of their new “People’s Democracy,” as the new East Bloc states were known. During these early years, the Soviet Union allowed the People’s Democracies considerable independence as national entities separate from the Soviet Union. It seemed likely that Hungary would pursue socialism in its own way. Máté Rákosi, the secretary general of the Hungarian Communist Party, stated in 1946 that the Party would embrace a “Socialism born on Hungarian soil and adapted to Hungarian conditions.” The idea that Hungary’s path should be neither wholly East European nor wholly West European had circulated among Hungarian intellectuals for years; since this position advocated a third, unique alternative, it was often referred to as Hungary’s “third way.” In socialist terms, the third way meant a gradual rather than a revolutionary approach to socialism, and this gradualism helped the Party win support among intellectuals, including many of Hungary’s composers. While the Communists’ consolidation of power was already beginning to affect government and industry by 1947, it had relatively little effect on cultural life at first, leaving musicians free to compose as they wished and to argue about what new music should sound like in a new society.

Particularly heated debate surrounded the arrival of Béla Bartók’s Concerto for Orchestra, first performed in Hungary in April 1947. Bartók had died in New York City in 1945, after five years of exile; during the war and the turmoil that followed, his compatriots had no opportunity to hear the music he had composed in the United States. When the late works were finally performed in Budapest, Hungarian musicians were taken aback: the style of this music differed dramatically from what they had anticipated. Some musicians who revered Bartók’s modernist music saw the Concerto as a surprising simplification of his style. One even called it “the selling out of the spirit of modern music.”

Many others, however, praised the Concerto’s easy accessibility and its communicative power. These varied responses to the Concerto did not correspond precisely to their authors’ political affiliations, but reflected a complicated mix of aesthetic, personal, and political loyalties. Nonetheless, at the risk of oversimplifying, one may say that most Communist musicians welcomed the Concerto with great enthusiasm because of their political commitment to making music available to everyone. To Hungarian Communists, the Concerto seemed to show “the path ahead” to a more accessible art-music tradition.

Powerful backing for this agenda arrived in February 1948 with the Soviet Communist Party’s resolution on music, which would soon have an impact in Hungary as well. The resolution denounced many Soviet composers, including Shostakovich and Prokofiev; it condemned formalism, as well as atonality, dissonance, the neglect of classical forms, and the absence of folk-like melody, saying that these musical traits reflected bourgeois culture and were therefore inappropriate to socialist life. Though censorship had been practiced in pre-war Hungary, this kind of wide-ranging official rebuke was shocking to most Hungarians; they expressed concerns about artistic freedom and wondered fearfully whether the Soviet resolution would apply to them. Some also worried specifically about what the resolution implied for their national tradition—particularly for Bartók.

Communist music critics in Hungary tried to allay these fears, insisting that as long as art remained connected with the folk it would not run afoul of Communist principles. Several interpreted the resolution as favorable to Bartók—for Bartók’s music featured folk melodies and classical forms, and could therefore serve as a model for
the kind of populism the Soviet Communist Party sought to achieve. Hungarian composer András Mihály, for instance, explained that Bartók was different from other modernists because in his late works he “turned back from the cold emptiness of the unbounded freedom of fantasy, toward the warm, human, voluntary boundaries of communal language.” Mihály thus regarded Bartók’s music as the best possible fulfillment of the resolution’s demands.

Nationalism played a key role in Mihály’s interpretation of the Soviet resolution. While Hungarian Communists regarded the Soviet Union as more experienced in political socialism, most had no reason to believe in its cultural superiority. On the contrary, they continued to prize their own musical traditions over all others. Mihály went so far as to speculate that since Shostakovich and Prokofiev had been criticized as formalists, and since Bartók seemed to fulfill the Party’s criteria for populist music, perhaps the vanguard of socialist music would arise not in the Soviet Union—but in Hungary. Mihály wrote: “Is it certain that this creative musical genius will appear on Soviet soil? According to the lessons of history, absolutely not.” In a later lecture commissioned by the Hungarian Workers’ Party (Hungary’s Communist Party), Mihály declared that Bartók’s synthesis of Eastern folk music and Western bourgeois art music transformed both elements into something entirely new and revolutionary, citing the Concerto for Orchestra as the most prominent example of this transformation.

Mihály’s optimism was no aberration—it expressed the hope of many of Hungary’s best musicians that Bartók’s music could be the foundation of a great socialist musical culture. Just as Hungarians planned to follow their own unique path to political socialism—the “third way” between East and West—they also intended to follow their own path to socialist music, the path indicated by Bartók in his Concerto for Orchestra.

This hope was expressed not only in words, but also in music. In Ferenc Szabó’s Homecoming Concerto, later referred to simply as his Concerto for Orchestra, we can hear how central Bartók’s music was to Communist imaginings of the future. Szabó, who studied with Kodály in the 1920s, had spent several years in exile in the Soviet Union; the “homecoming” of the title refers most directly to his return to Hungary in 1945 as a captain in the Red Army. Szabó dedicated his concerto to “the immortal memory of the many who could not return home”—which may be understood to include Bartók as well as the victims of war. Several passages in Szabó’s one-movement concerto incorporate direct references to Bartók’s Concerto for Orchestra; this suggests that Szabó, like Mihály and others, considered Bartók’s Concerto an excellent model for Hungarian socialist music. Comparing Szabó’s concerto with its model may reveal the compositional possibilities Szabó envisioned for such a music in 1948.

Szabó’s homage to Bartók is most apparent in the slow introduction that opens his concerto. Both composers begin their works with low strings playing a melody based mostly on leaps of a fourth, expanding gradually in successive phrases (examples 1a and 1b). Despite this strong resemblance, the two passages differ in affect because of the different character of the music that accompanies the two melodies. Bartók’s trembling, muted strings play symmetrical chromatic figures that expand and contract, creating dense clusters of seconds. By contrast, Szabó’s low string phrases are interrupted by resonant chiming in the woodwinds, enhanced by pizzicato attacks in the strings. Szabó’s slow introduction remains close to its model throughout, imitating each prominent element of Bartók’s in turn.

Another instance in which Bartók’s music leaves its mark occurs as a brief episode midway through Szabó’s
concerto. Here Szabó evokes the elegiac third movement of Bartók’s concerto. In his elegy, Bartók alternates reminiscences of the slow introduction with the eerie, tremulous utterances of his trademark “night music” style. Szabó’s procedure is similar—he brings back the melody from the slow introduction phrase by phrase, accompanied by twittering arpeggios in the harp and woodwinds. But here again Szabó’s passage has a very different affect. The sonorous landscape of Bartók’s night music remains extremely static—even the oboe’s melodic line wanders without clear direction (example 2a). The parallel passage in Szabó’s piece, by contrast, is divided into neat two-bar phrases, led by the piano’s short-winded presentation of a circular melody (example 2b). Bartók’s more exotic woodwind and harp figures comprise an alternation of minor thirds and minor seconds, while Szabó’s consist of tame arpeggiated triads with an added neighbor note. While Bartók’s night music is apprehensive, Szabó’s is luminous, untroubled.

In spite of the transparency of his homage to Bartók, Szabó was no mere epigone. Rather, he seems to have gone out of his way to adapt the expressive strategies of Bartók’s concerto to a simpler orchestral style that would communicate to the widest possible audience. The brighter sound of Szabó’s score reflected the socialist demand that art represent optimistic sentiments, befitting the glorious new world that Stalin and Rákosi were building. This political vision had no place for a night music as dark or as mysterious as Bartók’s. By adapting elements of Bartók’s distinctive style, Szabó may have hoped to create truly Hungarian music that would also reflect socialist ideals.

Even Szabó’s careful moderation of Bartók’s idiom would prove insufficient, however, as the Hungarian government soon put a stop to musicians’ pursuit of a third way. In January and March of 1949, Secretary General Rákosi and his chief cultural ideologist redefined the proper nature of a People’s Democracy. József Révai, who was responsible for cultural policy, stated that “the way of the People’s Democracies differs only in certain external forms, and not in essence, from the way of the Soviet Union.” With this fundamental change in outlook would come significant changes in the prospects for socialist music in Hungary.

That summer, the Hungarian government created a new Ministry of People’s Culture; its mission was to foster socialist culture and particularly to propagate Soviet art and literature. The latter task was so central to the Ministry’s purpose that its official publication bore the title Soviet Culture. The article announcing the creation of the Ministry reported the following:

Powerful support is offered for our cultural tasks by Soviet culture—the culture of that nation that stands at the forefront of progress, not only in economics and politics, but also in intellectual, artistic and ideological matters. We already have much to be grateful to this culture for….If in our artistic life any purification has taken place, the merit belongs to Soviet models. This statement effectively denied the possibility that Hungarians could progress toward a socialist culture by their own methods or on the basis of their own traditions. This new official viewpoint contrasted sharply with the “third way” politics of Hungarian musicians who placed their faith in Bartók as a representative of their own national heritage. Over the next year and a half, the new Ministry of Culture not only commissioned articles and lectures critical of Bartók’s music, but also banned many of his modernist works (see figure 1).

Along with these administrative changes came a series of visits by Soviet composers, who explained Soviet methods to their Hungarian colleagues. Mikhail Chulaki, who visited in March 1949, brought a new perspective on Bartók’s music. According to the diary of one music critic, Chulaki “rejected [Bartók’s] Miraculous Mandarin as formalist and called Bartók bourgeois.” It is significant that with Chulaki’s visit The Miraculous Mandarin came to the forefront of the debate. While Hungarian Communists had pinned their hopes on Bartók’s Concerto for Orchestra, tactfully leaving his more obviously unsuitable works out of the discussion altogether, the Soviet composer

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**Example 1b. Szabó, Homecoming Concerto, mm. 1–8. Low string melody followed by woodwind and string “chimes.”**
felt no such loyalty. By bringing up a work that obviously violated every principle of socialist art with its expressionist style and overtly violent sexual content, Chulaki emphasized what Hungarians had refused to acknowledge: that as a modernist and as a Hungarian, Bartók could not possibly be a model for the new socialist music. As a pro-Soviet agenda began to determine the course of Hungarian music criticism in 1949 and 1950, *The Miraculous Mandarin* was increasingly cited as the characteristic example of Bartók’s art, while the Concerto for Orchestra all but disappeared from critical assessments of his music.

By this time, Szabó had risen to the office of president of the Hungarian Musicians’ Association. This relatively powerful position did not, however, protect him from the criticism of his Soviet superiors. During a visit to Budapest, Soviet composer Anatoly Novikov praised Szabó as talented, but lamented that he continued to compose formalist music, singling out the *Homecoming Concerto* for particular scorn. Novikov admonished Szabó in both the Hungarian and the Soviet press, saying that “The sooner [Szabó] gives up toying with antiquated modernist ‘relics,’ the greater the contribution he will make to Hungarian musical life.” Szabó’s reliance on Bartók undoubtedly contributed to this accusation of formalism. Even until the 1970s, Hungarian critics remained reluctant to comment on the striking similarities between Szabó’s concerto and Bartók’s; the homage remained an unmentionable open secret while radio broadcasts continued to feature both works.

Novikov’s criticism also fulfilled more general purposes: as Szabó ascended to power in the administration of Hungarian musical life, the Soviet visitors found it especially important to reprimand even this most loyal follower in order to ensure Hungarians’ complete submission to Soviet cultural domination. Szabó took the hint and soon became one of Bartók’s harshest Hungarian critics. Although he could admit in private that he still felt strongly drawn to Bartók’s music, within a few months he published several articles denouncing it as “pessimistic” and claiming that it reflected “every oppression, horror and inhumanity of the time of imperialism.”

As an emblem of Hungary’s unique position between East and West, Bartók’s music could no longer be regarded as an appropriate model once Hungary’s eastern orientation had been established. Yet Szabó’s and Mihály’s early intuitions about the Concerto’s value to socialist music were not entirely incorrect. As the genuine optimism of the late 1940s yielded to the forced optimism of the early 1950s, the Hungarian government found that it needed Bartók’s music to represent Hungary’s cultural heritage in propaganda both at home and abroad. By September 1950, the fifth anniversary of Bartók’s death, the Concerto for Orchestra—that “antiquated modernist relic”—was broadcast on Hungarian radio more often than any of Bartók’s other original compositions. The Party also found Bartók’s Concerto useful for determining individual composers’ loyalty. Party officials viewed with suspicion the composers who had first rejected the Concerto as too simple for their modernist tastes, and used their past statements about the Concerto against them as proof of their deviation from socialist ideals.

Thus, the very work that had once represented a vital hope for Hungary’s third way became instead a tool with which the Hungarian state enforced the compliance of composers and maintained the mere pretense of cultural autonomy.

*Example 2a. Bartók, Concerto for Orchestra, III, mm. 12–13. Bartók’s eerie, tremulous “night music” style.*
Example 2b. Szabó, Homecoming Concerto, after rehearsal no. 18 (mm. 283–284). Circular piano melody and twittering arpeggios.

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Notes


5 This opinion was reported by Endre Szervánszky in a review: “Bartók-bemutató” (Bartók premiere). Szabad nép (Free folk), 25 April 1947, 4. All translations are my own unless otherwise specified.

6 Szervánszky praised the accessibility of the Concerto; others who stood up for it included István Péterfi (“Muzsika—Bartók Béla Concertójá” (Music: Béla Bartók’s Concerto), Szabadság (Freedom), 27 April 1947, 4); József Ujlássy (“Zene” (Music), Új számtás (New Ploughing) 1, no. 5 (May 1947): 302); and András Mihály
Dear Comrade Széll!

The Radio does not play the following Bartók works, since the bourgeois influence can be felt most strongly in them:

A. Stage works
   \textit{The Miraculous Mandarin}

B. Concert works
   - Piano Concerto no. 1
   - Concerto for two pianos, percussion and orchestra
   - Piano Concerto no. 2

C. Chamber works
   - String Quartet no. 3
   - String Quartet no. 4
   - String Quartet no. 5
   - Violin-piano sonata no. 1
   - Violin-piano sonata no. 2
   - Piano Sonata

D. Piano works
   - 3 Etudes op. 18
   - \textit{Out of Doors}

E. Vocal works
   - 5 Songs on poems by Endre Ady

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<td>Zorin, A.</td>
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In addition to the courses above, the Slavic Languages and Literatures Department offers language courses in Bulgarian, Czech, Polish, Russian, and Serbian/Croatian.
Outreach Programs

Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union: Ten Years After the Fall of the Berlin Wall

Our 26th Annual Teachers Outreach Conference, held on March 11 and 12, was organized around a timely and well-received topic, Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union: Ten Years After the Fall of the Berlin Wall. Our outreach conference attendees always receive a judicious collection of materials—articles, bibliographies, maps, timelines—that can be used in the classroom or saved for future reference. A number of these materials are made available on our Web site at http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~csees/outreach/activity.html.

The materials for this year’s conference live up to the standard that our conference attendees have come to expect. The following bibliography from this year’s materials is included in our newsletter for those of you who missed this excellent conference. We hope you can make it next year!

Sorin Antohi, professor of history at the Central European University, Budapest, and the University of Bucharest, spoke on “Romania after 1989: Undoing Communism, Crafting Robber Capitalism.” He suggests the following readings on Romania:


Roumen Daskalov, professor of history at the Central European University, spoke on “Bulgaria, Ten Years After:

Hopes and Disappointments.” He suggests the following readings on Bulgaria:


Jane Dawson, associate professor of political science at the University of Oregon, spoke on “Ethnic and Environmental Issues in the Baltic States.” She suggests the following readings on the subject:


**M. Steven Fish**, associate professor of political science at UC Berkeley, spoke on “Russia without the Soviet Union: Ten Years After.” He suggests the following readings on Russia:


**Andrew Janos**, professor of political science at UC Berkeley, spoke on “Politically Correct on the Edge of Europe: Hungary Ten Years After.” He recommends the following readings on the topic:


**Obrad Kesic**, director of the Office of Governmental Affairs at ICN Pharmaceuticals, Inc., spoke on “Clearing the Debris of the Cold War: Still Searching for Peace in the Former Yugoslavia.” He suggests the following readings on the former Yugoslavia:


Jeffrey Kopstein, associate professor of political science at the University of Colorado at Boulder, spoke on “Victims, Perpetrators, and Democracy in East Germany.” He suggests the following readings on the topic:


Timothy Snyder, academy scholar at the Center for International Affairs at Harvard University, spoke on “Poland: A Decade of Surprising Successes.” He suggests the following readings on Poland:


Snyder, Tim. “Look East, Face West.” *Transitions* [5, no. 9 (September 1998): 54–57].

—. “Poland’s Hot Summer of Decommunization.” *Transitions* [5, no. 6 (June 1998): 12–13].

—. “Poland’s Return to Europe is a Leap to Modernity.” *Christian Science Monitor* [90, no. 123 (May 21, 1998): 19].

—. “Poland’s Communists Aren’t, Really.” *Christian Science Monitor* [85, no. 235 (November 1, 1993): 19].


Sharon Wolchik, professor of political science at George Washington University, spoke on “The Czech Republic: Expectations and Realities.” She suggests the following readings on the Czech Republic:


Fixed Phrases for Language Learners: On the Material of Armenian and English Languages

Gayaneh Hagopian

A specialist in linguistics, second language acquisition, and the Armenian language, Dr. Gayaneh Hagopian is currently a visiting scholar at the Department of Linguistics and the Center for Slavic and East European Studies. Her article is based on a talk she gave for the Slavic Center in 1999.

Language learning is different from learning other disciplinary subjects, such as mathematics, music, and science, or learning practical skills, like driving, using a computer, and cooking. In any learning activity, we perceive and understand the new information, retain it, and retrieve it when necessary. This is not the case with learning language. Speaking is a creative activity; when we speak, we do not retrieve and repeat invariable pieces of stored information that can be instantly recalled. Instead, we create a singular discourse which we may never have heard before and which we may never repeat again. This is true about the use of our primary language: somewhere in our cognitive system (mostly in Wernicke’s and Broca’s areas) we store language’s phonological and grammatical systems and vocabulary, and subconsciously, we pick up the necessary pieces or units from there to create unique speech for communication and self-expression. When preparing a paper or presentation, have you found the exact words to express your thought, only to discover that they vanish because you are unable to remember your sentence or speech? Even the enunciator is often unable to recreate it. That is the unique and creative aspect of a simple speech act. This is why linguists differentiate language learning—the conscious, controlled, and focused process of learning a language and its forms, words, and rules—from language acquisition—the subconscious and uncontrolled process of acquiring the skills enabling one to speak and communicate in that language.

However, each language contains fixed phrases. Some of them are very old and are often repeated. Perhaps fixed phrases are the easiest to begin with when learning a foreign or second language. At first blush, fixed phrases do not seem to require the creative effort that native speakers construct in their speech so effortlessly. Therefore, it is no surprise that both language students and language teachers begin their language courses with such fixed phrases as “How are you?” “Thank you,” “Happy birthday,” or “I love you.” These are easy, everyday common phrases that are different from more difficult fixed phrases, such as idioms, sayings, proverbs, maxims, etc., often generalized as parembia. The more difficult phrases are not as frequently used as the everyday common phrases, but they both come together as fixed phrases which are repeated and not created by speakers. Are they less of a challenge than the rest of the target language? Are they as easy to acquire as it seems? What problems do language students encounter with fixed phrases of their target languages? This paper will attempt to address these questions about learning fixed phrases using Armenian and American English as a comparative case-study.

Problems with Everyday Common Phrases

First, let us consider everyday common phrases. Anecdotal evidence shows that language students who possess just a few such expressions in their foreign language arsenal are often able to communicate successfully in limited situations and, in so doing, create opportunities for expanding their language acquisition. However, the underlying meaning of common phrases often create serious obstacles for communication. Let us take the simple sentence, “How are you?” In American English, it is used as a greeting and is not really a question which requires detailed information. However, many foreign language students try to answer this conventional greeting literally, which immediately creates communication gaps with native American English speakers who may think, Why are you telling me your life story? Another immediate problem that derives from this expression is the intonation. When it is expressed as a greeting, the sentence is pronounced with a rising intonation, but when we want to really ask how the person we are talking to is actually doing, the intonation and pitch go up on “are” and fall down on “you.” Beginning language learners cannot, as a rule, differentiate intonation hues. Consequently, they respond out of turn and tune. It often puts the student in an awkward position, raises his/her anxiety, and creates an emotional barrier that shuts down communication.

When an English-speaking foreign language student uses the translation of “How are you?” as a greeting in a target language, however, it makes no sense. For example, in Armenian, one says “How are you?” as a second, not obligatory, component of a conventional greeting, such as “Hi,” “Hello,” “Good Morning,” etc. “How are you?” in

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Campus Visitors

**Stephan Astourian**, the William Saroyan Visiting Lecturer in Armenian Studies, is teaching two courses again this semester through the history department. Professor Astourian has a Ph.D. in history from UCLA. Stephan was the Saroyan Visiting Lecturer last academic year as well.

**Roumen Daskalov** is a visiting professor at the Department of History during the spring semester where he is teaching two courses on Balkan history. Dr. Daskalov is an associate professor of history at the University of Sofia, Bulgaria and the Central European University in Budapest.

**Christina Kiaer**, assistant professor of art history at Columbia University, is a visiting assistant professor at the Art History department this semester where she is teaching a graduate seminar on Soviet Modernism. Christina earned her Ph.D. at UC Berkeley in 1995.

**Anara Kendirbaeva** is here for the academic year as a Fulbright scholar affiliated with the Slavic Center. She is researching a project “Promotion of Small and Medium Enterprises” in Kazakhstan. Dr. Kendirbaeva has a Ph.D. in mathematics from Moscow State University and furthered her study in economics from the Kazakstani Institute of Management, Economics, and Forecasting (KIMEP).

**Nino Kizikuzashivili**, an environmental scientist from Tbilisi, Georgia, will be visiting campus during the spring semester. He received a Fellowship from the United States Information Agency and the Open Society Institute to conduct research on environmental science at Berkeley.

**Martin Krygier**, professor of law at New South Wales University in Australia, is a visiting professor at the Boalt School of Law during the spring semester. He will participate in our Annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference, which will be held at Stanford this year.

**Shorena Kurtsikidze** is a visiting professor at the Department of Near Eastern Studies where she is teaching a course on Georgian language and culture (NES 298). She holds a doctorate in cultural anthropology from the Academy of Sciences of Georgia and a degree in simultaneous interpreting.

**Aleksander Naumow**, professor at the Institute of Slavonic Philology, Jagiellonian University, is a visiting professor at the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures during the spring semester. He is teaching a graduate course on Polish literature and another on Russian literature.

**Aliksandr Shylovich** is visiting campus during the spring semester from Belarus. He will be conducting research on transportation studies on a fellowship from the United States Information Agency and the Open Society Institute.

**Arbi Vagapov** is a visiting scholar at the Department of Linguistics for the academic year, serving as a language consultant for a field methods course. He is also working with Professor Johanna Nichols on her current research projects. Dr. Vagapov is professor of linguistics at Chechen State University and director of the M. Gadaev State Institute of the Chechen Language.

**Yuri Zaretsky**, associate professor of history at Nizhnij Novgorod State University in Russia, is a visiting scholar at the Department of History this spring. A specialist on Russian medieval history, Dr. Zaretsky is conducting research on a grant from the Regional Scholar Exchange Program.

**Leszek Zasztowt**, a Fulbright scholar affiliated with the Slavic Center, is visiting for the academic year. He is an associate professor in the Institute for the History of Science of the Polish Academy of Sciences and a professor at the Center for East European Studies, University of Warsaw. His Fulbright project is “Education in the Western Region of the Russian Empire, 1860–1917,” with a focus on the Lithuanian, Belarussian, and Ukrainian territories.

**Andrei Zorin**, associate professor of Russian Studies at the Russian State Humanities University, Moscow, was a visiting professor at the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures early in the spring semester. He taught a graduate seminar on Russian literature.
Fixed Phrases, continued from page 13

Armenian does not substitute for an expression of greeting. When the English-speaking language learner copies it from English into Armenian, miscommunication can arise. Often it is rude to proceed to a question of well-being without a “hello.”

Thus, the first problem language students encounter is not just what to say but when and how to say it. The particular way of using “thank you” in American English is quite different from Armenian, too. But here is yet another problem: there is no exact equivalence between “thank you” and հարմարվենք and հարմարում եմ. There are two slightly distinct ways of saying “thank you” in Armenian. The first expression is a noun, used both in formal and informal contexts, while the second is a verbal first-person form with a personal and emotional touch. The English speaker not only has to maneuver between these forms but also has to attach a “you,” which makes the phrases funny or even rude depending on the audience or listener. Another problem is the literal translation. Phrases like “Happy Birthday,” “Happy New Year,” or “Merry Christmas” have equivalent expressions like Ընտառ (congratulations) and պատրաստում (birthday, or, literally, anniversary), արծաթե (New Year), ուր կնձես (or, literally, holy birth). Additionally, Armenians have another concept connected with these holidays, թարգմանիչ, which is New Year’s day, January first. To add to the student’s confusion comes the cultural difference: the major holiday in Armenia is the New Year, and in common thinking թարգմանիչ is the cultural equivalent of Christmas in the United States. Another issue is that the word order in Armenian is not fixed. The common phrases above are formal expressions, while in personal communication, one may reverse the order—say, պատրաստում քանդվեն—and change the intonation to add extra hues to these common repetitive phrases. Finally, there is the problem with numerous Armenian dialects, two of which are literary languages: Western Armenian, which is spoken in the Diaspora, and Eastern Armenian, which is spoken in Armenia.

**Strategies**

How do language students navigate through these problems? The common strategy is transferring forms and meanings from the native language into the target language, or mixing two linguistic zones that is called *interference*. For example, I have heard from my students պարտավոր (an adjective roughly equivalent to happy, merry, cheerful, and glad) տարելից (as you may remember, this is the common word used in Armenian for birthday greetings but literally means anniversary), ուր կնձես ուր կնձես (Happy Holy Birthday), Մերի Տարելից, and Հարմարում եմ մերի տարելից. What is missing, of course, are the intonation and subtleties in context.

The last formulaic expression, “I love you,” can be translated literally and has practically the exact equivalency in Armenian. In terms of pragmatics, there is no problem either. People know very well how and who should say these very special words. The problem with formulaic phrases—such as blessings, curses, swearings—is the lack of affect or emotional meaning for language students who have little experience using these phrases in real life communicative contexts. This is true with all linguistic units: words can substitute for reality. For example, the word “barbecue” can make one salivate, and a swear word can make one blush when said in the native tongue. For language learners, target language words and expressions are often just labels and devoid of emotional connotation.

The meanings of everyday common phrases rests deeply on intonation and the context. The simple “excuse me” may have numerous meanings depending on where it is said, by whom and why. Compare too, the specific intonation of “Yeah, right!” In this instance, two positives make a nice negative because of the intonation and the context.

**Problems with Difficult Fixed Phrases**

So much for the easy fixed phrases, or everyday common expressions, which can be always understood in the right context. Let us now turn our attention to the problems that arise from paremia, that is, more complex fixed phrases that are less frequently used and usually lack direct equivalents in target languages. I have selected two proverbs as examples:

1. Դառնում են թիվ բանի. This approximately means, “(Someone) took (someone) to the water and brought (him/her) back thirsty.”

2. Այսօր այս այս վաճառ ունում են, այսօր այս վաճառ ունում. This literally means, “The money that’s there is hand-dirt, today it’s there, tomorrow it isn’t.” Or it could mean, “The money that exists is like hand dirt, today it exists, tomorrow it doesn’t.”

The first proverb in Armenian has only five words, Դառնում են թիվ բանի. For a somewhat meaningful translation, however, I needed eleven words: “(Someone) took (someone) to the water and brought (him/her) back thirsty.” Students learning Armenian usually can easily recognize these five quite common words and come up with a literal translation as follows: “Water took (3rd person), thirsty brought back.” What could this mean? Imagination, for language students, is a serious tool which
is vital to their learning endeavors. My students have often come up with lots of logical interpretations, and they have often unanimously missed their target. The first problem with this proverb is its open structure, a quite common phenomenon in paremia, which may have missing members. In this case, both the subject and the object are missing.* They are only added during actual communicative acts. As a rule, the object would be “you” or the proper name of the person the speaker sympathizes with, and the subject would be “s/he” or the proper name of the person that the speaker condemns. Its established allegorical meaning is, “Someone is so cunning and dishonest that, for his/her own benefit, s/he can take someone to a most desirable place (like a thirsty person to a water source) and bring him/her back from there empty handed (without letting to quench his/her thirst).” These omitted members are not always added in speech acts: if the previous context has already identified “the bad guy” and “the simple guy,” the phrase can be used as quoted. Additionally, it allows verb tense free variations: թնար (the water). In the proverb, it is in the accusative form and used as a modifier of place. Its wide semantics (the water) in the proverb is narrowed to a source or spring of water. The students have no clue about this sense specification. On the other hand, the accusative in Armenian is also used for direct objects, and formally, it coincides with the nominative case. A student’s first interpretation is usually in the nominative, or direct, form, which s/he translate as: “The water washed away—[hesitation] the thirst?” Another attempt aims at the next most common form of a direct object: “(Someone) took the water—[hesitation] to a thirsty person?” Again, it doesn’t hit the mark because the words about bringing back are left out. As an example, I use the proverb of the Armenian cartoonist Goergy Yaralian in my class, and my happy students will come up with “Eureka! We say it in English, too: ‘You can take the horse to water, but you cannot make him drink it.’”

This interpretation brings about another significant problem connected with paremia: by using almost the same wording or images, a completely different allegorical meaning will be expressed. I call these false equivalents. Thus, the first proverb contains linguistic and semiotic puzzles for the language learners. Linguistically, it is a classic case of an open structure with omitted words—subject and object—and grammatically confusing forms—accusative for the object and the modifier of place, formally coinciding with the nominative. Semiotically, it has a false equivalence. Let us now examine the second proverb which is void of these reefs: it has a grammatically complete structure and no immediate or easily confusable equivalents.

Անվանական թաղվածք, անվանական թաղվածք, անվանական թաղվածք. This literally means, “The money that’s there is hand-dirt, today it’s there, tomorrow it isn’t,” or, “The money that exists is like hand dirt, today it exists, tomorrow it doesn’t.” Having translated this much for my students, I ask if it makes any sense. “Yes, of course,” they would say. Then comes the hesitation and they ask, “That money has no value?” I have heard many interpretations of this proverb from my students. Some of them go into a sophisticated discussion of inflation and devaluation of the dram, the monetary unit of Armenia. They are smart interpretations, but over all, they miss the target. The problem with proverbs is that they have an allegorical meaning. Indeed, the connection between the allegorical meaning and the literal meaning is vague to the point of seeming arbitrary.

I have heard this proverb growing up and throughout my life with several specific intonations: kidding, ironic, sarcastic, contemptuous, philosophical, etc. I can hardly remember all of them out of context, since the intonation and context play a crucial role in the interpretation of fixed phrases. Basically, the proverb means that money has no value, it’s filthy, and not lasting. Why? How do I explain it to my students? The first problem is in the concept itself: how come money has no value when we work hard to earn a living and money can change so much? Another Armenian proverb says, Անցող անցող անցող անցող, Money lightens (glows in) dark places. So it must have some value and power in and of itself. This latter proverb was never used with an ironic intonation.

Returning to our original proverb, “The money that’s there is hand-dirt, today it’s there, tomorrow it isn’t,” we can see its roots in Communist philosophy. The proposition derives from the Soviet system of values and beliefs: money is dirty as a tool of capitalist exploitation, people should work not for money but for the prosperity and progress of their country and the Communist system. One could narrow down the purpose of earning money to professional growth and perfection, but not for money and power themselves. In the ideal future Communist society, which in Communist theories somewhat resembled heaven, there would be no money, for money is not an eternal value. Remember, however, the accepted intonation of this proverb. It was said either ironically, sarcastically, or contemptuously, and always with some bit of humor or fun, because common people knew just too well the value and power that money rendered. Contempt emphasized the word “dirty”: to get rich in Soviet society, one had to use illegal means and “dirty” one’s hands, i.e., steal, deceive, take bribes, etc. The dirtiness of money had both direct and

* There are many such proverbs in Armenian, e.g., Բան եւստած աճիլ էր, “Someone drags someone holding him (having caught his) onto the nose.”
If there was irony in that intonation, it must have been money he earned, He must also have had the feeling that he washed away the bread only, and who washed his hands after the day’s work. got home, who brought his family not money but daily spent his daily earnings for life necessities by the time he was a hard worker, who earned daily insecure wages, who veil fell off my eyes when I visualized the simple man who “What was the original meaning of this proverb?” And the proverb must have been much older than the Soviet system, however, another important purpose. I realized that this without the real context. My futile attempts served, An open-ended intonation with the full fixed phrase can express? The problem I encountered as a situations to explain the spectrum of meanings that one could mean blaming someone for his or her inability to make money, or condemn those who are jealous of others’ wealth.

How can a language teacher create all these real life situations to explain the spectrum of meanings that one fixed phrase can express? The problem I encountered as a language teacher was to reproduce the correct intonation without the real context. My futile attempts served, however, another important purpose. I realized that this proverb must have been much older than the Soviet system, which was established in Armenia in 1920. I asked myself, “What was the original meaning of this proverb?” And the veil fell off my eyes when I visualized the simple man who was a hard worker, who earned daily insecure wages, who spent his daily earnings for life necessities by the time he got home, who brought his family not money but daily bread only, and who washed his hands after the day’s work. He must also have had the feeling that he washed away the money he earned, for today it existed, but not for tomorrow. If there was irony in that intonation, it must have been allegoric meaning: money circulates through thousands of hands, it is really dirty, contaminated with microbes and viruses. This aspect of reality was emphasized with a concerned intonation and abbreviated versions of the proverb, such as Ողովի ծնող զառունե ու Օղովի զառունին (Money is hand-dirt). The insecurity of wealthy people during the Soviet regimen was expressed in a philosophical intonation and another abbreviated proverb, Ողովի պատրաստ զառունե, զառունի զառուն (Money’s today here, tomorrow it’s not). This means that the power it generates is gone when it’s gone. Getting rich also meant getting closer to a jail, being caught in bribes, etc. The resentment towards those who got rich illegally was emphasized with contemptuous, even hostile, intonations. An open-ended intonation with the full or abbreviated versions could mean that money by itself had no lasting value in comparison with real values, such as family, friendship and equality between rich and poor people. Finally, the ironic or sarcastic intonation could mean blaming someone for his or her inability to make money, or condemn those who are jealous of others’ wealth.

Language learners encounter three main types of problems connected with the interpretation and use of fixed phrases. The first is linguistic, or, insufficient knowledge of the language. This can be addressed through the acquisition of the grammatical and phonological systems for self-expression and communication, such as grammatical forms and words, intonation, pitch, and lexical gaps. The second is semiotic, or, insufficient familiarity with the arbitrary values assigned to fixed forms of language by the speaking community. It can be addressed by mastering the socially-arbitrary and liquid interlacing of meaning and form in the words, idioms, and paremia, including plays on words, pragmatic scenarios, and semiotic imaging. And the third is cultural, or, insufficient knowledge of cultural information embedded into the fixed forms. This can be resolved by mastering the social side of the language that is unique for each speech community, including history, literary sources, stereotypes, traditions, climate, values, and pragmatic content. As a linguistic theorist and language teacher, therefore, I can generalize that language learners always struggle with these three types of problems that are magnified in proverbs and paremia in general.

Socio-economic changes in society can change the perception of money. The old proverb received a new allegoric interpretation in Soviet times: money was something low and dirty and, therefore, did not matter. So in the semiotic interpretation of a proverb, the cultural background of language speakers is significant. But there is yet another important layer to this proverb, and it derives from older cultural values. Armenians are known to be doers. They help a person in trouble with what s/he needs, not just by telling him or her to “go and try this and that.” This kind of assistance often means spending real money. An image is created: one who has even a small amount of money will immediately give it to a friend or relative in trouble. Contemplation comes later: money is like hand dirt; it will disappear anyway, whether to save a life or buy a pair of shoes. This gives birth to our proverb.

From a broader perspective, this helps to explain one of the puzzles of Armenia’s survival. Throughout history, with continuous wars and plundering of the country by enemies, the people came to rescue the weakest of their friends and family, so that they wouldn’t perish. They would thrive once again and rescue those who were in even greater need. The conclusion of this cultural experience is the proverb in question, which has gone through—and will continue to undergo—modifications of its interpretation depending on historic circumstances, on the one hand, and real life contexts, on the other. Thus, the analysis of one proverb can take us into cultural depths and historic layers. A language learner could not grasp its philosophical implications, even if s/he understood its literal and allegorical meanings.
Country Code Domains

The World Wide Web has been established with many conventions, including the division of the Internet into regions of jurisdiction called “domains.” Those of us who have surfed the Web are familiar with generic domain names, such as “com” used for a US commercial institution, “org” for a non-profit organization, and “gov” for the US government. Any Web site whose URL (Uniform Resource Locator, or address) ends with “.gov” falls under the jurisdiction of the US government, be it the home page of the White House, the US Department of Education, or the Library of Congress. UC Berkeley’s domain is berkeley.edu, with “.edu” specifying it as a US educational institution. Less common—but used by many K-12 schools in the United States—is “.us,” the country code domain for the United States.

Russian History Audio Archive

The Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies and National Public Radio are pleased to announce the establishment of an audio archive of Soviet and Russian history, intended primarily as a teaching resource to enhance the classroom study of Russian and Soviet history. The archive consists of recordings dating back to the earliest years of the Soviet state. Included are the voices and speeches of key political figures, recorded interviews, and on-the-scene recorded sound of many events in Soviet history.

The material comes from Soviet and Russian sources, the NPR archives, the archives of the BBC, and individual donors. Some of the material is in Russian; some in English. A list of recordings is available on the Kennan Institute’s Web site at http://wwics.si.edu/kennan/audio.htm.

Audio cassettes of anything in the archive can be ordered by phone or mail. Each tape costs $12.95 plus $2.50 shipping and handling. Credit card orders may be placed by calling NPR’s Audience Services at (202) 414-3232, Monday through Friday, 10 a.m.–5 p.m. ET. Payments by check or money order, payable to National Public Radio, should be mailed to: Audience Services, National Public Radio, 635 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20001-3753. Indicate the Russian Archive Reel number and segment title(s) desired, and mark the envelope “tape.” It normally takes four to six weeks to process orders.

Domain names only tell us part of the story. For example, a grad student residing for the year in Europe while conducting dissertation research might still use an e-mail address with a US domain. But knowing that a URL with the domain “.ro” is coming from Romania could explain a slow connection to that Web site.
The Rosberg Library, located for more than 25 years in Stephens Hall until its closure in May 1999, has been resuscitated. Located in 223 Doe Library, the Carl G. Rosberg Reading Room once again contains key journals and other serial collections on international and area studies. The Slavic Center continues to fund periodicals from Slavic, East European, and Eurasian studies, such as Communist and Post-Communist Studies and Itogi.

The Rosberg Reading Room is located through the Government and Social Sciences Information Service (GSSI) Reading Room on the east side of the second floor of Doe Library. The Rosberg Reading Room is open during the week from 9 a.m. until 10 p.m., on Saturday from 9 a.m. until 5 p.m., and on Sunday from 1 p.m. until 10 p.m. GSSI Librarians provide reference assistance on weekdays from 9 a.m. until 5 p.m.

Among the advantages of the new reading room are its tranquil environment and its comfortable furnishings. It is an ideal place to tuck away and work, especially among the many Slavic, East European, and Eurasian publications. Finding the room for the first time, however, is somewhat challenging. The best way to go is: from Morrison Library, head up the marble staircase on the left. At the top of the stairs, go through the doors facing the staircase. These doors lead directly into the GSSI Reading Room, which many will recall once served as the entrance to the main stacks. At the far end of the room, below the painting of George Washington, there is a door on the right. The Rosberg Reading Room is located just through this door. Inside the room are several tables with chairs, a photocopier, and two library computer terminals, in addition to the shelves of reading materials.

For further information, consult the Rosberg Reading Room’s Web site at http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/Rosberg/. The site contains a list of collections held in the reading room as well as links to the library’s area studies collections, including the Slavic and East European Collections home page.

Meeting of Frontiers: Russia and the United States

Russia’s eastward expansion and the United States’ westward expansion have many parallels as well as intersections. To express the defining differences and the shared history of our frontier experiences, the Library of Congress—in partnership with the National Library of Russia, the Russian State Library, and several other institutions—publishes a bilingual, multimedia English-Russian digital library at http://frontiers.loc.gov.

Launched in December 1999, Meeting of Frontiers is intended primarily for use by schools and libraries, but the organized, well-written text and the historical documents make this Web site valuable to everyone. The site gives an historical overview, covers related themes in depth, and provides access to collections of historical documents that include books, maps, photographs, and even sound recordings.
The 31st National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS) took place November 18–21, 1999 in St. Louis, Missouri. Berkeley was well represented at the conference with the following presentations:

**Evgenii Bershtein** (Ph.D. in Slavic languages and literatures, 1998) presented “Pavel Florenskii and People of the Moonlight” at the panel entitled “Religion and Decadence in Fin-de-Siècle Russian Culture.”

**Z. Ronald Bialkowski**, Ph.D. candidate in history, participated in the panel on “Problems of Legal Modernization in Late Imperial Russia.”

**George W. Breslauer**, professor of political science and dean of social sciences, took part in the Ed A. Hewitt Memorial Roundtable discussion entitled “Eight Years After the Dissolution of the USSR.”


**Melissa Kae Frazier** (Ph.D. in Slavic languages and literatures, 1995), presented a paper on “Sekowski’s Arabian Nights” at a panel entitled “Contesting Imperial Discourse: Polish and Ukrainian Orientalisms.”

**Eleonory Gilburd**, Ph.D. candidate in history, participated in the roundtable discussion on “Research in the Post-Stalin Period.”

**Andreas Johns** (Ph.D. in Slavic languages and literatures, 1996) presented a paper on “Koshchei Bessmertnyi in Slavic Folklore” at the panel on “Folk Belief in Tales and Literature.”

**Brian Kassof**, Ph.D. candidate in history, presented a paper on “The Society for the Destruction of Gosizdat: Conspiracy Among the Bolseviks, 1926” at the panel on “Bolshevik Political Culture, 1926–1953.”

**Olga Matich**, professor of Slavic languages and literatures, presented “Religious Philosophical Meetings (1902–1904) and the Psychopathology of Celibacy” at the panel entitled “Religion and Decadence in Fin-de-Siècle Russian Culture.”

**Eric Naiman**, assistant professor at the Departments of Slavic Languages and Literatures and Comparative Literature, presented “The Bowels of Merriment: Ideological Rigor and Bodily Accents in ‘Schastlivaia Moskva’” at the panel “Building Boy Bolshevik Bodies in Stalin’s Russia.”

**William S. Nickell** (Ph.D. in Slavic languages and literatures, 1998) presented “Rebuilding the Edifice of Russian Realism” at the panel on “Novostroika in the Canon: Literary Institutions in Post-Soviet Russia.” Bill also chaired the panel “Vision and Knowledge in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Russian Culture.”


**Harsha Ram**, assistant professor of Slavic languages and literatures, served as a discussant on the panel “Contesting Imperial Discourse: Polish and Ukrainian Orientalisms.” Harsha also served as a discussant the panel entitled “Cityshapes: St. Petersburg.”

**Valerie Jeanne Sperling** (Ph.D. in political science, 1997) presented a paper on “Remembrance of Things Past: The Impact of Political History on Women’s Movement Organizing” at the panel entitled “Women’s Organizations in the Russian Federation: Issues and Challenges.”


**Alan Timberlake**, professor of Slavic languages and literatures, chaired the panel “Pecherin, Gagarin, and Chizhov: Varieties of Romantic Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Russia.”

**Allan Joseph Urbanic**, Slavic Collections Librarian, took part in the roundtable discussion on “Émigré Collections in U.S. Libraries.”

**Ilya Vinkovetsky**, Ph.D. candidate in history, presented “Echoes of Shots from the Neva: 1804 as a Pivotal Year in Russian Perceptions of Native Alaskans” at the panel entitled “To Siberia and Beyond: Russian Representations of Natives and Landscapes in Siberia and Alaska, 1741–1867.”
The American Association of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages (AATSEEL) held their annual convention in Chicago on December 27–30, 1999. Berkeley graduate students were very active in the convention, making the following presentations:

**Anne Hruska**, Ph.D. candidate in Slavic languages and literatures, presented a paper entitled “Nobility versus Bureaucracy in War and Peace” at the panel of the North American Tolstoj Society.

**Lilya Kaganovsky**, Ph.D. candidate in comparative literature, chaired the panel on “Russian Film, 1920s–1990s.”

**Sonja Kerby**, Ph.D. candidate in Slavic languages and literatures, was a panelist on the instructional material forum, “Using the Components of the Nachalo Text.”

**Berkeley Participants**

**Ann McDevitt Miller**, Ph.D. candidate in Slavic languages and literatures, presented a paper on “Giving Life to the Man/Machine: Vladimir Friche on the New Theater” at the panel entitled “The Myth of Creation in Russian Literature.” Ann also chaired the panel on “Exile and Literature,” which looked at the experience of exile in Slavic literatures.

**Boris Wolfson**, Ph.D. candidate in Slavic languages and literatures, presented a paper entitled “Inventing Tauris: Elegy and the Creation of a Myth” at the panel on Pushkin’s Poetics.

The Second Northwest Conference on Slavic Linguistics was held at Berkeley on March 10–11, 2000. Organized by the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures and cosponsored by the Slavic Center, the conference featured 21 presentations on Balkan Slavic, Bulgarian, Polish, Russian, Serbian, Slavic, and Ukrainian topics. Three professors from the Slavic department—**Johanna Nichols**, **Alan Timberlake**, and **Viktor Zhivov**—presented papers. In addition, Berkeley graduate students and one alumni made the following presentations:

**Jonathan Barnes** and **Darya Kavitskaya**, Ph.D. candidates, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, spoke on “Compensatory Lengthening without Moras.”

**Mirjam Fried** (Ph.D. in linguistics, 1995) spoke on “Verbs of Perception in Context: Beyond Dative Experiencers.”

**Charles Greer**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, spoke on “Rapid Standardization and Morphological Changes in Early Nineteenth-Century Serbian: Formalized Inter-disciplinary Relations and Diachronic Linguistics.”

**Ellen Langer**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, spoke on “Observations on the Morphology of the Instrumental Singular in Nineteenth-Century Russian Literary Prose.”

**Karin Larsen**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, spoke on “Long and Short Adjectives in Novgorod Chronicles.”

**Sabine Stoll**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, spoke on “Communicative Context and cognitive Development: Ingressives vs. Telics in Russian First Language Acquisition.”

**Ilya Yakobovich**, Ph.D. candidate, Department of Near Eastern Studies, spoke on “The Origin of -a- Infinitives in Slavic.”
When the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) considered the loss of the world’s cultural and natural heritage, it adopted an international treaty in 1972. Named the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, the treaty states, among other points, that “parts of the world’s cultural or natural heritage are of outstanding interest and therefore need to be preserved as part of the world’s heritage of mankind as a whole.” Noting that destruction can result not only from decay but from changing social and economic situations, the World Heritage Convention seeks “to encourage the identification, protection, and preservation of cultural and natural heritage around the world considered to be of outstanding value to humanity.” The World Heritage Centre oversees the Convention and organizes regular meetings of the World Heritage Committee, who, in addition to their other duties, have compiled a list of world heritage sites.

The World Heritage List, updated with 48 sites in December 1999, now contains 630 properties in 118 countries. It can be easily found on the World Heritage Centre’s Web site, http://www.unesco.org/whc. From the WHC home page, choose the link to Sites. At the Sites main page, you have several choices from the menu on the left, including viewing the sites by world region; choosing the World Heritage List, which is arranged alphabetically by country; or choosing a list that mentions which sites are currently in danger. The Inscribed Sites link on that menu opens up a frame with the World Heritage List, and on this list, the name of each site name links to its own page. While these individual pages do not go into great detail, they offer the explanation of the sites’ world heritage value and provide the basis for further research on the site. After reading the page about the historic center of Vilnius, Lithuania, the next step could be an Internet search or an old-fashioned trip to the local library.

**Sites in Our Region**

Twenty-two of our region’s countries currently have sites on the World Heritage List, and the list will certainly grow with each World Heritage Committee meeting. Below are some highlights from our region, chosen at random.

**Butrint**, located in the Sarandërë region of Albania, is an site of archaeological importance, containing Greek and Roman ruins. Due to looting of artifacts from the site museum during civil unrest in 1997, commercial development, and other factors, Butrint is now included on the List of World Heritage in Danger, and solutions are being implemented.

The land contained by the Belovezhskaya Pushcha State National Park in Belarus and the Białowieża National Park in Poland is located on the watershed of the Baltic and Black Seas. A lush forest with many types of animals, the **Belovezhskaya Pushcha/Białowieża Forest** is being repopulated with European bison. Incidentally, the Russian Tsars owned these lands from 1888 until 1917.

The **Skocjan Caves** in Slovenia are listed for their natural heritage. One of most famous places in the world to study limestone, this group of caves contains four chasms, an underground river, several underground lakes, and a variety of vegetation and fauna.

The **Gardens and Castle at Kromeriz**, located in the South Moravian region of the Czech Republic, were influential in the development of the Baroque style in Central Europe. “Exceptionally complete and well preserved,” the gardens and castle are a cultural treasure as well as a beautiful destination.

The **Western Caucasus**, in the Krasnodar region of Russia, have been chosen as a site of natural heritage for its great diversity of ecosystems. A good deal of this site is contained in the Kavkazkiy Nature Reserve. Its extensive tracts of undisturbed forests are unique in Europe, and these forests contain many rare and endangered plants including twelve species of endangered fungi.

It is important to note that occasionally the content inside a frame is larger than the frame itself. If the right side of the text inside a frame is not visible and a scroll bar is not available at the bottom, try opening the frame in a new window. This can be achieved in Windows with a right-click (click the right button on your mouse) inside the frame or by Control-click (click the mouse while holding down the Control key) on a Mac.

The World Heritage Centre’s Web site offers more information than these lists. The Participate page links to a page entitled For Teachers that doesn’t contain much at the present, although interesting things can be found under other links. Go to the News page for Special Reports and Viewpoints for general world heritage topics. Or from the Convention page, go to the Bookstore page and browse the WH Publications link on the right-side menu; some publications are available on-line. As an educational resource, the World Heritage Centre’s Web site promises to grow even more valuable. This site demands to be bookmarked and periodically visited.
The Center acknowledges with sincere appreciation the following individuals who have contributed to the annual giving program, the Associates of the Slavic Center (or have been enrolled due to their particular generosity toward Cal to support some aspect of Slavic & East European Studies), between December 1, 1999 and March 1, 2000. Financial support from the Associates is vital to our program of research, training, and extra-curricular activities. We would like to thank all members of ASC for their generous assistance.

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For those of you who are not yet members, we encourage you to join. We believe you will enjoy the stimulating programs; even if you cannot participate as often as you might wish, your continuing contribution critically supports the Center’s mission and goals.

**Members ($10 to $100).** Members of ASC receive monthly “Updates” and special mailings to notify them of events and special activities, such as cultural performances and major conferences. In this way, notification of even last-minute items is direct.

**Sponsors ($100-up).** ASC Sponsors also receive a uniquely designed, brilliant blue coffee mug which promotes Slavic and East European Studies at Berkeley. They also receive invitations to special informal afternoon and evening talks on campus featuring guest speakers from the faculty as well as visiting scholars.

**Benefactors ($500-up).** ASC Benefactors receive invitations to the dinner and evening programs associated with our annual conferences, such as the annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference in the spring.

**Center Circle ($1,000-up).** In addition to enjoying the above-mentioned benefits, donors within the Center Circle will also become Robert Gordon Sproul Associates of the University. Benefits of the Sproul Associates includes invitations to two football luncheons and eligibility for membership in the Faculty Club.

*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.*

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Send your check, made payable to the Regents of the University of California, to:

The Center for Slavic and East European Studies
University of California, Berkeley
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Berkeley CA 94720-2304
Attn: ASC

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Faculty and Student News


Robin Brooks, Ph.D. candidate in political science, received a Graduate International Fellowship from NSEP for 1999–2000 to conduct research in Bulgaria. Robin is researching ethnic and religious self-identification in post-Communist societies.

Laura Henry, Ph.D. candidate in political science, received a Graduate International Fellowship from NSEP for 1999–2000 to conduct research in Russia, Poland, and Ukraine. Laura’s project is on civil societies in post-socialist states with particular emphasis on non-governmental organizations in environmental issues.


AATSEEL’s 1999 Award for Outstanding Achievement in Scholarship was given to Simon Karlinsky, professor emeritus of Slavic Languages and Literatures.

Kristen Kopp, Ph.D. candidate in German, received funding from the SSRC’s Berlin Program for Advanced German and European Studies to study in Berlin during 1999–2000. Her project is entitled “Contested Borders: German Post-Colonial Discourse and the Loss of Eastern Lands.”


Czeslaw Milosz, professor emeritus of Slavic languages and literatures and 1980 Nobel prize winner for literature, was honored at a recent lecture by His Excellency Miomir Zuzul, Ambassador of Croatia to the United States. After speaking for the Slavic Center, Ambassador Zuzul presented Professor Milosz with honorary membership in the Croatian Academy of Sciences in Zagreb.


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When Professor Milosz read his poetry in February at Cal’s Lunch Poems, more than 400 people were counted in attendance. The Morrison Room overflowed into the halls where people strained to hear him speak.


Ilya Vinkovetsky, Ph.D. candidate in history, has a forthcoming article in *Canadian-American Slavic Studies* [34, no. 2 (Summer 2000), pp. 125–139]. Entitled “Classical Eurasianism and Its Legacy,” the article discusses the ideas of the founders of Eurasianism in the 1920s and 1930s and their transformation into a new ideology in the 1990s.

Barbara Voytek, executive director of the Slavic Center, presented a paper at a recent conference on Yugoslavia entitled “The Iron Gates in Prehistory: New Perspectives,” at the Department of Archaeology at the University of Edinburgh. Entitled “The Excavations at Grotta dell’Edera and the Mesolithic/Neolithic Transition in the Trieste Karst,” the paper presents the results in the on-going excavation in north-eastern Italy that she directs with Paolo Biagi.

Daniel Ziblatt, Ph.D. candidate in political science, received funding the SSRC’s Berlin Program for Advanced German and European Studies to study in Berlin during 1999–2000. His project is entitled “The East German Disappointment in Comparative Perspective: Marketization, Economic Performance, and Political Legitimacy.”
Upcoming Events

Events are subject to change; for current information on Center events, please call (510) 642-3230. When no one is available to take your call, you may listen to the recorded message that lists our upcoming events.

A more timely announcement of our events can be found in our Monthly Updates, published during the academic year. Updates are mailed to campus addresses and to Associates of the Slavic Center (see page 23) by first class mail. Additional copies are available at the Center, 361 Stephens Hall.

Monday, April 3.   **Regents’ Lecture**: Dmitri Nabokov, Spring 2000 Regents’ Lecturer, will speak on “Vladimir Nabokov: Father, Son, Millennium.” In the Maude Fife Room, 315 Wheeler Hall, 4 p.m. Sponsored by the Dean of Humanities, the Department of English, the Townsend Center for the Humanities, CSEES, and the Consortium for the Arts. Contact: Slavic Department, (510) 642-2979.

Tuesday, April 4.   **Panel Discussion**: “Pain and Suffering: The Case of Tolstoi’s Ivan Ilich.” Panelists will discuss the final chapter of Tolstoi’s *Death of Ivan Ilich* from their respective disciplines. In the Geballe Room, 220 Stephens Hall, 4 p.m. Panelists include: Gail Bigelow, Visiting Nurse Association; Guy Micco, M.D.; Jody Halpern, M.D.; and Irina Paperno, professor of Slavic languages and literatures. Sponsored by the Townsend Center for the Humanities and the Academic Geriatric Resources Program. Contact: Townsend Center, (510) 643-9670.

Wednesday, April 5.   **Brown Bag Talk**: Jeffrey Brooks, professor, Department of History, Johns Hopkins University, will speak on “Two Revolutions in Russian Culture: the Pop and the Modern.” In 442 Stephens Hall, 12 noon. Sponsored by CSEES and the Department of History.

Thursday, April 6.   **Performance**: Dmitri Nabokov, Regents’ Lecturer, and Terry Quinn, author, will present “Dear Bunny, Dear Volodya,” a dramatic dialogue adapted by Terry Quinn from the letters of Edmund Wilson and Vladimir Nabokov. In the Maude Fife Room, 315 Wheeler Hall, 6 p.m. Sponsored by the Dean of Humanities, the Department of English, the Townsend Center for the Humanities, CSEES, and the Consortium for the Arts. Contact: Slavic Department, (510) 642-2979.

Friday, April 7.   **Symposium**: “Twentieth-Century Genocides: Memory, Denial, and Accountability.” In the Lipman Room, 8th floor of Barrows Hall, 9:30 a.m. Sponsored by the Armenian Students Association, the Chancellor’s Student Activity Fund, the Center for African Studies, the Human Rights Center, the Center for Southeast Asian Studies, the Center for Slavic and East European Studies, and the ASUC. For information, please contact: Human Rights Center, (510) 642-0965.

April 8, 9, and 16.   **Performance**: Slavyanka will perform Rachmaninoff’s *Vespers* in original Slavonic. At 4/8: 7 p.m. at Valley Presbyterian Church, 945 Portola Rd, Portola Valley; 4/9: 7 p.m. at First Congregational Church, 2501 Harrison St, Oakland; 4/16: 5:00 p.m. at Grace Cathedral, 1100 California St, San Francisco. Fees: $12 and $15; purchase tickets through Ticketweb (510) 601-TWEB. On 4/16, the performance is open to the public; donations will be accepted at the door. Contact: Slavyanka, (415) 979-8690, or http://www.slavyanka.org.

Monday, April 10.   **Colloquium**: Dmitri Nabokov, Regents’ Lecturer, will present a master class on translation. In the Geballe Room, 220 Stephens Hall, 4 p.m. Sponsored by the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, (510) 642-2979.

April 11-16, various times.   **Performance**: San Francisco Ballet, will perform Act III of Raymonda, produced and choreographed by Rudolf Nureyev to the music of Glazunov. Two other pieces are included in the performance. At the War Memorial Opera House, 301 Van Ness Avenue, San Francisco; Times and dates vary. Fees: $8-100. Contact: Ticket services, (415) 865-2000. SF Ballet general information is available at (415) 861-5600 or http://www.sfballet.org.

Wednesday, April 12.   **Brown Bag Talk**: Leszek Zasztowt, associate professor at the Institute for the History of Science of the Polish Academy of Sciences and professor at Center for East European Studies at the University of Warsaw, will be our speaker; a title will be announced. In 442 Stephens Hall, 12 noon. Sponsored by CSEES.

Monday, April 17.   **Brown Bag Talk**: Tamara Sivertseva, senior fellow at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences and currently senior fellow at the United States Institute of Peace, will speak on strategies of survival in Kumuk villages and Makhachkala, continued on page 27.
Fellowship Opportunities

**Slavic Center Travel Grants.** Limited travel support for faculty and Center-affiliated graduate students. Awards up to $400 are made to those presenting a paper at a meeting of a recognized scholarly organization. Awards are made on a first-come, first-served basis, and priority is given to those who did not receive Slavic Center funding in AY 98–99. Deadline: on-going. To apply send request with budget to: Barbara Voytek, CSEES, U.C. Berkeley, 361 Stephens Hall # 2304, Berkeley CA 94720-2304.

**Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies**

Research Grants in Ukrainian Studies provide funds for research in Ukrainian or Ukrainian-Canadian topic in history, literature, language, education, or social sciences.

The Darcovich Memorial Doctoral Dissertation Fellowship provides up to $8,000 to a student writing a dissertation on a Ukrainian or Ukrainian-Canadian topic in education, history, law, humanities, arts, social sciences, women’s studies, or library sciences. All degree requirements, up to the dissertation, must be completed by the time award is taken up.

The Dorosh Master’s Thesis Fellowship provides up to $4,500 to a student writing a thesis on a Ukrainian or Ukrainian-Canadian topic in education, history, law, humanities, arts, social sciences, women’s studies, or library sciences. All degree requirements, up to the thesis, must be completed by the time award is taken up.

For all: Write to request application. Deadline: 5/1/00. Contact: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 352 Athabasca Hall, Edmonton AB, Canada T6G 2E8; Tel: 403-492-2972; Fax: 403-492-4967.

**Collegium Budapest**

The Institute for Advanced Study Junior Fellowships provide ten residential fellowships to grads and postdocs for AY 2001–02. Research should be conducted on Central and Eastern Europe, especially on the cultural, socio-political, and economic transformation. Topics in emerging disciplines and problem areas are encouraged. Deadline: 6/15/00. Contact: Collegium Budapest, Junior Fellowships, Szentháromság u. 2., H-104 Budapest; Tel: 36-1-45-77-611; Fax: 36-1-37-59-539; vera.kempa@colbud.hu; http://www.colbud.hu.

**Institute of International Studies**

The MacArthur Dissertation Fellowship on Multilateralism provide funding for Berkeley graduate students conducting dissertation research on various topics. See Web site for annual research themes.

- The Bendix Dissertation Fellowship provides dissertation funding for promising Berkeley graduate students in political and social theory.
- The MacArthur Predissertation Fellowship provides funding for Berkeley graduate students conducting research addressing specific questions on multilateralism. See Web site for details.
- The Sharlin Award provides funding for Berkeley graduate students conducting dissertation research in historical sociology, historical demography, or social history.
- The Simpson Dissertation Fellowship in International and Comparative Studies provides funding for Berkeley graduate students conducting dissertation research on various topics. See Web site for annual research themes.

Deadline for all: 4/3/00. Contact: IIS, 215 Moses Hall # 2308; http://globetrotter.berkeley.edu/fellowship/.

**Kosciuszko Foundation**

The Metchie J.E. Budka Award provides $1,500 to grad students at US universities and to postdocs in their first three years, for outstanding scholarly work in Polish literature (14th Centruy to 1939) or Polish history (962 to 1939). An application is available on their Web site or by writing to their address. Deadline: 7/19/00. Contact: The Metchie J.E. Budka Award, The Kosciuszko Foundation, 15 E 65th St, New York NY 10021-6595; Tel: 212-734-2130; Fax: 212-628-4552; http://www.kosciuszkofoundation.org.

**University of Iowa**

Baltic Studies Summer Institute: Summer FLAS Fellowships cover tuition, fees and provide a stipend of $2,400 for to attend BALSSI. Applicants must be US citizens or permanent residents, and applications may be made online. Deadline: 4/14/00. Contact: University of Iowa; Center for Russian, East European, and Eurasian Studies; Baltic Studies Summer Institute 2000; http://www.uiowa.edu/~creees/projects/balssi.html.

**Wiener Library**

The Fraenkel Prize in Contemporary History provides $3,000 and $5,000 (two awards) for an outstanding, unpublished work in 20th century Central Europe and Jewish history, the Second World War, fascism and
totalitarianism, political violence, racism, etc. The larger prize is open to all entrants; the length should be 50,000 to 150,000 words. The second prize is open to those who have not yet published a major work; the length should be 25,000 to 100,000 words. Deadline: 5/10/00. Contact: Anne Beale, Administrative Secretary, Wiener Library Limited, 4 Devonshire Street, London WIN 2BH; Tel: 0171-636-7247; Fax: 0171-436-6428.

Woodrow Wilson Center

The East European Studies Program provides Short-Term Grants for one month of research in Washington, DC and its institutions. Grants do not include residence at the Wilson Center. Deadline: 6/1/00.

The East European Studies Junior Scholars Training Seminar funds participation in a training seminar in the Washington, DC area for Ph.D. students at the dissertation level or those with a Ph.D. since 1997. Research is open to any field of East European or Baltic studies, excluding Russia and the FSU. See Web site for details. Deadline: 4/15/00.

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

Events, continued from page 25

Russia. A title will be announced. In 270 Stephens Hall, 12 noon. Sponsored by BPS.

Monday, April 17. Colloquium: Alexandre Galouchkine, independent writer and scholar at the Gorki Institute in Moscow, will speak on “Josif Stalin i Literaturnoe Dvizhenie v SSSR v 1920-1930-e gg. (Stalin and Literary Movements in the USSR in the 1920-1930’s).” Note: this talk will be presented in Russian without translation. In 219 Dwinelle Hall, 4 p.m. Sponsored by CSEES, the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, and the Department of History.

Tuesday, April 18. Brown Bag Talk: Balint Rozsnyai, currently a visiting professor at CSU Fresno and associate professor and chair, Department of American Studies, Attila Jozsef University, Szeged, Hungary, will speak on “A Case of Post-Communist Bewilderment: Culture, Media, and Culture Politics in Hungary.” In 442 Stephens Hall, 12 noon. Sponsored by CSEES.

Wednesday, April 19. Brown Bag Talk: Shorena Kurtsikidze, visiting professor, Department of Near Eastern Studies, will be our speaker; a title will be announced. In 442 Stephens Hall, 12 noon. Sponsored by CSEES.

Wednesday, April 26. Brown Bag Talk: Roumen Daskalov, associate professor of history at the University of Sofia, Bulgaria and the Central European University in Budapest, will speak on “Bai Ganio and the Self-interpretation of Culture and Society in Modern Bulgaria.” In 442 Stephens Hall, 12 noon. Sponsored by CSEES.

April 28-May 7, various times. Performance: The San Francisco Ballet presents Romeo & Juliet, composed by Prokofiev and performed in its entirety. At the War Memorial Opera House, 301 Van Ness Avenue, San Francisco; Times and dates vary. Fees: $8-100. See 4/11 for contact information.

Monday, May 1. Colloquium: Joachim Klein, University of Leidin, will speak on “A Revolt against Polite Manners: V. Maikov’s Burlesque Poem ‘Elisei, or the Drunker Bacchus.’” In 219 Dwinelle Hall, 4 p.m. Sponsored by the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, (510) 642-2979.

Tuesday, May 2. Brown Bag Talk: Gulnar Kendirbai, visiting scholar at the Middle East Institute at Columbia University, will speak on “The Struggle for Land on the Kazak Steppe at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century.” In 442 Stephens Hall, 12 noon. Sponsored by CSEES and BPS.

Tuesday-Thursday, May 2-4. Performance: The Eifman Ballet of St. Petersburg will be performing Tchaikovsky’s The Mystery of Life and Death. At Palace of Fine Arts Theatre, San Francisco, 8 p.m. each day. Fees: $35/45/55. For tickets contact: City Box Office, 153 Kearny St Ste 401, San Francisco, or (415) 392-4400.


Friday, May 12. Annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference: “Law and Justice in the Former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.” At Stanford, an exact schedule will be announced. Sponsored by the Center for Russian and East European Studies at Stanford University and CSEES.
BPS Working Paper Series

The Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies has recently published three new titles in its working paper series. A complete list of working paper titles is available at http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~bsp/pubs/working.html. For more information on this series, contact BPS directly at bsp@socrates.berkeley.edu or (510) 643-6737.

