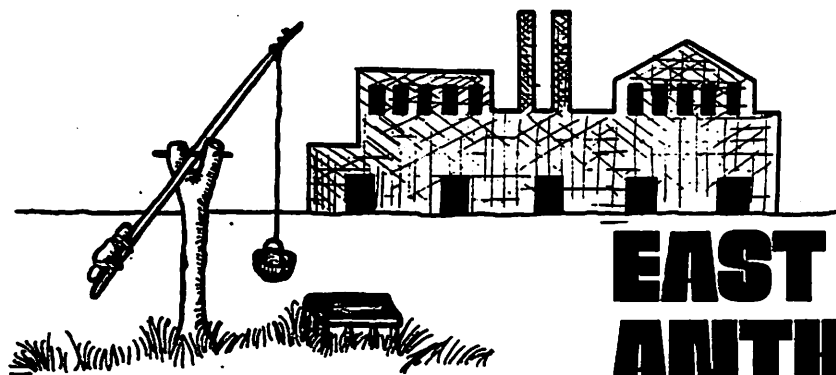


R. Hayden



**NEWSLETTER of the
EAST EUROPEAN
ANTHROPOLOGY
GROUP**

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Ann Arbor, MI 48109

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Important Notice!

The East European Anthropology Group will convene as usual during the annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association (to be held this year in Chicago, November 16-20). Unfortunately, notice of our session did not appear in the preliminary program. This should be corrected in the final program but, just in case, note the following, and spread the word to all interested parties: EEAG members will meet at 5:30, Saturday, November 19, in the Field Room of the Hyatt Regency Hotel. Following the meeting (at approximately 7:00) those who wish will take dinner together at a local East European restaurant.

This will be a particularly important meeting. Among other topics we will need to discuss the position of EEAG in the re-organized AAA and the future of the EEAG Newsletter. This issue of the Newsletter is the next to the last to be published under the three year grant provided by the Joint Committee on Eastern Europe. Thus this meeting will be our last opportunity to discuss whether the newsletter should continue and, if so, how it will be funded. If we do decide to continue publication and find means of doing so, then we should also determine a systematic and democratic means of selecting an editor. Come to Chicago and bring your ideas.

From the Editor

Our fifth issue of the Newsletter. Another fat one. We thank all those who have so generously contributed the materials which appear here. We urge the rest of you to send us something for the next issue: news or forthcoming publications; notices of grants received or proffered; reviews of books or films; requests for assistance; course syllabi and bibliographies; reports on meetings you have attended; offers to organize symposia; short articles concerning relevant institutions; public announcements of births, deaths, marriages, promotions, job changes; criticism; suggestions; or what have you. Send them to the Editor, c/o Department of Anthropology, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48109. The deadline for Volume 3, Number 2, is April 1, but now is not too soon.

The Newsletter is made possible by a grant from the Joint Committee on Eastern Europe, with further assistance from the Center for Russian and Eastern European Studies and the Department of Anthropology at The University of Michigan. We thank all three of these institutions for their generosity. The grant, especially with the continued support of the Center and the Department, should allow us (barring even greater inflation than anticipated) to publish and distribute the newsletter without cost for an initial three-year period to all with a professional interest in East European anthropology.

The assistant editor for this issue is Yvonne Lockwood.



Personals

Eva V. Huseby, doctoral candidate in anthropology at the University of Michigan, returned in August, 1983 from fieldwork in Hungary. Her year-long project concerned identity maintenance and manipulation in a northeast Hungarian village.

Andrei Simic (University of Southern California) has been awarded a three-year grant from the National Institute on Aging to study Serbs in Northern California (San Francisco area and Jackson). This is part of a larger project with Barbara Myerhoff and Joan Weibel to examine ethnicity and aging. The full title of the project is Ethnicity, Continuity, and Successful Aging among Serbian, Jewish, and Native Americans.

Anthropological Struggle in Eastern Europe: A Commentary

David Kideckel contributes the following to the on-going discussion stimulated by John Cole's articles on East European anthropology (Newsletter of the EEAG, 1:2:1-3; 2:1:2-6; 2:2:2-10). Anybody else?

Over the last two years readers of this newsletter have been treated to a disquisition by John Cole on the nature of East European society and East European anthropology. Comments on Cole's pieces by Joel Halpern and Oriol Pi-Sunyer briefly indicated the still unsettled views that we ourselves have of the region, let alone its potential contribution to the discipline. In reading each of these essays I found much in them helpful to sort out these questions but still ultimately equivocal for my own comprehension of the region and its anthropological understanding.

Halpern clearly indicates the integration of East European studies in the historical mainstream of anthropology yet Cole's comments show that, even as the field expanded in number of practitioners, it has never attained a position of reliance for general anthropology. Suggesting that its potential import lies nearly exclusively in Eastern Europe's socialist nature, history of dependency, and developmental ethic, John offers a fairly Manichaean view both of the region vis-a-vis other dependent zones such as Latin America (implicit) and of the anthropological approach to the region compared to the other

mainstream, established, "Rightist" views (explicit). Pi-Sunyer rightly expressed reservations about the over-simplification of East European agrarian dependency but also fell prey to a reductionism centered on questions of political control and coercion.

Where does this leave us? I certainly have no immediate answers to either questions of regional essences or potential contributions. However, I would like to try and define some common themes in these issues if only to try and understand the specific contexts in which they are raised. By recognizing the environment in which we operate, future steps might be more apparent and successful for our research, relevance, and understanding.

Re-reading the previous Newsletters in preparing this comment it struck me that there are remarkable parallels both in our circumstances within anthropology and in the nature of East European social systems. A key theme in both is that of struggle, self-determination, and the ability to be taken seriously by significant others.

In Eastern Europeanist anthropology our struggle is largely one to define basic meanings. Cole is correct in pointing out the ways in which we diverge from mainstream area studies and both he and Halpern indicate some of our problems in recognition in anthropology. You might say that Eastern Europeanist anthropology is to Eastern European Area studies what Eastern Europe is to other anthropology -- minor off-

shoots at best or, more often, terra incognita.

Our falling between these disciplinary cracks, so to speak, need not be as detrimental as we occasionally paint it. True, figuring out what we're all about is made more difficult by these loose connections with established research traditions. However, this gives us the latitude to make use of a wide variety of separate disciplinary inputs and new intellectual currents to develop a more elegant synthesis of our subject. As Cole suggests, we are (or can be) on the cutting edge of both East European area studies and general anthropology though this potential position is due only in part to the socialist, developmental nature of the region.

Similarly, in Eastern Europe the wholesale transformations of society provide opportunities for the redefinition of the self and others. But, as in our field, the possibilities for redefinition and the characteristics of the redefined self are subject to the control of established powers. The individual has difficulty in making sense and finding meaning in a world where his personal attributes and most basic tenets are given little credence and even whole nations within the region struggle for that same measure of self-knowledge, self-determination, and recognition within the larger world arena.

To be sure, we can trace the material causes of these personal, disciplinary, and national battles. For ourselves, they exist due to the compartmentalization of the sciences in modern, industrial (capitalist) society and the practical requirements of economic and political control which Western education abets. For Eastern Europe, they arise in part due

to the past history and current revivification of dependency, the schizophrenia of rapid social transformation, and the prevailing relations of political domination formed in concert with these first two conditions.

Despite their different origins and the diversity of the systems in which they operate, these struggles reverberate in similar ways. Both can cause nagging self-doubt, a sense of unworthiness or persecution (just ask any unemployed Ph.D. in East Europeanist anthropology), and an ultimate deflection from intinial goals which, in both East European socialist society and East European anthropology (if I am not hopelessly naive), consisted of a concern to promote a more humane and egalitarian world. Confused about the concerns which motivated us in the first place we instead replace them with newly defined ends of "influence," "uniqueness," "making the plan," or "remaking the peasantry."

Yet another parallel joining Eastern Europe as social system and the anthropology of the region is the moment we currently share in our respective histories. In Eastern Europe the heady days of economic expansion, rapid industrial development, and great possibilities for upward class mobility now seem illusory. They have been replaced by multi-billion dollar debts to Western banks, increase (if not vocalized) rejection of party legitimacy, and even party uncertainty as to its own role and choice of policies. There is a pressing need to reexamine the premises on which current policies and practices are based. A massive renewal is called for so that the energies taken up by muddling through can be released for social reconstruction. While these are not

evil empires, neither do they approach the platonic republic with its own guardians assisting in all approaching truth and goodness.

Our own field, having achieved its major growth in the expansionist period after World War II is tied to regional developments in a direct fashion. In addition, because of the peculiarities of research in the region -- i.e, we are generally there with host government approval and assistance -- we have somewhat of a stake in the status quo though not wedded to it inextricably. In these circumstances, then, we too are confronted with the need for renewal and to assist with our own research efforts as those social systems striving to be born in Eastern Europe.

To our credit, most of us are neither "government hacks" producing essay after essay of received Cold War wisdom nor re-gime toadies stretching the bounds of scientific credulity with whitewash and justification. However, rarely do we "tell it like it is" though, with our unique "pig's eye" perspective we are in a unique position to do so. Rather than focus on socialism -- a strategy to solve the problems of a set of poverty-stricken agrarian states through industrialization, urbanization, and (agricultural reorganization), as Cole would have it -- we ought to make "actually existing socialism," i.e. the current social systems as they really operate, our chief concern. While this would recognize the difficult base at which most European states set out on their path to development and the many successes and achievements along the way so it would also consider the manner by which these processes have gone

awry and the often large human costs of the process.

There is no question but that the attack on knowledge is a real one in the United States today and there are those who would reinforce our ignorance to achieve some narrow political purpose. However, a monolithic "right" is as hyperbolic a notion as monolithic communism was in its day. Though the nature of the East European society is certainly misrepresented in this attack on knowledge so, too, is feminism, environmentalism and automobile airbags. Under these circumstances we do ourselves, our informants, and science in general a disservice by over-embellishing and stereotyping the characteristics of our adversaries. (We must remember, for example, that it is the Western bankers who support the continued extension of favorable credit terms to Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia).

In other words, we as a group of individuals with joint interests in Eastern Europe and anthropology, are positioned between the current, and no doubt continuing, struggles in Western Science and East European society. We can best contribute to both by developing an anthropology liberated from the accepted formulae of each and devoted not to seeing the regional present as reflected in its underdeveloped past but to conceiving of its future (and our own) and undertaking research to help achieve it.

In this, as Cole points out, we can be ably assisted and motivated by the example of our East European colleagues who have been clearly forthright and insightful about the nature of their own societies. "Actually existing socialism" is, after all, a phrase borrowed from Rudolf Bahro who, along with M. Haraszti, G. Kon-

rad, I Szelenyi and the "Budapest school" in Hungary, the Praxis group in Yugoslavia, and other well-known or anonymous East European social scientists, examine East European

realities from the perspective of those who live them.

David A. Kideckel
Central Connecticut State College

Meetings

International Congress of South East European Studies

The Fifth International Congress of South East European Studies will be held in Beograd, Yugoslavia, September 11-17, 1984. For further information, contact:
Professor Eric Hamp
University of Chicago
5828 South University
Box 45
Chicago, IL 60637

IUAES to Meet in Yugoslavia

The Permanent Council of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences has accepted the invitation of Yugoslavia to hold the 12th Annual meeting of the IUAES in Zagreb in 1988. This should be particularly good for readers of the Newsletter since it should ensure wide participation of our colleagues from Eastern Europe. A Yugoslav member of the Permanent Council writes to say that she "would especially like to see ethnologists and folklorists specializing in Eastern Europe mobilized for this occasion" and to solicit from us our ideas regarding pos-

sible subjects, themes, section, etc., for the next Congress. Be quick about it; 1988 is not that far away! Send your suggestions to any of the following members of the Permanent Council.

Ethnology:

dr. Olga Supek
Zavod za istraživanje folklor
Socijalističke revolucije 17

Mirjana Prosic
Odeljenje za etnologija
Filozofski fakultet
11000 Beograd

Physical Anthropology:

dr. Hubert Maver (President of IUAES)
Institut za medicinska istraživanja
Mose Pijade 158
41000 Zagreb

dr. Sanja Lazarevic
Etnografski muzej
Mazuraniecev trg 14
41000 Zagreb

dr. Pavle Rudan
Institut za medicinska istraživanja
Mose Pijade 158
41000 Zagreb

Anthropology and Health Seminar

The Inter-University Centre of Postgraduate Studies in Dubrovnik will sponsor a seminar, Anthropology and Health: Biological and Socio-Cultural Contributions, August 13-24, 1984. The course directors include EEAG member Linda Bennett (George Washington University Medical Center).

The primary objective of the seminar is to present, discuss, and integrate current trends in biological and socio-cultural research in the field of applied medical anthropology. A course in human ecology, it spans the various subfields of anthropology while focusing on medical issues. A general goal is to bring together scholars from biological and socio-cultural anthropology into a setting where they can discuss their distinct and common contributions to the study of and application to health problems. The emphasis is on basic strategies of research and application, rather than on specific methods of data collection and analysis. Research projects will be presented in light on their overall relationship to the field of medical anthropology. The application of research in the improvement of health conditions in various cultural contexts throughout the world will be particularly stressed.

The seminar will be held over a two-week period, during which time the Dubrovnik Summer Festival will also be in session. During the intervening weekend, a trip to the island of Korcula will be arranged for interested participants. Korcula is a field site where a collaborative Yugoslav-American micro-evolutionary

processes among the village population is being conducted.

Participants in the seminar will pay a course fee of 2,000 dinars (approximately \$25.00). Accommodations are available for students in the Inter-University Centre housing for a charge of approximately 450 dinars per day (\$5.50). The working language of the course will be English.

Inquiries about the course should be addressed to the Secretariat of the Inter-University Centre in Dubrovnik (Inter-University Centre of post-graduate studies, Frana Bulica 4, YU-50000 Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia) or to Linda Bennett (Center for Family Research, George Washington University Medical Center, 613 Ross Hall, 2300 Eye Street, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20037, telephone (202) 676-2624).

American Folklore Society

The 1983 Annual Meeting of the American Folklore Society, held in Nashville, Tennessee, October 26-30, included a variety of papers dealing with Eastern Europe: A Narrative Morphology of the Balkan Return Song, by John Miles Foley; Famous Folk Plays along the Bavarian-Czech Border, by Erika Eisenhseer; Tamburiza Music as Ethnic Symbol in American Serbian and Croatian Communities, by Margy McClain; Tradition and Innovation in Bulgarian Saint's Day Celebrations, by Carol Silverman; Barns and Kitchens - Speculations on the Volga Germans of Eastern Washington, by Louise Ackley; and Fathers and Sons - Kinship Terms

among the Turks and East Slavs by Natalie Moyle. Other East European related activities include a showing of Les Blanc's newest, The Polka Film, and an informal meeting of our sister organization, the Slavic and East European Section of AFS.

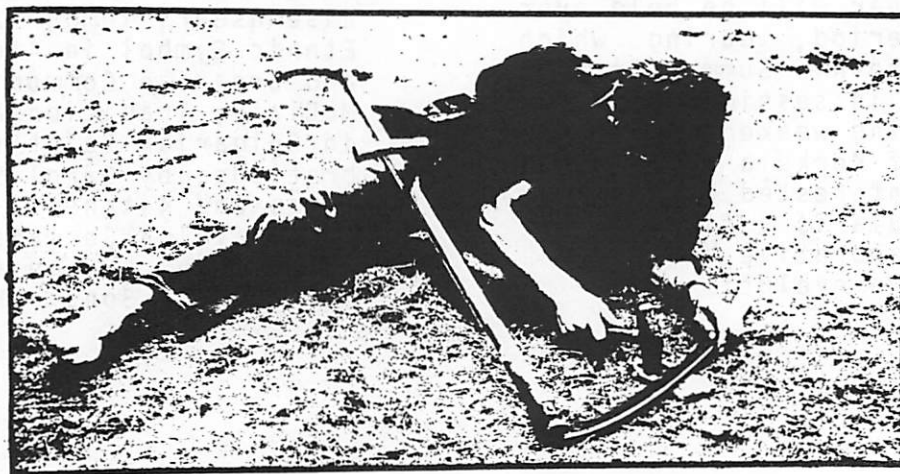
Gypsy Lore Society

The Sixth Annual Meeting of the Gypsy Lore Society, North American Chapter will be held February 24-26, 1984 at Wagner College, Staten Island New York City. Papers are solicited for any of three organized symposia or for a session of papers addressing topics not covered in the organized sessions. The organized symposia are: "Gypsies and Other Cultural Minorities in Spain", organized by Miriam Lee Kaprow (Syracuse University); "Gypsy History", organized by Matt T. Salo (Centenary College); and "Life Histories of High-Achieving Gypsies", organized by Bertha B. Quintana (Montclair State College). Abstracts for all papers are due November 15, 1983. For further information contact Matt T. Salo, Div. of Social/Behavioral Sciences, Centenary College, Hackettstown, NJ 07840; (201) 852-1400 ext. 326.

Resources

The 1983 issue, number 12, of Annual Review in Anthropology is just out and among the bibliographic essays is one especially for us: Anthropology in Eastern Europe, by Joel Martin Halpern and David A. Kideckl, pp. 377-402. This should prove to be both a valuable resource for our own use and a significant demonstration to other anthropologists of the importance of anthropology in Eastern Europe.

Soviet Anthropology and Archeology is a journal of unabridged translations from various periodical sources in the Soviet Union: Sovetskaia etnografiia (Soviet Ethnography); Sovetskaia arkheologia (Soviet Archeology); Trudy Instituta etnografii (Publications of the Institute of Ethnography); Kratkie soobshchenia Instituta etnografii (Brief Reports of the Institute of Ethnography); Sbornik Muzei antropologii i etnografii (Collection of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography); Voprosy filisofii (Problems of Philosophy); Voprosy istorii (Problems of History); Istoriia SSSR (History of the USSR). An attempt is made to select materials which



best reflect developments in Soviet anthropology and archeology and which are of most interest to those professionally concerned with these fields. The editor is ethnologist Stephen P. Dunn. The publisher is M. E. Sharpe, 80 Business Park Drive, Armonk, NY 10504. Unfortunately, subscription fees are even higher than for most journals; for four issues per year, the annual rate is \$158.00 for institutions and \$41.00 for individuals associated with subscribing institutions.

In order to keep Newsletter readers apprised of this important publication, we will list the contents of each issue as it appears. The most recent issue, Spring 1983 (Volume XXI, number 4), contained the following articles:

O. N. Grechina and M. V. Osorina, "Contemporary Children's Folk Prose" from (Russkii fol'klor, vol. XX, 1981)

Iu. V. Ivanova, "Problems of Ethnography of the Bulgarians in the Works of Soviet Scholars from (Sovetskaia etnographiia, 1982, no. 2)

A. K. Baiburn, "The Problem of the "Individual and Tradition" in the works of J. Pentikkainen" from (Sovetskaiia etnographiia, 1982 no. 2)

S. A. Arutinov, "Processes and Regularities of the Incorporation of Innovations into the Culture of an Ethnos" (Sovetskaia etnographiia, 1982, no. 1)

Book Notes

The Balkan City, 1400-1900, by Nikolai Todorov. Publications on Russian and Eastern Europe of the School of International Relations, Number 12. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press. 641 +xxvii pp., 25 plates, 6 figures, 103 tables, 6 appendices, bibliography, glossary. \$30.00.

The appearance in English of The Balkan City, 1400-1900 is an event of some importance for East Europeanists in America.

Todorov is currently vice president of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and has served as Bulgaria's ambassador to Greece and to UNESCO and as director of historical research section of the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. His book, previously published in Russian, Bulgarian and French, is one of the most important economic histories to appear in the field of Balkan studies, presenting an extraordinarily rich and detailed description of cities and city life in Ottoman Europe. The analysis centers on the emergence of class differentiation between merchants and artisans in Balkan towns during centuries under discussion. This is a massive and highly comprehensive work resulting from many years of research in a wide variety of primary sources in several languages, including Ottoman Turkish, Greek, Serbian and Bulgarian. Presented in the course of the analysis is a wealth of previously unpublished data recovered from censuses, tax rolls, property deeds, wills, court records and other do-

cuments. It will be a valuable resource for both historical anthropologists and anthropological historians working in the area.

The Dynamics of East European Ethnicity Outside of Eastern Europe, edited by Irene Portis Winner and Rudolph M. Susel. Cambridge: Schenkman, 1983. XIV + 224 pp., tables, maps, figures (all unnumbered), index. \$22.95 (cloth), \$13.95 (paper).

This collection of papers was originally prepared for a conference at Bellagio, Italy, in 1977. The authors are a particularly heterogeneous lot, representing the fields of anthropology, sociology, folklore, history, linguistics and poetics and coming from Poland (two), Hungary (one), Israel (one), and America (five, of which three are of East European background). The nine papers are grouped in four sections: Hungary (immigration history and intra-community conflict among Hungarian-Americans); Poland (immigration history and intra-community conflict among Polish-Americans); Yugoslavia (Slovene-Americans and Burgenland Croats); and ethnic identity as an aspect of polysystems (Jewish/Russian interaction in the arts, Czech vernacular and literary language, and the structural position of East European immigrants in the United States). Each section has a 2-3 page introduction and there is one final chapter, also brief, which attempts to pull together the disparate pieces. It is not surprising, given the heterogeneity of the participants and their topics and the lack of a narrowly focused theme overall, that the chief problem of the book is cohesion.

Armenian Village Life Before 1914, by Susie Hoogasian Villa and Mary Kilbourne Matossian. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1982. 197 pp., 1 map, 14 photographs, biographies of informants, glossary, bibliography, index. \$15.95 (cloth).

Susie Hoogasian Villa was a second generation immigrant whose parents and maternal grandmother were refugees from the Turkish massacre of Armenians during World War I. She grew up in an Armenian neighborhood of Detroit, attending the local Armenian Schools, listening to her family and their friends reminisce about "the good old days." She went on to study folklore, and to publish a collection of folktales recorded among relatives and neighbors (One Hundred Armenian Tales and Their Folkloristic Relevance). It was during the course of this collecting that she became fascinated by the Armenian village life of her ancestors. She spent the rest of her own life accumulating the data for this book. In all, she interviewed 48 Detroit Armenians before her premature death in 1978. The incompleting manuscript was given Armenian historian Mary Kilbourne Matossian to prepare for publication. The result is unabashedly an ethnography, usually unanalytic, often over-generalized, and sometimes suspect. Nevertheless, it is a valuable contribution, not only for present and future generations of Armenian-Americans but for anthropologists as well. Prior to its publication, there was virtually nothing in print in English on rural Armenian society and culture. And, given the circumstances, there was no way to obtain such information except by such a reconstruction from oral sources as this. There is good description here, detailed, interesting, often conveying a sense of the insider's perspective. It is organized in

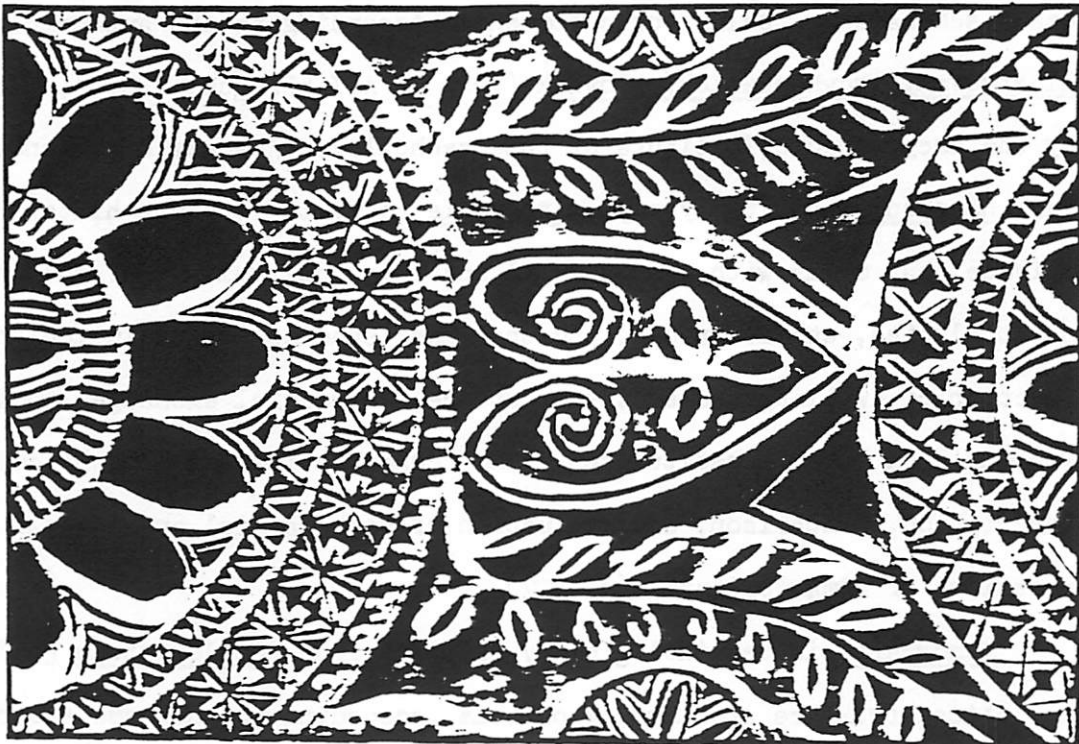
seven chapters, each chock full: The Village Community, Clan and Household; Daily Life; Betrothal and Marriage; Married Life and Childbirth; Child Rearing; Rituals, Beliefs and Omens; and Folk Medicine, Illness, and Death.

Big Mac Invades Eastern Europe

We have just learned of two related stories, to all appearances factual. McDonalds has signed an agreement to open fast food outlets in Yugoslavia. And they are trying to swing a deal to purchase Polish potatoes. We refer you to John Cole's article "Anthropology and the Evil Empire" published earlier in the Newsletter (2:2:2-4).

Grants

The Russian and East European Institute of Indiana University offers financial support for research at the Bloomington campus during summer 1984. Awards are a maximum of \$2000 and are made to people holding a doctoral degree or having equivalent scholarly or scientific experience. A new Teaching Fellow award is also offered, especially for mid-career faculty who want to upgrade or improve their teaching skills and content for courses in the Russian and East European area. Applications are due February 1, 1984. For further information write Richard Sutton, Russian and East European Institute, Ballantine Hall, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.



Contemporary Czech Ethnography: Theory, Practice, Emphases

Zdenek Salzman has contributed this, the first of what we hope will be a series on contemporary anthropology of the East European nations.

Let me first define the topic of this report with greater precision than the title permits. I am concerning myself here with Czech ethnography, that is, a discipline as it is represented by the publications of ethnographers in the Czech Socialist Republic (Bohemia and Moravia). I am not concerned with writings of Czech ethnographers residing and working outside their native country and I have excluded Slovak ethnographic scholarship which, though closely related, would merit a separate study.

The term "ethnography" itself, as it is employed in the context of Czech scholarship, calls for a comment. According to the authoritative Ilustrovaný encyklopedický slovník (Vol. I: A-I [Prague, 1980]), published by the Encyclopedic Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, the term národopis and its synonym etnografie refer to "culture-historical science that deals with the material and spiritual culture of nations, nationalities, ethnic groups, and the like, studies the evolution and function of dwellings, dress, subsistence, commercial exchange, tools, weapons, and social institutions, [and] concerns itself with the collecting, description, comparison, and evaluation of both partial and general expressions of human culture" (p. 607).

Etnografie is terminologically distinct from folkloristika [folkloristics, folklore studies], whose aim, according to the same source,

is to examine the manner in which "collective consciousness is reflected in individual kinds and genres of folklore," be they oral traditions, rituals, folk theater, folk songs and music, folk dance, or the like. Nevertheless, for the Czechs the two fields are very closely related. This linkage is clearly evident from the identical designation of the two major centers of Czech ethnographic research—the Institute for Ethnography and Folkloristics of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and the corresponding Department [katedra] of Ethnography and Folkloristics of the ancient and best-known Czechoslovak university, The Caroline University [Karlova univerzita] in Prague.

The Institute for Ethnography and Folkloristics publishes the journal Český lid, currently in its seventieth volume (1983), which by virtue of its sponsorship is the premier Czech journal in the field.

Because all scholarly activities in socialist Czechoslovakia must be institutionally sponsored and approved, they are highly centralized, and this is true in full measure also of Czech ethnography and folklore studies. It therefore does not come as a surprise that the functions of the director of the Institute, head of the university department, and editor in chief of Český lid all rest on the same individual, Dr. Antonín Robek, a trusted and highly positioned member of the Communist party who for some years now has been the virtual czar of Czech ethnography and folklore studies.

Although Robek's professional career as an ethnographer dates back to 1951, when as a young student of twenty he translated from the Russian S. P. Tolstov's article "Fundamental tasks and paths in the evolution of Soviet ethnography," his rise to administrative and ideological eminence did not occur until after the political events of 1968. Untainted by the spirit of liberalization that characterized the latter half of the 1960s and culminated in the "Prague Spring," he was entrusted with what was euphemistically re-

ferred to as "normalization" of Czech ethnographic and folkloristic scholarship. This was accomplished by a succession of personnel changes—for example, by his assuming effective control of the journal Český lid, as of the final 1972 issue, through replacement of an editorial board of seasoned ethnographers with a relatively inexperienced colleague (several years later he took over the duties of editor himself).

The scope of Czech ethnography and folkloristic research can be gleaned from the latest comprehensive bibliography, covering the year of 1975 (Věra Trkovská [comp.], Česká národopisná bibliografie 1975 [Prague, 1977]). The work contains 626 entries, and although some of them refer to publications omitted from bibliographies for the previous several years, eventual addenda for 1975 should roughly compensate for the additional references. The arrangement of the bibliography provides us with a ready if somewhat mechanical guide to the topical interests of Czech ethnographers and folklorists. The largest number of contributions is in the area of ethnography and folklore of cities and industrial regions (54), followed by folk prose (46), folk architecture and conservationist concerns (43), and customs, superstitions, and folk medicine (26). Remarkable is the relative paucity of publications dealing with social relations (6).

In general there is emphasis on material culture, the urban and industrial scene, and folklore in its various manifestations, but a glaring gap in what in the United States is referred to as "social anthropology." In this respect, however, Czech ethnography is not unlike the ethnography of other European countries, excepting only Great Britain and France.

In contrast to the United States, where virtually all projects in sociocultural anthropology and folklore are chosen and carried out on an individual basis, Czech ethnographers and folklorists, especially those em-

ployed by the Institute, are primarily engaged in collective, or team, research enterprises. The most important projects of the last decade have centered on the ethnographic study of the working class (thus far 9 volumes in a series published by the Institute), the period of Czech National Revival (5 volumes), and the socialist transformation of the rural sector (2 volumes).

There is one other subject that in recent years has been receiving special attention, especially on the pages of Český lid—the new settlers in communities of the border regions from which the former Sudeten German inhabitants were expelled immediately after World War II. The problems of readjustment that these new settlers experienced are particularly interesting in the case of Czechs repatriated from countries to which they had emigrated more than a century ago, especially Volhynia and the Banat, which today are in the Soviet Union and Romania.

In addition to the definite shift in concentration from survivals to topics more consonant with Marxist conception of what ethnography ought to deal with, there is a strong bias in favor of historical rather than synchronic studies. Among the twenty or so articles by Czech ethnographers published in Český lid in 1981, ninety percent are historically oriented, ranging in time from the Thirty Years' War (1618-48) to the end of World War II.

There are several reasons for the neglect of the contemporary scene. Recent studies of the peasantry and the proletariat, covering the era of Austria-Hungary and the First Republic (1918-1938), generally strive to show the economic hardships with which the large majority of the working class had to cope. In one of the "editorials" with which Robek introduces the contents of each issue of Český lid, he takes up the subject under the title "Existential certainties of the socialist way of life" (my translation; Český lid 69:129-

130 [1982]). Robek's contention is that "in his study of the past of villages and cities, the ethnographer frequently encounters to his surprise materials that give evidence of the fact that the old capitalist society offered practically no existential certainties.... Ethnographic and folkloric materials depict the wretched situation of old people--for example, retired peasants, deplorable relations between social groups and classes, [and] fear of diseases and other social and natural catastrophes." "In the study of the contemporary socialist village," Robek continues, "one obviously does not meet with these phenomena. Full employment, occasionally even a palpable shortage of labor force, tends to obliterate the memory of those phenomena of the past, which the socialist society has done away with."

Now there is little doubt that members of the former lower socioeconomic classes have been faring better under socialism, but to suggest that their situation could not bear further improvement is far from justified. The best evidence for this assertion is the multitude of jokes that constantly circulate among Czechs of all stripes and offer an incisive, if sub-rosa, commentary on the political and economic shortcomings of their present condition. Jokes of this kind unquestionably constitute legitimate folkloric material, but anyone who might wish to collect and analyze them would be engaged in treasonable activity. The preoccupation with the past on the part of ethnographers and folklorists thus parallels a similar trend found in the works of other social scientists as well as novelists who, apprehensive of frank assessment of the present, escape from it by choosing their topics from the presocialist past.

One of the departments in the Institute for Ethnography and Folkloristics in Prague is charged with research concerning the socialist village. Whereas

studies of villages and the peasantry by prewar ethnographers were characterized by concentration on the traditional features of village life and for the most part neglected the social dynamics of rural communities, the contemporary Marxist approach calls for the rigorous application of the "basic methodological principles of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, including the materialist conception of society, historicism, and the recognition of the complex nature of the social system of any human collectivity" (Český lid 68:43 [1981]).

It may now be of interest to offer an illustration of how the ethnographic study of the lifeway and culture of the Czech village during the period of building a developed socialist society is conceptualized by the research team of the Institute's Department of the Socialist Village. According to a fairly detailed outline of an ongoing research project (Český lid 68:43-50 [1981]), the main goal is to identify empirically both general and specific features that characterize the formation of socialist lifeway in Czech villages, to elucidate those factors that play a significant part in the transformation, and to provide the administrative authorities [řídící orgány] with basic data concerning the process. The communities already chosen for the study and those yet to be selected (as of 1981) must include both villages that are ethnically homogeneous and heterogeneous, located in the interior as well as the border regions, and in other ways representative of the demographic, economic, and sociocultural structure of the Bohemian rural sector.

Because in its development socialism inevitably confronts the lifeways of the past, it is necessary to establish first a data baseline for the presocialist era, against which the nature of post-1948 changes can be

assessed. Gathering of data makes use of the standard methods applicable to research concerned with culture change: examination of documentary sources of every kind, from minutes of meetings to newspapers to family chronicles; structured interviews to elicit objective information as well as subjective views concerning a given topic; direct observation supplemented, whenever possible or appropriate, by sound recordings, photographs, or film; and questionnaires. Given the proposed scope of the field research, the work is to extend over a period of several years, possibly as long as a decade, and to take the form of short-term periodic visits to the villages under study.

The project has been divided among the team members into the following subject areas: (1) the village as a residential environment and the housing standards of the villagers during the period of building socialism; (2) social life in the village during the period of building socialism and the role of tradition; (3) the role of the family and nature of family life in the village during the period of building socialism; (4) family and family life in ethnically heterogeneous localities; (5) intergenerational family relations in ethnically heterogeneous localities; and (6) nonprofessional expressions of oral traditions (folklore). Each of these subject areas is assigned to one particular member of the research team, but care is taken that team members consult each other periodically lest their individual research contributions become disconnected from one another.

The results of the field research, already in print or to be published in the form of papers dealing with individual topics as they relate to specific communities or regions, will eventually serve as the basis for regional and topical monographs. Not until these have been completed can one expect

a synthetic work that would provide a comprehensive account of the various aspects of the socialist transformation of Czech villages that the Institute's Department of the Socialist Village is currently studying.

Several comments come to mind as one examines the approach the Institute has taken to this major research undertaking.

One of the stated goals, namely, to provide the administrative organs with data concerning the process of socialization, suggests that the research findings may well be used in part as a basis for directed culture change (applied anthropology) by the ultimate sponsor of the research—the state. This admission takes on special significance when one considers the following statement made in the discussion of methodology: "One of the problems that arises as one conducts [field] observations is the undesirability of interfering with the process being studied. To avoid this, it is appropriate to make use of concealed [utajená] observation which, if one studies a village in depth, can be carried out only in the initial phases of the research. In cases involving certain complex questions, the effects of observation can be mitigated by falsifying the actual research goals [navození fiktivního cíle výzkumu]" (p. 46). The suggested procedure is in conflict on several counts with the standards of professional ethics developed by the American Anthropological Association to guide field-workers in this country. One also notes the lack of explicit interest in the larger socioeconomic context in which a great many members of village communities today function: with agricultural work becoming highly mechanized, more and more villagers have been freed to accept industrial employment in nearby towns to which they commute on a daily or weekly basis. Clearly, the once sharp dichotomy between the

rural and urban sectors has been effectively bridged, and the consequences cannot but be strongly felt in both material and sociocultural aspects of village life; yet, this important effect of socialist transformation is neglected in the fairly detailed research plan, which among the objectives of its study singles out room furnishings and sports activities.

Just as in the other social sciences, theory in Czech ethnography has taken a sharp turn since World War II. The darkest years in the discipline's postwar development were unquestionably those of the Stalinist period in the early 1950s, which produced its share of sycophantic articles and books. Modern Soviet ethnography was characterized as "having outdistanced, in its development, all ethnographic schools of the whole world, taking as its fundamental point of departure the brilliant thought of J. V. Stalin—that 'every nation, whether large or small, has its qualitative particularities, its specific features, which belong only to it and which other nations do not possess'" (Otakar Nahodil and Jaroslav Kramářik: J. V. Stalin a národopisná věda [Přaha, 1952], p. 9). "Ethnographic work," the authors continue, "that is guided by this thought cannot but follow the correct and progressive path in complete contradistinction to any harmful bourgeois tendencies of nationalistic and cosmopolitan character" (p. 10). As for the other side of the coin, "Antihumane and unscientific goals that Western bourgeois ethnography set for itself mean that bourgeois ethnography as a science has for all practical purposes been liquidated" (ibid., p. 95; incidentally, one of the authors of these statements has since chosen to make his home in Western Europe).

While these and similar pronouncements were the exception rather than the rule, they were made by ethnographers who came to wield considerable

influence in the discipline, and if they were meant to bludgeon serious scholarship, they had a measure of success, at least for a time. The situation has long since stabilized, especially after the relatively bloodless purge following the "crisis situation" of 1968, which did not affect Czech ethnography to any significant extent. Apart from the programmatic exhortations of those whose task it is to keep Czech ethnographers on the correct ideological track, published research has been on the whole quite solid, though markedly lacking in methodological or theoretical innovation. Historically oriented, as it is supposed to be, the present Czech ethnography, together with the other social sciences, maintains its focus on subjects reflecting the new socioeconomic order and orientation—especially the proletariat as the bearer of the most progressive characteristics of cultural and social life, the process of the formation of an emancipated working class, and the nature of socialist transformation of the Bohemian countryside.

These are without question topics worthy of attention; what is to be regretted is that they are offered in a marketplace of ideas where the consumer has but one line to choose from.

Zdenek Salzmann
University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Teaching East European Anthropology

Katherine Verdery (Johns Hopkins University) shares her ideas for teaching a course in East European anthropology. Following her introduction and annotations written specifically for Newsletter readers, we reproduce her syllabus in its entirety. We hope this is the first in a series on the subject. If you teach such a course, send us your ideas and syllabi. If you don't teach such a course, why don't you?

The course is designed to start students off with a fairly sympathetic view of the real problems faced in socialist transformation (i.e., Ferge -- supposedly but not actually available in paperback, it turns out). It then goes through a number of topics designed to raise obstacles to socialist "ideals," to present actual processes and variations in these, and to show attempted solutions to real-life dilemmas faced by the regimes and/or their citizens. It turns finally to assessing various forms of resistance or negative evaluation, asking how these vary in form and content for different social groups, why we seize upon some forms more than others, etc., and emphasizing that much dissent comes from those who would not overthrow socialism for capitalism but would rather improve it as socialism. Throughout, I argue against the categories in terms of which Americans view socialist countries -- my first assignment juxtaposes propaganda pieces from Time and the Romanian press. Given the sorts of things my students are so far offering as views, I think combatting this is the first duty of the course, more than any coherent "organizing scheme" beyond an attempt to move toward a sympathetic and informed critique, from initial presentations of socialism's attractiveness as an idea.

A couple of remarks on the specific content of a few assignments. In the week on "family ties" etc., I aim partly to show how problems in the official distribution system are variably mediated, depending on the degree of private agriculture, by rural-urban kin ties and movements, and I will also use these ties and movements to talk about cross-class relations and bases for solidarity. I will then pivot the discussion around, on the rural-urban-movement theme, to talking about the "double burden" of women and problems in reproducing the labor force. The discussion of "cultural homogenization" takes several realms in which state policy is clearly aimed to create new kinds of public response, new "silences" and new foci of attention, via appropriating folklore, censorship, minorities policies, etc.; two weeks later I take up the popular view of many of these things.

With Haraszti's book, my first aim is to get students to figure out what's wrong with it: why Haraszti is a bad informant, and why his kind of factory is nonrepresentative. Then I'll pick up the shreds that are worth keeping (work slowdowns, etc.). You will note that I have not used the only English-language anthropology book on Hungary (C. M. Hann); the main reasons are that students mostly didn't follow it in a different course in which I used it, and I have too much on Hungary as it is. There are many reference works I am consulting to prepare lectures but have not included in the course bibliography. I will try to complete this longer bibliography for a later Newsletter.

Katherine Verdery
Johns Hopkins University

7.335. Comparative Socialist Societies

This is an exploratory course designed to investigate a range of issues concerning East European socialist countries. The course has several objectives; the most important are to emphasize the countries' differences from one another, to relate both the differences and some of the problems of socialism's "working" to facts of varying political and economic histories, to present the issues and problems as much as possible from the point of view of East Europeans rather than of Western analysts, and to insist on a close investigation of actual social processes, rather than mere outlines of structure, as the basis for assessing how these societies run. The special contribution of anthropology, even though relatively little of it has been done in Eastern Europe, is especially evident for the last of these points.

Literature of the sort I wish to emphasize is very unevenly distributed, for English-speaking readers. To my knowledge, there is little for Albania, Bulgaria, and East Germany; only modest amounts for Czechoslovakia; more for some aspects of Yugoslav and Polish society; and by far the most for Romania and Hungary (Hungarians themselves having produced much of the most useful and interesting work). To avoid overlap with other courses in the University and from limitations of my competence, I make only restricted use of material from the Soviet Union and include none from other socialist societies (China, Cuba, etc.).

Assignments

Attached is an outline of topics to be covered, a list of assignments, and a reference bibliography. Changes may be made in the assignments at any time: it is your responsibility to keep track of any such changes. Since many of the assigned items are available in only one copy in the Reserve Room, I urge you to begin reading well in advance of each week's class session. (This course will, if nothing else, expose you to the difficulties of working within economies of shortage like the East European economies!)

The following books have been ordered for the bookstore. Not all of them will be read in their entirety, but purchasing them will make life easier for you. The ones to be read more or less in full are starred.

- * Ferge, Zsuzsa 1979 A society in the making: Hungarian social and societal policy 1945-75.
- * Haraszti, Miklós 1977 A worker in a worker's state.
Okey, Robin 1982 Eastern Europe: feudalism to communism.
- * Sweezy, Paul, and Charles Bettelheim 1971 On the transition to socialism.

Requirements

The course will be run as a combination of lecture and discussion sessions. Please come to class regularly, with assignments completed. I will give an occasional unannounced quiz, two short paper assignments on specific readings, and a final take-home exam. There will be no senior option for the final exam. Your grade will be based on all of these, including your participation in discussions.

Outline of Weekly TopicsWeek DateI. Preliminaries

- | | | |
|---|-----------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 | Jan 27-28 | Introductory sessions. |
| 2 | Feb 3-4 | Founding ideals: short introduction to Marxism-Leninism. |
| 3 | Feb 10-11 | Descriptive views from within. |
| 4 | Feb 17-18 | " " " " |

II. Issues

- | | | |
|----|-----------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 5 | Feb 24-25 | Divergent historical antecedents to a "unified" revolutionary model. |
| 6 | Mar 3-4 | Macroeconomic organization: varying centralizations, collectivizations, and articulations with capitalist and socialist economies. |
| 7 | Mar 10-11 | Local-level economic processes, emphasizing the rural sector. |
| 8 | Mar 17-18 | Family ties, migration, and urbanization. |
| 9 | M 31- A 1 | Cultural homogenization and the state: censorship, folklore, minorities, ritual. |
| 10 | Apr 7-8 | Problems of legitimacy and forms of resistance. Assessing "dissent."
I. Dissent in the factory. Haraszti. |
| 11 | Apr 14-15 | II. Other forms of popular resistance (counter-uses of folklore, parades, emigration, loafing, Solidarity, jokes). |
| 12 | Apr 21-22 | III. Critique by the intelligentsia: Djilas, Bahro, Medvedev, and others. |
| 13 | Apr 28-29 | Change and the future: Possibilities for creating more-satisfactory socialisms. |

K. Verdery
Spring 1983

7.335 Comparative Socialist Societies

Assignments

- Jan. 28 Time magazine and Romania's president on socialism's failures and achievements (handout)
- Feb. 3-4 Founding ideals...
K. Marx and F. Engels, Communist Manifesto (available under this title or in Feuer, ed., Marx and Engels: Basic Writings)
E. Fromm, Marx's Concept of Man, pp. v-83, 163-168.
- Feb. 10-11 Views from within...
Hungarian short stories (xerox, on reserve)
Zs. Ferge, A Society in the Making (begin reading. You may wish to skip 50-60, 98-112)
K. Verdery, Transylvanian Villagers, pp.18-22 (xerox)
- Feb. 17-18 Zs. Ferge, remainder
- Feb. 24-25 Divergent histories...
R. Okey, Eastern Europe, pp. 13-34, 47-83, Map p. 85, 110-123, 138-151, 151-180 (skim), 228-232. Note that there is a glossary in the back of the book.
Begin next week's reading
- Mar. 3-4 Macroeconomic organization.
A. Abonyi, "Dependent development: a socialist variant" (xeroxed portion)
Z. Fallenbuchl, "The interaction of development strategy and economic system... in Poland" (xerox)
P. Gregory and R. Stuart, Comparative Economic Systems, pp. 284-310, 318-20.
K. Nyiri, "Toward an integrated international division of labor..." (xerox, also in Current Periodical Room)
N. Spulber, Socialist Management and Planning, pp. 28-35, 80-101.
P. Sweezy and C. Bettelheim, On the Transition to Socialism, pp. 3-54.
J. Wilczynski, The Economics of Socialism, 1-14, 23-41. (xeroxed)
Recommended: Sweezy and Bettelheim, 93-106

Mar. 10-11 Local-level economic processes

J. Kenedi, *Do It Yourself*, pp. 27-43 (xeroxed)

E. Preobrazhensky, "Peasantry and...the early stages of industrialization," in Shanin, *Peasants and Peasant Societies*.

S. Sampson, "Rich families and poor collectives" (xerox)

K. Verdery, *Transylvanian Villagers*, pp. 23-40, 45-47 (xeroxed)

Also read any two or more of the following:

D. Doder, *The Yugoslavs*, pp. 78-93

M. Hollos, "Ideology and economics.." (xerox, also in Current Periodical Room)

M.C. Nagengast, "Polish peasants and the state..." (ditto)

F. Pine and P.T. Bogdanowicz, "Policy, response, and alternative strategy." (ditto)

Z. Salzmann, "Komárov revisited: from local cooperative to regional consolidation" (xerox)

On one of these two days we will have the Hungarian film Angi Vera.

Mar. 17-18 Family ties, migration, urbanization

M. Cernea, "Macrosocial change, feminization of agriculture..." (xerox)

J. Cole, "Patterns of daily life in Southeastern Europe" (xerox)

G. Konrád and I. Szelényi, "Social conflicts of underurbanization" (xerox, also in M. Harloe, *Captive Cities*)

W. Lockwood, "The peasant-worker in Yugoslavia" (Xerox; also in Faber, *Social Structure of Eastern Europe*)

H. Scott, *Does Socialism Liberate Women?* Ch. 7 (xeroxed)

A. Simić, *The Peasant Urbanites*, pp. 112-125 (108-112 optional)

Recommended: M. Cernea, "The large-scale formal organization and the family..." (stacks).

Mar. 24-25 Spring breakMar. 31-Apr 1 Cultural homogenization and the state...

C.A.P. Binns, "The changing face of power," (xerox, also in Man, stacks)

R. King, *Minorities Under Communism* (TBA)

J. Kott, "Controlling the writing on the wall," NY Review of Books 25(13): 16-18 (August 17) (This & item below are in Audio-visual Rm)

L. Lifshitz-Losev, "What it means to be censored," NY Rev. of Books 25(11): 43-50 (June 29)

J. Marrant, "A contextual view of Romanian folklore" (xerox)

C. Silverman, "The politics of folklore in Bulgaria," (xerox)

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- Apr. 7-8 Dissent in the factory.
M. Haraszti, A worker in a worker's state. Read all.
- Apr. 14-15 Other forms of popular resistance...
E. Hauser, "Multivocality of the May Day parade message" (xerox)
D. Kideckel, "The socialist transformation of agriculture..."
(xerox, also in stacks in American Ethnologist)
G. Kligman, "Poetry and politics..." (xerox)
O. Nørgaard & S. Sampson., "Poland's crisis and East European
socialism" (xerox)
S. Sampson, "Why do they leave?" (xerox).
- Apr. 21-22 Critique by the intelligentsia
R. Bahro, The Alternative in Eastern Europe (TBA)
M. Djilas, The New Class, pp. 1-69, 164-172
J. Kuron & K. Modzelewski, "Revolutionary Marxist students
in Poland speak out," pp. 15-41, 62-69.
T. Long, "On the class nature of soviet-type societies." (xerox)
L. Trotsky, The Revolution Betrayed, pp. 234-256.
- Apr. 28-29 Change and the future: Possibilities for creating more-
satisfactory socialisms
I. Berend, "Hungary's road to the seventies," (xerox)
Interview with András Hegedűs (xerox)
Sweezy and Bettelheim, On the Transition...pp 107-122.

(Other assignments to be announced)

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