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From the Editor

When, in future years, we look back upon the history of the EEAG, this will no doubt become known as "the missing issue" of the *Newsletter*. At least a brief explanation and a big apology are in order. The *Newsletter* was nearly ready to be duplicated and would have been distributed at the proper time (immediately prior to the 1986 meetings of AAA) except for a brief illness of the typist in that critical period immediately prior to deadline. Once off schedule, hence pressure relieved, and having new news from our annual meeting which seemed important enough to add on, we delayed further. Other pressing professional commitments, a move of residence with many associated requirements of time and energy, health problems which included a stay in the hospital, and the death of my mother made the situation worse and worse. Eventually, the question arose "What now"? Resign quick and head for the Balkan hills?

I decided that the best solution would be a double issue at this time, with Volume 7, Number 1 following soon after, in mid-Winter. I hope this meets with the approval of the membership.

But I now need your help more than ever. First, please pay your dues. Only 57 members had paid dues for 1986-1987 (out of a total of 106 in 1985-1986). Second, please contribute material for publication in the *Newsletter*: new and forthcoming publications; notices of grants received or proffered; reviews of books or films; requests for assistance; course syllabi and bibliographies; offers to organize symposia; short articles concerning relevant institutions; criticism; suggestions; or what have you. In particular, we would like to publish in the next volume a list of relevant dissertations that have appeared over the last five years. Please send us reference to yours if we have not already mentioned it in the *Newsletter*. Please include a copy of the abstract. We would also like to print, on a regular basis, more personal notes about the membership. So please send us announcements of births, deaths, marriages, promotions, job changes, and the like. Send them all to the Editor at the address on the masthead. The deadline for Volume 7, Number 1, is December 15, but now is not too soon.

Western Anthropologists in Eastern Europe Continued

Chris Harn replies to the open letter from Michael Sozan published in the last issue of the Newsletter, concerning Harn's article "A Comment from Western Europe" published two issues ago (Newsletter, 5:1:3-4).

Dear Michael,

You added such large measures of irony and sarcasm to your open letter (*Newsletter*, 5:2:2-3) that in places I am unsure of your exact meaning. However, since you conclude by expressing a hope for fruitful scholarly debate, I shall assume you mean to be provocative in a constructive way and do my best to respond.

You rebuke me for failing to provide even a cursory definition of "legitimacy". I accept this criticism. The word was placed in quotation marks exactly because many anthropologists may feel uncomfortable with it. It might have been wiser to offer a definition and dispense with the additional punctuation.

I am not competent to rise to your challenge and discuss political philosophies. In writing about legitimacy I wished to refer to the degree of popular consent, acceptance, satisfaction, etc., that a society expresses towards its ruling elites. I believe this is roughly how sociologists and political scientists use the term. Those elites are dominated throughout Eastern Europe by Communist Parties, but this fact does not to my mind render the question of legitimacy a formality or a foregone conclusion, either from the point of view of the society itself, or from that of an observer interested in the degree to which a government or a state system is succeeding in meeting the needs of its population.

Specifically (and my views here obviously result from my experiences in the countries which I know best), I would suggest that the regime in Hungary enjoys a high degree of legitimacy, for reasons which have much more to do with pragmatic economic policies than with its historical origins or its ideological adherence to some "Leninist notion of governing". Indeed I am not sure that what you call "Leninist legitimacy" has much relevance at all to Hungary today. The situation has changed a good deal even since the time of our fieldwork in the 1970s; for example, contested elections are now common at both local and national levels. The system is gradually coming to tolerate a much greater degree of pluralism ("pluralism?").

Judging from Eva Huseby-Darvas's review of your recent book (in the same volume of the *Newsletter*), you found that Hungarian villagers have lost local independence and gained only more bureaucratic corruption in the socialist period. Yet I would be surprised if the villagers of Tap were seriously discontented with the socialist system as such. A comparison with post-peasants in a neighbouring capitalist state can be very interesting, but probably more important from the point of view of legitimacy is to understand just how much has changed for the better under socialism, especially after collectivisation.

This is how I understand the Hungarian rural scene, and I see one of the anthropologists's jobs as being to provide the authentic documentation which will enable other social scientists (and wider audiences) to reach safer conclusions about legitimacy. There is an excellent sociological analysis of the Hungarian rural trans-

formation by Swain (1) which in my opinion does reach safe conclusions. It sounds, again judging only from your reviewer, as if your own work may provide local confirmation and deeper understanding of a phenomenon which the sociologists Szelenyi and Mandrin (2) have called "interrupted embourgeoisement" (the argument being that in the present phase of socialist development the more prosperous households seem to be the descendants of those who were on an 'embourgeoisement' path before the socialist period; they now have the cultural and intellectual resources to re-assume their prominence). This does not seem a particularly "Leninist" outcome! Be that as it may, I shall certainly look forward to reading your work.

The main point of my earlier article was to call for more comparative work. Whatever your convictions about the Hungarian polity, had you done fieldwork in Poland in the 1980s you would have seen a socialist polity in an advanced state of disintegration, undergoing what some sociologists have appropriately termed a "legitimation crisis". (3) I sought to probe the causes of that crisis of legitimation for one section of Polish society, namely the numerous section living in the countryside, a most important part of the whole. I also had long experience of city life in Poland. Now, although there may be a significant group of so-called dissidents in Budapest, and although "corruption" (definition please?) may be a serious and intensifying problem in Hungary, the scale of these phenomena was altogether different in Poland. I was using the concept of legitimacy as a shorthand in probing the cynicism and disaffection present in very large groups. (Ultimately, of course, most citizens will always remain loyal to their state; it is the only one they have got, and the patriotic card is regularly and successfully played by governments which, by the standards of many observers, would deserve at the very least to be unpopular - but this

raises further issues which there is no space to pursue, and perhaps no call for anthropologists to pursue.)

I repeat, the main point of my earlier piece was to suggest that anthropologists help to bring out the major differences between the socialist states of Eastern Europe (including Yugoslavia, by all means!). Unlike you, I am interested in explaining the observed variation not in terms of "individual personality" but in terms of history, political culture and economic development strategy in the socialist period. I find this kind of diversity much more interesting, and also consider it important that non-academic audiences in the West understand it better. To stress ideological resemblances and the lip service still paid to Lenin, is, in my opinion, likely to result in misleading perceptions of Eastern Europe.

This is penned in some haste to catch the *Newsletter's* deadline. I read your letter only in September, upon returning from an intriguing five-month stay in a city in China, (not Taiwan). I conducted no systematic fieldwork on this occasion, but formed the definite impression that the present socialist rulers of the world's most populous state enjoy a high degree of the elusive substance we are talking about; and there too, the causes seem to lie not in the works of deceased political philosophers but in the reforming initiatives of pragmatic economists.

Yours sincerely,

Chris Hann
Cambridge University

1. N. Swain, *Collective Farms Which Work?*, 1985.
2. T. Szelenyi and R. Mandrin, *Peasants, proletarians, entrepreneurs: transformations of rural social structure under state socialism*, forthcoming.
3. cf. J. Habermas, *Legitimation Crisis*, 1976.

Jan Kubik sends us another view on the question of political legitimacy in Eastern Europe.

I welcome Michael Sozan's call for a "fruitful scholarly debate" on the question of political legitimacy in Eastern Europe. Such a debate is urgently needed among cultural anthropologists who still have not contributed to this subject. I present here only some rudiments of my position on political legitimacy in Eastern Europe focusing on the role of cultural anthropology (especially symbolic analysis) in the study of this problem. My views will be more systematically presented in a forthcoming manuscript entitled: *The Role of Symbols in the Legitimization of Power. Poland: 1970-1981.*

The problem of legitimacy of power in the Soviet Block has not received satisfactory treatment. Theoretical frameworks have usually been derived from political science and political sociology. Even the most successful studies, such as Rigby's and Feher's (1982), suffer from the lack of a systematic analysis of symbolic dimensions of political life, although such an analysis is central to an adequate understanding of political legitimacy. On the other hand, studies of public rituals in the communist countries (see Lane 1981) have not addressed the issue of political legitimacy.

The cultural and symbolic dimensions of legitimization processes in communist states have been rarely discussed or comprehended, even in the works employing the category of political culture. The political culture approach suffers from two fundamental deficiencies. First, it relies on a model of political culture derived from the analysis of Western democracies and is therefore unable to account for many features of political life in both "imperfectly westernized" regions such as Latin America or Southern Italy and diametrically different polities of the communist world. Second, all too often the researchers employ standard questionnaire

and survey techniques that can hardly yield an adequate picture of people's attitudes and values if people are reluctant to reveal their true views. This is the problem of reticent cultures observed in Italy and Mexico, and considerably more pronounced in countries ruled by communist regimes (for a discussion of reticent culture see Almond and Verba, 1980).

What does anthropological (symbolic) analysis have to do with legitimacy? Legitimacy is sometimes defined as an attribute of an order that is simply complied with, whatever the subject's reasons for compliance (defined in such a way legitimacy and authority carry the same meaning). However legitimacy is usually defined as an attribute of an order that is complied with for a very special reason: subjects' belief in the order's correctness. This belief can be rendered in a more objective way as congruence of an image of authority projected by those in power and an ideal of the perfect authority held (though not always clearly articulated) by the people. Such an ideal, in turn, finds expression in all, most, or some key values of a given group and is conveyed by the dominant symbols of its culture. This symbolic domain of a given group (its cultural heritage) should be reconstructed independently from a rendition of the ideology of the rulers. The comparison of both models should reveal a degree of legitimacy achieved by the regime (political system, social order, etc.).

Legitimacy in large societies is a complex phenomenon. First, it must be distinguished from claims of legitimacy. Legitimacy is an empirically determinable state (or dimension) of a social system; legitimacy claims belong to this system's normative superstructure. To use Sozan's example, Leninist *claims* to legitimacy do not vary in Eastern European countries, but the *actual* legitimacy of these regimes varies considerably. Second, political legitimacy fluctuates over time and social space. It increases or decreases over time (for example, it increased in Poland

in 1970, after Gierek took power from Gomulka) and is stronger or weaker in relation to different groups (party apparatchiks "legitimize" a communist regime more readily than, say, individual peasants).

The methods of symbolic analysis, developed by modern anthropology must be used to interpret the relationship between the political and symbolic dimensions of public life in Eastern Europe. I believe that anthropology can and should grasp, conceptualize, interpret, and explain this particular drabness and absurdity of life under communism that has usually eluded anthropologists, sociologists, political scientists, et al, though it has been amply conveyed by such fiction writers as Milosz, Kundera, Zinoviev, Skvorecky. This specificity of existence under communism (different in each country) comes partially from the nature of public discourse (e.g. through censorship, omnipresent propaganda, manipulation of cultural heritage diluted in half-truths and half-lies, and stupefying "correctness" of the official dogma), i.e., from certain characteristics of the symbolic superstructure. Cultural (symbolic) anthropology seems to be particularly well equipped to deal with such a phenomenon.

I suggest two forms of analysis; both of them yield interesting results in my Polish research. I have examined the system of values of Polish society, using the results of systematic studies conducted by Polish sociologists since 1957 -- a unique situation in Eastern Europe comparable only to this of Yugoslavia (Denitch 1976). I am also analyzing symbolic actions of the State, the Church, and the opposition to reconstruct various symbolic strategies used in the continuous struggle for domination over peoples' minds and hearts and, therefore, also for political legitimacy.

Cultural anthropology can considerably enrich existing analyses of propagandistic techniques, especially on the local level. Moreover, anthropology has developed sufficient methodological and theo-

retical apparatus to study "unofficial", interstitial aspects of political life, whose systemic character in the communist world has never been well understood, although some western anthropologists working in Poland were bewildered by the all-encompassing nature of this phenomenon (see Pine and Bogdanowicz 1982; Hann 1985; Bell 1984; Sampson 1985-86). My personal and professional experience, as Pole and anthropologist, leads me to conclude that patron-client relationships, second economy, informal sector and related phenomena, which pervade all sectors of social life in Poland, make the system run. A growing number of Polish sociologists have also reached the same conclusion. As long as people create and transmit national symbols and values through informal structures, and as long as these structures dominate political and economic life, their study must be incorporated in any serious account of political legitimacy in Poland and, I believe, in other countries of Eastern Europe.

We need to develop a language that will allow us to deal with the question of political legitimacy in Eastern Europe in a more realistic way than does Sozan. His contention that "We know very well that village governments and higher levels of government are legitimate in Eastern Europe" is preposterous. Neither do all of "us" know that nor are these various levels of Eastern European government legitimate in any established sense of this word (Yugoslavia seems to be a separate case). Communist governments put forward various claims to legitimacy (not only Leninist; there is, for example, a growing tendency to use nationalistic justifications of power in many Eastern European states). These claims are internalized and accepted, or rejected, by the citizens. A delicate balance of claims, identifications, and rejections changes over time and social space. But so rarely are communist regimes identified with and unconditionally approved as "correct" by the people, that it is false to call these regimes legitimate without further qualification. They achieve a

certain degree of legitimacy in certain periods, but it is still an open question when, where, and how.

The scope of this presentation allowed me merely to signal certain issues I regard important in any discussion of political legitimacy in Eastern Europe; I hope that in a future discussion I will have an opportunity to treat some of the points raised here in a more exhaustive manner.

Almond, Gabriel, and Sidney Verba (editors)
1980 *The Civic Culture Revisited*.
Boston: Little, Brown Company.

Bell, Peter
1984 *Peasants in Socialist Transition: Life in a Collectivized Hungarian Village*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Denitch, Bogdan
1976 *The Legitimation of a Revolution: The Yugoslav Case*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Pine, Frances, and Przemyslaw Bogdanowicz
1982 Policy Responses and Alternative Strategy: The Process of Change in a Polish Highland Village. *Dialectical Anthropology* 7:47-66.

Rigby, T.H., and Ferenc Feher (editors)
1982 *Political Legitimation in Communist States*. London: Macmillan.

Sampson, Steven
1985-86 The Informal Sector in Eastern Europe. *Telos* 66:44-66.

Hann, Chris
1985 *A Village Without Solidarity: Polish Peasants in Years of Crisis*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Lane, Christel
1981 *The Rites of Rulers: Ritual in Industrial Society - The Soviet Case*. Cambridge University Press.



EEAG Annual Meeting

The East European Anthropology Group will hold its annual meeting during the 86th Meeting of the American Anthropological Association in Chicago. We will gather 12:00-1:30, Saturday, November 21. See the final program for location. It seems that once again the primary discussion topic will be whether or not EEAG will continue to exist.

Many members of EEAG will also be

interested in attending the meeting of the Hungarian Research Group (12:00-1:30, Thursday, November 19) and sessions devoted to "Anthropological Investigations in Socialist Societies" (1:45-5:15, Friday, November 20) and "Gender Contradictions, Gender Transformations: Cases from Eastern Europe" (8:00-11:45, Friday, November 20).

More on Romanian Cities

Michael Sozan has sent us yet another indignant letter. Given that the editors are in disagreement with much of its content and, particularly, its hostile and polemic tone, we have thought it best not to subject it to the usual editing procedure. All errors, both in fact and in presentation, are those of the author.

Dear David,

Your attempt to halt the cultural destruction of Transylvania is well intended. It would be counterproductive for me to suggest that such action should have been pursued through already existing channels and organizations (Madrid, Belgrad human rights congresses, Human Rights in Rumania, the UN, and last but not least through lobbying with Congress). Writing to his Excellency Nicolae Ceausescu is wasting 66¢ for the mail. The letter itself is too sophisticated for Ceausescu to understand what you really want. It is too general, and frankly, even I don't know what the Rumanian government is doing wrong at this time. The destruction of Transylvanian cities and the revision of historical monuments and architecture began after 1918, thus, it is not something new. You yourself in the letter acknowledge the government's (you say "Romania's") *legitimacy* of planned change. Well, I don't, and if you do you cannot bitch about architectural changes. Your letter says nothing about the physical deprivation of the Rumanian population, the food shortages and the intolerable standard of life - unheard of in Europe except during the war. Over and above all you failed to make emphatic mention of the unparalleled police terror in the entire nation, but especially in the Hungarian regions of Transylvania. While the world is anxiously and helplessly watching ethnocide in Rumania, you are talking about buildings and monuments. Hell

with monuments, and frankly, I am not too concerned with churches and statues, whether they were built by Hungarians, Saxons or Jews, while the Securitate hangs people in parks and makes life not worth living.

What really puzzles me David, is your motivation. Why are you really doing this? Why are you writing letters to Ceausescu, when you know well that it is to absolutely no avail? Don't you remember Solzhenitsyn, Amalrik, Sacharov, Kundera, Konrad, etc, who tried this route in the USSR? Do you write it because of some sort of guilt, or sense of responsibility? Haven't you been long enough in Rumania to know that private letters don't matter? Especially not from western scientists who have been disallowed from conducting fieldwork in that country. He'll accuse you of crying "sour grapes." So as you can clearly see I object to your *method* of protest, not to your intention, although, as I said above, to me people are more important than monuments.

I know you are a determined person, but I will risk giving you an advise. If you don't want your letter to be filed by Ceausescu under G (for garbage), write it to any (or all) of the following: *Le Monde*, *The New York Times*, *Time* magazine, the *Washington Post*. Such a move will have some affect on the Western public, and possibly on Congress, thereby making Ceausescu think twice - for a while -. Neither Americans nor W. Europeans have any idea of what Rumania is about (remember the LA Olympics, where they hailed the team?), and furthermore, they don't care. They even care less about their monuments or culture. However, they do care about any possible violation of human or minority wrights, especially if they are at the tune of the present Rumanian type. But even so, you can-

not ignore the personality of the very man you are dealing with, Ceausescu. He is a flunky peasant cobbler who has unlimited power, but in a way nothing to lose, because he is further ahead than he ever dreamed he could be

Any open, public and truly western action supported by social scientists is worthwhile for me and I'll sign and support. But private letters to a dictator are as futile

as Chamberlain's letter of protest to Hitler after Munchen, and I am certainly not going to be a party to them. I hope you'll change your mind and come up with a much more viable alternative which I may support.

Michael Sozan
Slippery Rock State University

Resources

Book Reviews

The Private Poland: An Anthropologist's Look at Everyday Life, by Janine Wedel. New York: Facts on File Publications, 1986. 232 pp., 19 photographs, index, bibliography. \$17.95 (hardcover).

This is a popularized version of the author's recently completed Berkeley dissertation. It greatly resembles the better exposes of Soviet life like Willis' *Klass* or Shipler's *Broken Idols, Solemn Dreams* though without the emphasis on political elites. The focus of the book is the gap between public life and private strategies of personal and household exchanges. The dual worlds of public and private are manipulated in order for Poles to procure basic necessities, to resolve conflicts with the bureaucracy, to obtain information, and to find their way from one social circle to another. The book is well written, with many vivid examples of the second economy, family and friendship ties, how Poles adjust to the humiliation inflicted upon them by the bureaucracy, and the compli-

cated situation of the "opposition" in the post-Martial Law period. For East Europeanist anthropology, which (Simic's studies excepted) has focused almost exclusively on rural life, this study of urban social exchange and the private worlds of Warsaw intellectuals is a refreshing change.

From the strictly anthropological point of view, however, *The Private Poland* has major flaws. First, it is devoid of any anthropological theorizing. "Exchange" and "social networks" appear as givens. The private/public dichotomy is presented as a historical continuity. Ideas of "pride", "dignity" and "shame" are presented as uniquely Polish.

Second, apart from a few words about the second economy in the very last pages of the book, there are no intra-East European comparisons. Not a single reference is made to any anthropological work on Eastern Europe. Such comparisons would have helped because so many of the features Wedel describes for Poland appear in other East European societies, e.g., the history of subjugation by foreign powers, the infatuation with the West, the cultivated, intellectual life (*duchowe*), the public/private distinc-

tion, suspiciousness of bureaucracy, cultivation of social networks and exchange relations, the second economy, informal information transmission, and the co-existence of pervasive scarcity with the idea that all things are possible if one knows the right people. If these features exist due to the nature of "real socialism", Wedel might want to tell us why; yet she traces these traits back to specific factors in Poland's history, including the Nazi occupation.

The other reason some remarks on Poland vis-a-vis the other East European states would be warranted would be to set off Poland as the very special case that it is: there is an organized opposition, a relatively free cultural life, an alternative institutional umbrella in the Church, a private peasantry (which Wedel does not deal with), and constant connection with the West via dollars, relatives and tourist/work visits. By East European standards, Poland is a free country. Moreover, the private/public distinction comes into difficulties in view of the fact that Poland's opposition and Solidarnosc were of a very public character. In no other East European country has the private/public distinction been breached so effectively as in Poland. Without any comparison we cannot understand why public life in Poland (even in its oppositional form) has been so vibrant.

The third flaw in the book is that the anthropologist has gone native to such an extent that she misses some of the obvious similarities between Poland and life in the West. For example, among those American groups who are economically deprived, politically oppressed or humiliated by the bureaucracy ("humiliation" is a key theme in Polish culture. their reaction is a very typical Polish behavioral pattern of underground economy, back-door maneuvering, and reliance on family and kin networks (cf. Carol Stack, Eliot Liebow). Moreover, like the Poles, American parents DO in fact help out their kids economically; and Polish academics are not the only academics who respond

to a bad or naive lecture by an outsider with polite silence.

The book's bibliography consists of references cited, largely in Polish. Some key English-language sources which really could have been of assistance include C. Milosz's *Captive Mind*, the Polish DiP Report *State of the Republic* and the collection of articles in Volume III of *Sisyphus--Crisis and Conflict: Poland 1980-81*, in which many of the intellectuals she mentions have written excellent pieces in English on the social and moral consequences of the public/private distinction.

Yet as both a popular presentation and an anthropological study of Polish everyday life, Wedel's book is a long overdue contribution. Similar comparative studies should be carried out for other East European societies. Finally, the popular presentation and the flaws I have cited make the book perfectly suited for teaching. Students could, for example, flesh out Wedel's study by comparing it with networks or rumors or the public/private distinction in other East European states or their own hometown. Hopefully the price will come down so that students can buy it.

Steven Sampson
University of Copenhagen

Soviet Peasants (or, The Peasant's Art of Starving), by Lev Timofeev. New York: Telos Press 1985. 160 pp. \$15.00 (hardbound).

Lev Timofeev is a pseudonym for a Russian journalist who specializes in agricultural affairs. Although Pitassio and Zaslavsky's introduction claims *Soviet Peasants* to be a work of social anthropology, the case material (including some unpublished investigations) is far too limited and the book much too polemical to qualify as a traditional ethnographic monograph. The value of the book lies in the way

Timofeev integrates seemingly disparate phenomena into a single scheme of analysis. He demonstrates how the collective farm is linked to the private plot, the state planning system to the black market and how well-off peasants can co-exist with the drudgery, alcoholism and personal degradation of Soviet village life.

The private plot, for example, is essential not only for the reproduction of the peasant household, but also for urban workers and the kolkhoz. So much does the state realize the value of the plot that peasants who seek to relinquish it and obtain the countervalue of their production from the kolkhoz are denied this possibility. For Timofeev, the personal plot (and contract labor systems) in agriculture are not islands of initiative but insidious forms of exploitation. (Here Timofeev's analysis echoes that of Haraszti regarding piece-work). The peasant must not only work a second shift--self-exploitation--but must also rely on the free labor of spouses, aged parents and children. That such self- and family-exploitation can result in prosperous households building irrationally large houses is hardly surprising. What is surprising, according to Timofeev, is that such self-exploitation produces so comparatively few of these prosperous households.

Similarly, the black market is an integral part of the planned economy. "Black market relations are also planned, but of course, this sort of planning is not likely to be publicized" (p. 151). The bureaucracy tolerates the black market as a substitute for genuine open markets which would challenge their authority directly.

The dual system of oppressive formal institutions and personal household strategies--kolkhoz vs. plot, official vs. black market, exploitation of "us" and stealing from "them"--produce moral consequences as well. Peasants send their children to steal from the kolkhoz; the peasants suffer from "pathologies of consciousness (nervousness, psychological illness) and of behavior (alcoholism, violence, rudeness, hooliganism, rape)". This has led to "the

degeneration of the very people whom we prefer to regard as resistant to degeneracy" (p. 118).

Simply leaving the peasants alone would be enough to get the Soviet rural economy moving again and increase living standards. Those who today hail the Soviet peasants' private inventiveness, ingenuity and improved standard of living must realize that it has been achieved at a tremendous price--extra labor, self-exploitation, stealing, duplicity and moral depravity. These societal responses are turning into a "way of life", such that those who do not treat the state as a collective forest to be exploited will come to be regarded as "stupid". The "personal plot" will thus become a metaphor for the way citizens of Eastern Europe regard all public institutions--from the peasant ripping off the kolkhoz to the butcher holding meat for his special contacts, to the clerk who dispenses Moscow residence permits to his friends, to that woman in the Romanian hotel kiosk who rented her one copy of *Newsweek* until finally forced to sell it to a foreigner.

A longer review-symposium on the book will appear in the forthcoming issue of *Telos*.

Steven Sampson
University of Copenhagen

Book Notes

Ethnic Groups and the State, edited by Paul Brass. 341 pp., 4 figures, 14 tables, index. \$27.50 (cloth).

The nine chapters comprising this collection include three pertaining specifically to Eastern Europe: "The Ethnicity Problem in a Multi-ethnic National State: Continuity and Recasting of Ethnic Identity in the Ottoman State," by Kemal Karpat;

"Slovak Nationalism and the Hungarian State 1870-1910," by David W. Paul; and "The Institutional Management of Cultural Diversity: An Analysis of the Yugoslav Experience," by Paul V. Warwick and Lenard J. Cohen. But the most interesting for many readers of this *Newsletter* will be the introductory chapter, "Ethnic Groups and the State," by the editor Paul Brass.

Ethnicity and Nationality: A Bibliographic Guide, by G. Carter Bentley. School of International Studies Publications on Ethnicity and Nationality, Number 3. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981. xxii + 380 pp., indexes. \$40.00 (cloth).

This was intended as a multi-disciplinary and cross-cultural bibliography of theoretical work on ethnicity. It includes only English language materials through 1979, and is effectively indexed with regard to geographical area, specific topic, and discipline of the author. There are 2338 entries, of which 308 are annotated. A good idea. But, while no single bibliography ever has all the references you want, this one seems to lack an especially large number of significant works, especially those by anthropologists. Nevertheless, it is a useful reference book. Given the price, we suggest you borrow the library copy.

An Urban Enclave: Lithuanian Refugees in Los Angeles, by Liucija Baskauskas. New York: AMS Press, 1985. viii + 173 pp., appendix, bibliography, index. \$35.00 (cloth).

This was originally presented as the author's doctoral dissertation in anthropology at the University of

California at Los Angeles in 1971. It is a study of a Lithuanian refugee community some 20 years after arrival, making good use of what anthropological literature existed on ethnicity at that time. Data was collected by participant observation (made easier by the investigator's membership in the group under study) and, especially, by a formal survey instrument (presented in the appendix). The focus is on assimilation processes, boundary maintenance, and the nature of ethnic status in America. The study does not include a systematic community study.



Russkoya Celo: The Ethnography of a Russian-American Community, by Stanford Neil Berber. New York: AMS Press, 1985. vi + 131 pp., 1 map, 3 appendices, bibliography, index. \$29.50 (cloth).

This is obviously -- judging from internal evidence -- a Masters or Doctoral dissertation belatedly making its way into print. Yet, inexcusably, there is no statement of the purpose for which it was originally written other than a solitary mention of "dissertation" in the preface. It is an ethnographic study of an unnamed Russian-American community in the mid-west, based on one year of "participant observation" (during which the investigator did not live in the community itself) in 1965-66. The approach is frankly descriptive and uninformed by theory, but the results are interesting in that we have relatively few other works on Russian-Americans and that it is among the earlier anthropological studies of any American ethnic community.

The Jews of Poland: Recollections and Recipes, by Edouard de Pomiane, translated by Josephine Bacon. Garden Grove: Pholiota Press, 1985. xix + 220 pp., 1 map, 29 photographs, indexes. \$9.95 (paper).

Not exactly anthropological, perhaps, but an interesting piece of ethnography from a community now lost for study. This book was originally published in French in 1929 under the title *Cuisine Juive: Ghettos Modernes*. This is the first translation to English. De Pomiane was a well known chef, the first-ever host of a radio cooking show and the author of a number of much-used cookbooks. He was of Polish origin and fascinated by the large Jewish minority in Poland. Thus he traveled to Poland to study the customs and cookery of Polish Jewry, the result of which is this book. The first 55 pages consist of travelogue, replete with ethnographic and culinary comments; the remainder is a cookbook of Jewish cuisine in Poland during the mid-1920s. The translator, an American food writer, corrects the several ethnographic errors of de Pomiane in a short introduction of her own.

Reluctant Hosts; Denmark's Reception of Guest Workers, by Jonathan Matthew Schwartz. Kultursociologiske Skrifter No. 21, Institut for Kultursociologi, Kobenhavns Universitet. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1985. 145 pp., 2 maps, 6 photographs, tables. n.p. (paper).

Schwartz is an American scholar who immigrated to Denmark in 1970, during the height of worker migration there from Southern Europe and the Middle East. This coincidence is not without significance; the empathy he demonstrates for his subject is every bit as important as his social awareness or his sociological aptitude. His book consists of six narrative and interpretive chapters, all

very readable but not always connected in the most highly integrated fashion. His own field data comes almost entirely from Yugoslav guest workers, mostly Macedonians but, in one chapter, also Gypsies. Of particular interest is his discussion of Macedonian guest workers back home in Macedonia.

The Revolution in the North: Soviet Ethnography and Nationality Policy, by Kerstin Eidlitz Kuoljok. Studia Multiethnica Upsaliensia Number 1, Centre for Multiethnic Research, Uppsala University. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1985. x + 185 pp., 1 map, bibliography, n.p. (paper).

This is a study of Soviet nationality policy among the smaller nationalities of Siberia, the ideology behind it, the methods used to promote the incorporation of the "pre capitalistic" peoples into the Soviet socialist system, and the results of this policy. The author was motivated by the question, why don't Saami (Lapps) of the Soviet Union have organizations of their own as do Saami of her native Sweden or the other Scandinavian countries? The question rather gets lost in the remainder of the book, but no matter as the book stands well on its own. The author uses as her only data the published work of Soviet ethnologists -- there is no indication that she herself ever went to the Soviet Union -- and some readers will find objectionable her uncritical acceptance of both their evidence and their unrelativistic perspective. She concludes that the Soviet Union has had a much more successful minority policy than have the Western states, but that it would be impossible for the West to imitate the methods of the Soviet state since these are dependent on a society in which Marxism-Leninism is the predominant ideology.

Szlovakiai Olahcigany Nepdalok/Vlach Gypsy Folk Songs in Slovakia, by Katalin Kovalcsik. Budapest: Institute for Musicology of the Hungarian Academy for Sciences, 1985. 187 pp., 20 photographs, index, bibliography. 64 forint (paper).

This is yet another of a number of solid ethnographic studies of Gypsies published recently in Hungary. (See book notes in Fall 1985 and Spring 1986 numbers of the *Newsletter*.) This publication is the first volume in a new series entitled "Gypsy Folk Music of Europe." It is completely bilingual, Hungarian and English, a pattern we hope will be followed in subsequent volumes. It consists of a short introduction (a discussion of the music rather than its context), followed by a collection of fifty songs, selected from a collection of some 250 made by the author in Slovakia in 1981. The songs are presented, with music, in Romani and in both Hungarian and English translation.

Recueil III, Etudes et Documents Balkaniques et Mediterraneens, Volume 10. Paris, 1986. n.p. (paper).

This is the tenth in a series of publications on mostly Balkan ethnology edited by Paul H. Stahl. Like two previously published volumes, it consists of a collection of articles and other materials. The ten articles concern topics ranging from the inauguration of a disco in Greece to matrilineal marriages in Yugoslavia to Jewish-Romanian relations in the 16th and 17th centuries. The one American author (Margaret Hiebert Beissinger, "Couplets and Clusters as Compositional Devices in Romanian Traditional Narrative Songs") presents her paper in English but the others, who come from a variety of Eastern and Western European countries,

all utilize French. The collection of articles is augmented by a small selection of folk texts and an extensive book review section. The latter, which concerns almost entirely books published in the Balkans, is particularly useful. Like previous volumes in this series, it is available without charge to legitimate scholars who write Paul Henri Stahl, Laboratoire d'Anthropologie Sociale, 52 rue du Cardinal Lemoine, 75005 Paris, France.

A Serbian Village in Historical Perspective, by Joel M. Halpern and Barbara Kerewsky-Halpern. Prospect Heights: Waveland Press, 1986. vit 169 pp., maps, photographs, glossary, bibliography. \$7.95 (paper).

Komarov: A Czech Farming Village, by Zdenek Salzman and Vladimir Scheufler. Prospect Heights: Waveland Press, 1986. x + 166 pp., maps, photographs, figures, tables, musical examples, chronology, glossary, pronunciation guide, bibliography. \$7.95 (paper).

These two village monographs, first published in 1972 and 1974 respectively as parts of the series edited by the Spindlers for Holt, Rinehart and Winston, are once again available. When they first appeared, they were practically the *only* suitable textbooks for East European ethnology courses. Although the situation has greatly improved in recent years, republication is nevertheless very welcome. They are still the only village studies on rural Serbia or Czechoslovakia suitable for classroom use, and the historical depth they (especially Halperns' book) now present, makes them particularly useful in demonstrating the social and cultural change that is the outstanding feature of post-World War II Eastern Europe. Both books have been updated for the Waveland editions, principally by the addition of new final chapters.

Ethnologia Slavica, Volume 14, 1982.
Bratislava: Slovenske Pedagogicke
Nakladatelstvo, 1985. n.p. (cloth).

Ethnologia Slavica is an international review of Slavic ethnology. This volume contains one short article in English ("Urgent Tasks of the Comparative Slavic Ethnology," by Jan Padolak) and three longer ones in German with Slovak resumes, all by Slovak authors. Perhaps most interesting to the majority of *Newsletter* readers are three reviews in English, and another in German, of Slovak ethnographic publications. It, and earlier numbers in the series, can be obtained from The Study and Information Center, Comenius University, Safarikovo nam. 6, 818 06 Bratislava, Czechoslovakia

Journals

Two issues of *Soviet Anthropology and Archeology* have appeared since our last report:

Spring 1986 (Volume XXIV, Number 4)

A. Kutsenkov, "The Origin of Caste and the Caste System."

The Soviet Editors, Introduction to a Round Table, "The State and Law in the Ancient East."

V.A. Iakobson, "Some Problems in the Study of the State and Law in the Ancient East."

G. F. Kim and G.K. Shirokov, "Humanistic Studies of Asia and North Africa."

Summer 1986 (Volume XXV, Number 1)

n.a., "Theoretical Problems in the Reconstruction of Ancient Slavic Intellectual Culture."

M.V. Osorina, "Modern Children's Lore As an Object of Interdisciplinary Study (Toward an Ethnography of Childhood)."

G.E. Afanas'ev, "The Large Family Among the Alans."

B.I. Kliuev, "New Forms of Religious Worship in Modern India."

An article appeared recently in the *New York Review of Books* that, though not by an anthropologist or about anthropology per se, will surely be of interest to many *Newsletter* readers.

Does Central Europe Exist?, by Timothy Garton Ash. *New York Review of Books*, Volume 33, Number 15, pages 45-52 (October 9, 1986).

This is a particularly appropriate question, given our current discussion of the relationship between the East European Anthropology Group and the newly organized Society for the Anthropology of Europe.

We draw your attention to a useful survey, including a twelve page bibliography, of archeological research in Eastern Europe since the mid-1970s.

Selective Survey of Archaeological Research in Eastern Europe, by Sarunas Milisauskas. *American Antiquity* 51(4):779-798.

This article will be useful not only to archeologists working inside and outside Eastern Europe but especially to other East Europeanists needing a quick and convenient reference to works on the prehistory of the region.

Film

My Family and Me. 1986. Directed by Colette Piault. 16 mm, color, 75 mm. Distributed by Les Films du Quotidien, 5 Rue des Saints Peres, 75006 Paris, France.

This is the latest of several films by anthropologist-filmmaker Colette Piault about the effects of emigration on a Greek mountain village in Epirus. This one also concerns another of her professional interests,

family relationships. We follow a 13 year old boy through three different shooting periods: winter in the village where he has been left with his grandparents; summer in the village when his parents return for their annual vacation; and Christmas in Zurich where the boy and his grandfather visit the family. Throughout, the focus is on the relationship between the boy, his grandparents and parents. The style is cinema verite, in Greek with English subtitles. For those of you who have seen others of Piault's films (*Everyday is Not a Feast Day*, 1980; *Thread of the Needle*, 1982; *Let's Get Married!*, 1985) this is her best to date.

Research Grants for Independent Scholars

The Russian and East European Center of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign announces a program of Research Grants for Independent Scholars. This program will be contingent upon the availability of funding from the U.S. Department of Education.

Scholars doing research on any topic related to Eastern Europe or the USSR are invited to apply. Grants will be available for periods between February 15 and May 15, 1989, for stays of between four weeks at the minimum and three months at the maximum. The program carries no salary or stipend. Scholars will be given modest housing in a room or efficiency apartment near the campus, a research allowance of \$10 per week, and temporary faculty status, including library privi-

leges. Along with conducting their own research, Independent Scholars will be welcome to attend all Center-related activities.

In order to receive full consideration, applications must be received *no later than April 1, 1987*. The awards will be announced May 1 or as soon as possible thereafter.

Further information and application forms may be obtained by writing to the Russian and East European Center, University of Illinois, 1208 West California Avenue, Urbana, Illinois 61801, or by calling the Center at (217) 333-1244.

Personals

Gail Kligman has a new position: Assistant Professor of Anthropology at the University of Texas at Austin.

Meetings

Regards sur les Societies Europeennes

"Regards sur les Societes Europeennes" ("Looking at European Societies") is an international seminar of anthropological film, during which ethno-cinematographers working in Europe gather with documentary filmmakers and ethnologists particularly experienced and motivated in the field of anthropological cinema. The participants, limited in number to 25 or 30, come from fifteen different countries. Each year, the Seminar is held in a different Western or Eastern European country: France (Cannes, 1983), Great Britain (NFTS Beaconsfield, 1985), Sweden (Biskhops-Arno, 1986).

The program, made up of projections and discussions, includes:

1. Films made by the participants.
2. Work in progress: films being shot or edited, open to constructive criticism.
3. Films on the same general theme, the goal being to compare cinematographic methods, rather than to analyze the content.
4. Documentary films (or perhaps certain fiction films) providing a deeper understanding of the host country and its cinematographic production.

The common language is English, for discussions as well as for films, though the Seminar is a French initiative, supported by the French Ministry of Culture (Ethnological Heritage Mission) and the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Direction de l'Information Scientifique et Technique (National Center for Scientific Research, Department of Scientific and Technical

Information), under the permanent chairmanship of Colette Piault, Research Director at the CNRS.

Every year, the seminar is organized in collaboration with researchers and research institutions in the host country. It does not receive any special funding, and participants, either individually or through the institutions employing them, are all responsible for their own travelling and accommodation expenses. This year, "Regards sur les Societes Europeennes" took place July 5-12, 1987 in Budapest, Hungary, with the special theme "Filming Ritual." As the first meeting to be held in Eastern Europe, there was even greater opportunity than usual for exchange between West and East European colleagues.

There will be no meeting in 1988, but the group will reassemble during the summer of 1989. For further information, contact Colette Piault, 5, rue des Saints Peres, 75006 Paris, France.

VI Congress of the International Association of Southeastern Europe

The Sixth Congress of the International Association of Southeast European Studies will be held August 30-September 5, 1989, in Sofia, Bulgaria. A preliminary program of eighteen major themes, twenty-eight specific chronological and thematic problems, and three round tables has been announced. Americans who plan to present papers must submit three page abstracts to the United States National Committee by April 1, 1988. It looks

doubtful that any money will be made available for travel to this congress other than those funds, already in great demand, normally provided by ACLS for travel to foreign congresses.

For further information, contact the Chair of the United States National Committee Gale Stokes, Department of History, Rice University, Box 1892, Houston, TX 77251, telephone (713) 527-4947.

Summer Research Laboratory

The Russian and East European Center at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign offers again in 1988 its Summer Research Laboratory on Russia and Eastern Europe. The program is designed for scholars, including students doing dissertation research, who wish to use the resources of the University Library. Associateships will be available for any period between June 13 and August 6. In addition to full library privileges, Associates will be offered housing awards for up to fourteen nights (twenty-eight nights for scholars coming from abroad and all graduate students) and are welcome to stay longer at their own expense.

In addition to carrying on independent research, Associates will have the opportunity to meet with colleagues for presentation of papers and discussion of current research. Special workshops devoted to East European and Russian culture and the contemporary Ukraine, a festival of Russian and East European culture, and a film series will also be offered.

Application forms and additional information are available from Director Marianna Tax Choldin, Russian and East European Center, University of Illinois, 1208 West California, Urbana, Illinois 61801.

FREE BOOKS

We are able to offer, so long as supply lasts, a free copy of *Among the People; Selected Writings of Milenko S. Filipovic* (reviewed in the *EEAG Newsletter* 2[2]: 13) to anyone sending in their 1987-88 dues (still only \$5.00). To those who also pay at this time their 1988-89 dues (a total of \$10.00), we will make that a hardback rather than a paper bound copy. You must specifically state that you want a copy of the book when you send in dues; we will not send it automatically. If you are one of those generous few who have already paid their dues in advance through 1988-89, all you have to do is ask.

An East European View of American Anthropology in Eastern Europe

Many pages in past (and the present) issues of the Newsletter have been devoted to the complex role of the ethnologist in Eastern Europe. The following article is devoted to still another perspective on the same subject. By one of our Polish colleagues, it was originally published in the book review section of the Polish journal Hemispheres (No. 3, 1987). It constitutes not only a review of the article in

question (one of our primary bibliographical tools) but a general critique of American ethnological work in Eastern Europe. There is much here to think about and we have, therefore, reprinted the article in whole (including typographical errors). We hope to include in our next issue of the Newsletter responses from Halpern, Kideckle and any other readers who have something to say on the subject.

Joel M. Halpern, David A. Kideckel, „Anthropology of Eastern Europe”, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 1983, No. 12, pp. 377—402, Academic Press.

by Leszek Dziegiel

Two American social anthropologists, Joel Martin Halpern of Massachusetts University and David A. Kideckel of Central Connecticut State University, published in 1983 a comprehensive paper on “Anthropology of Eastern Europe”. But on the 24 pages with 221 bibliographical references the careful reader will in vain look for social and cultural problems of the areas which already at high school geography lessons he used to identify with Eastern Europe. The Ukraine, Russia, Byelorussia, the Baltic countries? Nothing of that kind. For both scholars Eastern Europe begins on the Elbe. Nevertheless, “for sociocultural reasons” they have excluded the territory of the German Democratic Republic from their analyses. Nor do they discuss problems of the nations of the European part of the Soviet Union, although in that case they offer no explanation for their decision. They write about “the Slavic states of Europe outside the U.S.S.R. and the geographically contiguous states of Albania, Hungary and Romania”. They are not concerned with Greece supposedly because

of the cultural difference of that country with strong traditions of the ancient civilization. In fact, however, even a cursory reading of their paper enables one to discover the main causes of their selective analysis. The meridionally oriented slice ranging from the Baltic to the Adriatic and the Black Sea, cut out of the rest of the European continent, is in their eyes more or less homogenous culturally in view of the present-day political situation. As we shall, however, note later, the more profound cause of such an interpretation of the anthropological facts in Central and South-Eastern Europe must be seen in the very uneven knowledge of European problems which marks both authors. One of them boasts, it is true, that he has been concerned with East Europeanist anthropology for 30 years, but the perspective in which both scholars see us emerges clearly from their own publications which they both quote.

Now Halpern refers to 24 items of which he is the author or a co-author and 21 of which show by their title that they pertain to the Balkan Peninsula, mainly Yugoslavia. Within the last-named country Halpern is concerned solely with the culture of the Serbians. In one of his papers he even discussed the convergences between the cultural change in Serbia and in Laos (*sic!*). It is true that in another paper he pointed to the contrasts between the economy of Serbian peasants and that of the Laotian peasants. It can be seen, however, that within Eurasia the Balkan Peninsula and the Indochinese Peninsula are equally near to him.

Kideckel quotes only four of his own publications connected with the subject matter of their paper, but all of them are concerned with Romania. Out of the 221 items used in the writing of the paper under consideration as many as 151 are concerned with the Balkans or with the fortunes of Balkan ethnic minorities in the United States.

Hungarian problems are represented beyond all doubt by 27 items; but they can perhaps be found also in the papers concerned with Transylvania, which is now in Romania. In turn, analyses concerned with Hungary also refer to the minorities which have for ages lived together with the Hungarians. In the remaining 23 items in the bibliography we find — next to those which refer to Eastern Europe in general — a few items which deal with Czechs and Slovaks. Poland, after all a country inhabited by 37 million people, is treated quite marginally by the students of Serbia, Transylvania and Laos. This is reflected by merely eight items, four of which written by Poles: two papers by Anna Kutrzeba-Pojnarowa, one study by Józef (quoted as "Josef") Obrebski, and one

article of which P. T. Bogdanowicz is a co-author.¹

Halpern and Kideckel do realize that in our part of Europe such terms as social anthropology, cultural anthropology, ethnology, and ethnography are used interchangeably. This is borne out by their references, which include works by European authors. They also make at the outset the reservation that their essay is to be primarily a review of the studies made by Americans in that part of Europe. It is only exceptionally that they have made use of works by non-American authors, published in English in Western professional journals. They do add, however, that their field of research was defined by statements made by "East European ethnologists", provided they had been published in English in a professional journal in the West. By the way, in the case of the Polish ethnological disciplines the paper by J. Burszta and H. Kopczyńska-Jaworska, "Polish Ethnography After World War II", published in the Swedish periodical *Ethnos*, has totally escaped their notice.²

It must be said that the two Americans do not try to minimize the problems which an analysis of the cultural relations in the area they choose to call Eastern Europe creates for them and their colleagues. In their opinion, an important obstacle is to be seen in the strong sense of political and national identity, typical of that territory, which allegedly always confined anthropological studies to political and linguistic areas. It is interesting to find that the two authors do not mention at all another obstacle, which seems to be a very important one, faced by a foreigner who wants to analyse a large part of Europe in an integrated

¹ A. Kutrzeba-Pojnarowa, "The Traditions, Present State, and Tasks of Ethnographic Science in the Polish People's Republic", *Soviet Anthropology and Archaeology*, 1982, pp. 3—40; also by the same author, "The Influence of the History of Peasantry on the Model of the Traditional Peasant Culture and Its Transformations", *Program Soviet and East European Studies Occasional Papers*, Amherst 1983, No. 2, pp. 85—98; J. Obrębski, *The Changing Peasantry of Eastern Europe*, eds. B. K. Halpern, J. M. Halpern, Cambridge 1976; F. T. Fine, P. T. Bogdanowicz, "Policy Response and Alternative Strategy: The Process of Change in a Polish Highland Village," *Dialect. Anthropology*, 7(1), 1982, pp. 67—80.

² J. Burszta and B. Kopczyńska-Jaworska, "Polish Ethnography After World War II," *Ethnos*, 1982, No. 1—2, pp. 50—63. This is a contribution to the international discussion on *The Shaping of National Anthropologies*, initiated by the University of Stockholm Department of Social Anthropology.

manner. Such a scholar must acquire the command (at least in the passive sense) of several quite different European languages. Otherwise he cannot do real field work nor read the native scholarly publications of a given country. He must therefore act in isolation from the local milieu. The problem of language barriers is practically non-existent in the analyses carried out by Halpern and Kideckel. It seems at moments that such an isolation is for them neither embarrassing nor harmful.

Traditions of studies of culture of Central and South-Eastern Europe are relatively very young, as compared with research on African and North American peoples. It has been only in the last two decades that the number of American scholars interested in the part of Europe under consideration has increased rapidly. They have experienced both successes due to a new field of research and failures resulting from specific cultural features of that region (and also from the fact that that part of Europe has had for years its own scholarly milieu that studied cultural phenomena in the respective countries).

Here, however, Halpern and Kideckel put forth the claim that in that part of Europe "the nature of these research traditions and their dominant ideas can differ greatly from Western anthropological thought and practice". Those traditions were namely due to the striving to work out national identity, based on peasant cultures dominant in those countries. But let us have a closer look at the criteria by which the two Americans try to single out the area under consideration from the rest of Europe. They refer to such features, supposedly common to all the countries in question, as the peasant character of their cultures, a low level of urbanization, and general civilizational backwardness. Further they mentioned the fact that the said area has been peripheral relative to the spheres of influence of the great empires: Ottoman Turkey, the Habsburg empire, the Russian tsardom, Western capital, and the Soviet Union (*sic!*). They also claim that ethnic quarrels have been common among the various groups living on both sides of a given State frontier, and that ethnic membership has been linked to definite religious allegiance.

It must be noted in this connection that the religious factor has been minimally noticed by both the authors of the essay under review and by those American scholars whose works are largely the basis of the overview. Impressed by the number of national conflicts and the stormy history of Central and South-Eastern Europe during the last two centuries, marked by the clashes of influences of alien empires, the two Americans rather

hastily try to compare our region to South-Eastern Asia, influenced for millennia by co-existing Chinese and Indian civilizations. Finally comes the most important common feature: forty years under the socialist system after World War II.

When presenting the historical trends in anthropological studies, both Americans go back to the first Western descriptions and travellers' reports from that part of Europe, published in the United States prior to World War II. Their task was mainly to make the reader interested in the colourful mosaic of cultures and nations. Westernized East European politicians and intellectuals are claimed to have presented their respective countries in the form of descriptions similarly tinged with exoticism, when they strove to bring their countries closer to the Western readers. Halpern and Kideckel nevertheless are aware of the fact that local research interest in the cultures of those countries began in the early 19th century in connection with growing nationalism. The further growth of ethnographic studies and reflections on native cultures is linked by the two American authors to the then increasing (at least in their opinion) political role of the peasant parties in the period 1918—39.

While postponing the more comprehensive polemic to the concluding part of the present paper, we have to note again that authors' knowledge of the countries situated to the north of the Carpathians is less than modest. In the period before 1939 they mention the Pole Obrębski, whom they present as a disciple of Malinowski, who in his studies conducted in Poland and Yugoslavia referred to the then prevailing anthropological interests in the West. They not only fail to mention Moszyński, whose disciple Obrębski really was, but do not even include in the group of Westernized intellectuals Florian Witold Znaniecki, co-author of *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, in 1940—50 professor of sociology at the University of Illinois in Urbana.

The American anthropological studies in that part of Europe prior to World War II were mostly concerned with the Balkans, mainly Albania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Romania. Scholars who were active there, such as Philips Mosley, Vera Erlich and Irwin Sanders, met on that occasion local researchers, such as Gusti and Stahl in Romania and Filipovic in Serbia. Their contacts with the arrivals from the United States helped the European scholars to find their way to the Western milieu and gradually to win renown on the other side of the Atlantic. In the opinion of the two authors the scholars' attention was attracted by the feature common

to East European societies, mainly the impact of even remote historical events upon contemporary behaviour of individuals and their ways of establishing their identity.

In Halpern's and Kideckel's opinion, after World War II interests in the anthropology of Eastern Europe were changed. Descriptions of culture intended to define national and ethnic traditions came to be more and more often replaced by endeavours to answer more detailed questions. The new generation of researchers wanted to analyse the history of the growth of local capitalism and also the structure, potential, and problems of the contemporary East European socialist societies. The authors of the paper under review fail, unfortunately, to state with more precision whether that reorientation of interests marked local researchers, or the American ones, or both. In any case, the post-war period is claimed by them to have been marked by two theoretical orientations in anthropology concerned with Eastern Europe. One of them, which they call socio-structural, analyses peasant society in the form of the family, community, relations to local institutions, symbols and systems of values. Emphasis is laid on the cyclicalness of phenomena. Attention is drawn to social change which yields new social groups such as peasant-workers and groups of emigrants living abroad.

The adherents of the socio-structural orientation do not deny the importance of modernization, but they nevertheless tend to emphasize the continuity and the adaptive abilities of peasant culture also within broader socialist economic systems. They point to the transient nature of political systems as compared with age-old culture patterns. That approach encourages the researchers to seek the key to the comprehension of culture systems in Eastern Europe in analysing the lives of individuals and communities in their historical perspective.

The authors of the essay claim that the last decade witnessed among American scholars a great popularity of the orientation which they call politico-economic. There emphasis is laid on watching interactions between local cultural units and national and even supranational institutions. That is supposed to help one to better understand the formation of cultural systems typical of Eastern Europe. There is, therefore, much greater interest in the effects of the capitalist and the socialist systems, production relations, trade and class systems. The scholars' attention is focussed on change rather than cultural continuity. Unlike the adherents of the socio-structural

orientation. they do not seek answers about the future in the elements of the cultural past. In the opinion of Halpern and Kideckel, the adherents of the politico-economic orientation treat the present developments as a qualitative deviation from past patterns, as a kind of linear development. Those researchers assume that "socialism and socialist institutions, especially planned social change, are considered to have an enduring effect on East European life".

The authors of the essays try to offer examples of the pre-1939 and the post-1945 approach. Like on all occasions, the works they quote pertain almost exclusively to Yugoslavia. The latest studies strive to watch in detail the changes which the rural community has undergone after the introduction of the socialist system, and primarily after the collectivization of agriculture. The various monographs are said to compare the situation prior to the introduction of the socialist system to the present realities of life. Halpern and Kideckel assure us that such an approach makes it possible for the scholars to better assess the process of socialist change or else to find the cultural continuity of peasant societies. For instance, P. D. Ball reflects on how collectivization has changed both the social hierarchy and its individual perception in the Hungarian rural areas. C. M. Hann analyses increased social stratification due to new economic opportunities with which the inhabitants of a backward village are faced. Z. Salzmann and V. Scheufler take the case of the Czech village of Komarov to discuss the role of collectivization as the carrier of general modernization. American scholars also wrote favourably about the scholarly standard of some local scientists, particularly about the book *Proper Peasants: Traditional Life in a Hungarian Village* by E. Fel and T. Hofer.

The primacy of Yugoslav problems is also unquestionable when it comes to the study of kinship systems and social structure. The two Americans mention a lot of names of authors and titles of works, especially by Anglo-Saxon scholars, but by continental ethnologists as well, who have been concerned with those problems in many regions of Yugoslavia. The vast amount of data is reflected in the fact that Balkan cultural realities are more and more often being compared with those in Western Europe, North America and Japan. The Yugoslav *zadruga* has for a long time enjoyed special interest on the part of the scholars, who also did not lose sight of the changes which have taken place in post-1945 Yugoslavia following urbanization and industrialization. The authors complain in this connection that Albania, before 1939 a field of study by Western

anthropologists, is still closed to foreign researchers.

The study of oral tradition, rites and symbolism of the inhabitants of Eastern Europe have been taken up by many scholars, both native and foreign. Some of them are fairly attractive in view of their subject matter. For instance, G. Klingman presents the traditional Pentecost rites in the Romanian rural areas in the light of the secularization policy pursued by the authorities. A group of scholars have studied "political rituals and symbolism in socialist Eastern Europe." G. Silverman wrote about the folklore policy in Bulgaria. R. Rotenburg compares "May Day parades in Prague and Vienna." D. A. Kideckel analyses the lay ritual and social change in Romania. G. Klingman is concerned with poetry as a form of politics in the Transylvanian rural areas. F. A. Dubinskas is interested in culture patterns and political symbolism in Yugoslavia. O. Supek draws our attention to the political aspects of the carnival in Croatia. The subject matter of a paper by C. Chase, pertaining to Poland, can satisfy the liking of sophisticated gourmets: "Food Shortage Symbolism in Socialist Poland".³ Let us recall the merriment caused in this country by the various lay rituals organized by the authorities, but having no counterpart in the genuine folk tradition, such as the First Potato Festival.⁴ Yet it turns out that foreign anthropologists are ready to treat all that with deadly seriousness. They happen to treat us more seriously than we treat ourselves.

Let those references to rituals and symbolism in Eastern Europe be concluded by a glimpse of common sense. The authors of the paper under review point to the works by A. Simic and C. Boehm. The former compares certain forms of behaviour specific to southern Yugoslavia to analogous manifestations of folk culture in Mexico. The latter refers in his analysis of the traditional code of honour in Montenegro to the principles of conduct known in communities inhabiting other regions of the Mediterranean basin. Is that a forerunner of a more rational treatment of peasant cultures in the region under consideration and a tentative comparison with regions marked by certain historical and cultural characteristics, and hence of

³ C. Chase, "Food Shortage Symbolism in Socialist Poland". *Anthropological Quarterly*, 56(2), 1983, pp. 76—82.

⁴ M. Orlewicz, "Współczesne formy obrzędowości świeckiej jako przedmiot badań" [Contemporary Forms of Lay Rites as an Object of Study], in: *Funkcje społeczne etnologii* [Social Functions of Ethnology], ed. Z. Jasiewicz, Poznań 1979, pp. 141—147.

a departure from the schema of Eastern Europe ranging from the Baltic to the Adriatic? Unfortunately, Halpern and Kideckel do not take up that issue at all.

What is the specific contribution of the anthropology of Eastern Europe to world anthropology? Halpern and Kideckel show that strong regional ethnic divisions are the main interest of the anthropologists concerned with that area. The sense of ethnic membership is an important element of the personality of the inhabitants of that region. It is often at variance with the official policy of national integration. Sometimes it turns into a weapon in the struggle for the economic rights of a given area, neglected in that respect by the central administration, or for the rights of a group whose status is in fact lower than that of the other groups. Examples are taken mainly from Yugoslavia, which is in fact an ethnic mosaic in the region inhabited by southern Slavs; minority problems in Romania and Hungary are also discussed. The authors of the papers one-sidedly associate those conflicts and rivalries with that part of the European continent, and forget about the revival of Flemish, Walloonian, Basque, Corsican and Welsh separatism. On the other hand, they are correct in pointing out that those animosities penetrate even the milieus of anthropologists and ethnologists themselves, who quarrel vehemently in the name of local patriotisms. They are also right in voicing their apprehension that ethnic particularism will be difficult to neutralize even by class oriented socialist political systems. It may be said in this connection that animosities among the various ethnic groups in Central and South-Eastern Europe have often been fanned on purpose by foreign authorities, interested in the quarrels among peoples and nations in that region of Europe. The two Americans refer only to quarrels and conflicts as supposedly specific elements of that part of the world.

The Balkan perspective makes the two American scholars engage in another simplified reasoning about the general civilizational backwardness of Eastern Europe in the 20th century and its complete economic dependence upon others in the recent past. Halpern and Kideckel must have apparently heard little about such old cities with mediaeval traditions as Prague, Wrocław, Gdańsk, Cracow and Budapest, because they write about poor urbanization of that part of Europe. Further we read that the local "relatively small-scale urban centers were principally inhabited by cultural groups from outside the region until well into the nineteenth century", surrounded by a sea of native peasants. Those countries, except for Czechoslovakia,

were supposedly marked by a lack of industry. They were fully dependent upon foreign capital, which — as is shown by examples drawn from pre-1939 Romania and Bulgaria — favoured the survival and even the development of a rigid and oppressive social hierarchy. That feudal reality, which rather resembles the operettas of Ferenc Lehár, disappeared radically only after World War II when the policy of development, controlled centrally by socialist government, dragged that region from backwardness. But here comes the cold shower applied by the author to the East European reader who is not willing to return to the epoch of *The Merry Widow* and *The Tsarevitch*:

“Viewed from the perspective of the 1980s, the enormous external debt of many East European nations to Western banks is definite evidence of the revival of economic dependency in the socialist epoch. As past dependency undermined the lives of East Europe’s people, fostering rigid class structures, it threatens to do so today.”

The principles of stylistic composition suggest that the discussion of the American anthropological essay should be concluded by that apocalyptic vision. But Halpern and Kideckel have in store a number of other remarks, interesting, though perhaps not that striking. They give, above all, examples of studies concerned with the integration or rural communities with their regions and the rest of the country following a change in agrarian systems. They also discuss studies of social facts connected with industrialization and urbanization. The works on co-operative farms quoted by Halpern and Kideckel pertain mainly to Hungary and Transylvania. In the opinion of the two Americans, it follows from those field studies that the change in the agrarian relations, planned by the State authorities, contributes to economic growth, the rise of the living standards, and the release of manpower reserves owing to the modernization of agriculture. This is borne out by G. Patterson’s field study on the rural areas in the Romanian province of Oltenia. This is why the concluding remark made by Halpern and Kideckel sounds puzzling: “Still, the verdict on socialist agrarian systems and their ability to transform rural life is a mixed one.” The authors of the overview complain that so far there have been no comparative anthropological studies on the rural areas in the various socialist countries in Eastern Europe because “agriculture in Poland and Yugoslavia has remained largely private.”

There are also, in their opinion, no “systematic discussions of socialist industry from an anthropological perspective.” By sticking stubbornly to the conception that the part of Europe under consideration is a land of

peasants, Halpern and Kideckel, and above all the authors they quote, are not particularly concerned with workers from big industry areas. They are above all interested in the impact of industrialization and urbanization upon the rural areas, and in particular in the phenomenon of peasant-workers. There are also studies on the "peasantification" of towns. Foreign anthropologists differ from one another in the assessment of what they describe. If we are to believe Halpern and Kideckel, at least part of the publications try to go beyond a politely optimistic stereotype and analyse the totality of complex facts objectively. But here, too, the data are unfortunately taken totally from South-Eastern Europe.

In the part dedicated to the emigrants from the said part of Europe, living mainly in the United States, the two authors focus their attention on emigrants from the Balkans. But we find here some *Polonica*, too. Halpern and Kideckel quote the publication of Anna Kutrzeba-Pojnarowa with the comment that she sheds new light on the peasant emigration from Poland, analysed between the world wars by Józef Obrębski. But here, too, no mention is made of Znaniecki's study of Polish peasants. Reference is made to the study of H. Bloch on the changing roles of the Polish emigrant women in their daily family life.

The two authors on many occasions point to the serious gaps in the anthropological works concerned with Eastern Europe. There is a lack, in the publications accessible to Western readers, of any papers on political élites, on leaders and on the legitimation of their power. The problem is in fact of great importance not only for the anthropologists on the other side of the Atlantic. There are many other reservations addressed to European anthropologists and ethnologists, known to the two authors from occasional translations, who had studied the part of Europe under consideration: Halpern and Kideckel emphasize the fact that it is a very interesting area, which moreover has a long tradition of culturological studies conducted by local scholars. This is the difference between Eastern Europe and the vast areas of Africa, Latin America and Asia, where such studies have until recently been carried out almost exclusively by foreign anthropologists. Contacts between European and American scholars are promoted by the *Colloquium Anthropologicum*, published in English at Zagreb, despite the fact that the periodical is primarily concerned with physical anthropology. Halpern and Kideckel seem to have no idea about the *Ethnologia Polona*, published annually for years in English and intended to be a visiting card of the Polish ethnological disciplines.

But let us revert to the two authors. They blame the field studies they discuss for a lack of general theoretical perspectives. They appreciate the opportunity for becoming acquainted with the opinions of such European scholars as Bicanic, Filipovic, Gavazzi, Gunda, Hofer, Kutrzeba-Pojnarowa, Markus and Stahl, but they claim stubbornly that the anthropological achievements of local and foreign scholars still do not allow the East European problems to join the main trend in world anthropology. That part of Europe is still supposed to be of marginal interest for science. They conclude their analysis thus:

"If there is to be a viable East Europeanist anthropology, there needs to be integrating perspectives consistently addressed on multinational, regional, and cross-culturally comparative levels. Perhaps the pressure of regional identities is too strong for East Europeanist anthropologists who have gone native and become Balkanized in the process."

Ridiculing foreign naive enthusiasts of our geographical region and their no less naive generalizations can hardly be a source of satisfaction. On the other hand, however, it is worth while making our American colleagues realize several elementary truths and several essential shortcomings which are not on their list of the scholarly defects of East Europeanist anthropology, because we assume that our common goal is the mutual perception and comprehension of our respective cultures and ideas. The first question that must be raised is about what was the purpose of the review prepared by Halpern and Kideckel. Those scholars, who have a long experience of studies in Europe, have confined themselves to works written by Americans and by the Europeans whose contributions (in a rather random selection) can be read in English. They have thus deliberately cut themselves off from all those publications on Central and South-Eastern Europe which have appeared in German (on Hungary and Transylvania) and in French (on Romania), not to speak about works written in local languages. The thick volumes of Moszyński's *Kultura Ludowa Słowian* [*The Folk Culture of the Slavs*], written several decades ago, were an endeavour to cross the various frontiers of language and political areas, which are claimed today to limit so much the vision of researchers. Of course, that work has never been translated into English, as was also the case of many other scholarly publications by Polish, Czech, Hungarian and Bulgarian authors. The essay by Halpern and Kideckel, as has been said, does not take into consideration many essential European works that have been published in English. It thus gives an untrue image, distorted

be it only for that reason. It is interesting to note that they wrote in the initial part of their study that:

"the carefully plowed field of studies of European society is uninviting for the 'slash-and-burn' oriented (American) anthropologists bent on the cultivation of the new and unexplored. In contrast, East European ethnography demands long-term, painstakingly detailed research to establish the specific of the interrelationships of specific aspects of local life and national identity. The two approaches often find themselves on different paths."

But further in the text they do not mind much what they have written at the outset. To make matters worse, they have themselves undergone complete "Balkanization", but in a quite different sense of the term. They discuss the vast region from the Baltic to the Adriatic from the perspective of two or three Balkan countries they know themselves, tempted by easy generalizations. It is so as if someone analysed Scandinavia from the anthropological point of view mainly on the basis of one's field work in Iceland. It must be admitted that after decades of years spent in the thicket of Balkan ethnic tensions, animosities and rivalries one can come to the conclusion that quarrels are the speciality of the Europeans to the east of the Elbe.

The singling out from the European continent of the belt ranging from the Baltic to the Adriatic had in fact only one factor in view, namely that of political system, even though — as the two authors admit — the varied specific features of that region have not still found reflection in anthropological literature. Other arguments intended to justify such a division of Europe sound artificial. Scholars who have spent thirty years doing research work in Europe, even if mainly confined to Serbia and Transylvania, should have a general knowledge of the geography and the history of the continent. In our part of the world, cut by the mountain ranges of the Alps, the Balkans and the Carpathians, the main cultural and migration waves followed the east-west line, and not the north-south line. This is why Yugoslavia and Albania, at least in their sea coast regions, are culturally closer to Greece, Italy, and Sicily, and perhaps even many other parts of the Mediterranean basin, than to Hungary, Bohemia, and Slovakia, not to speak about Poland. On the other hand the interior of Yugoslavia has a lot of common traditions with Romania and Bulgaria, owing to the Turkish slavery for several hundred years, and there are many references to the Near East to be found there. The same applies to Greece, artificially eliminated by the two authors, which underwent strong Slavicization

in the Middle Ages and later experienced long Ottoman slavery. The Hungarians, threatened by the Turks, were nevertheless in the cultural orbit of Central Europe (like Croatia and Slovenia) and had lively contacts with Austria. Our Czech neighbours have also been linked by age-old political and cultural tradition to the German countries. Finally Poland, separated from the south by Carpathians, had undoubtedly a lot of cultural features common with the Slavonic substratum, on which the German element coming from the region between the Elbe and the Odra was superimposed in the Middle Ages. Through the intermediary of the German lands and also Bohemia and Moravia Poland availed itself for centuries of the civilizational attainments of Western Europe. On the other hand, our cultural contacts with East European people — the Lithuanians, the Byelorussians, and the Ukrainians — are beyond dispute, which is not to say that we have identified ourselves with our eastern neighbours, whom by the way the two American authors have completely ignored in their essay concerned with Eastern Europe.

They write that all the states and nations they discuss lived on the margin of the policies of great powers. We have to ask: when? It is true that Bulgaria and Serbia were conquered by the Turks in the 14th and the 15th century, and the Romanian principalities on the Danube were controlled by the Porte until the mid-19th century, but the situation was quite different with the nations living further north. The Hungarians enjoyed the partnership status within the Hapsburg Empire until the end of World War I. Poland, in union with Lithuania, was an important European power until the end of the 18th century. Note also that the vast Polish territory served as an asylum to many nations and denominational groups which were fleeing from persecutions in neighbouring countries. In Poland they enjoyed considerable toleration — by the standards prevailing in those times. As long as the Poles were an independent people there were chances of political and religious pluralism in their State.

The regions singled out by the two American authors in an artificial manner had their diversified political and economic history. They differed markedly by living standards as late as in the 20th centuries. We read in the essay by Halpern and Kideckel that the part of Europe they discuss is for an anthropologist a genuine laboratory in which he can study rapid and centrally controlled social change that took place after a period of strong underdevelopment, and that "these circumstances are being duplicated in the developing world." This could have been written only

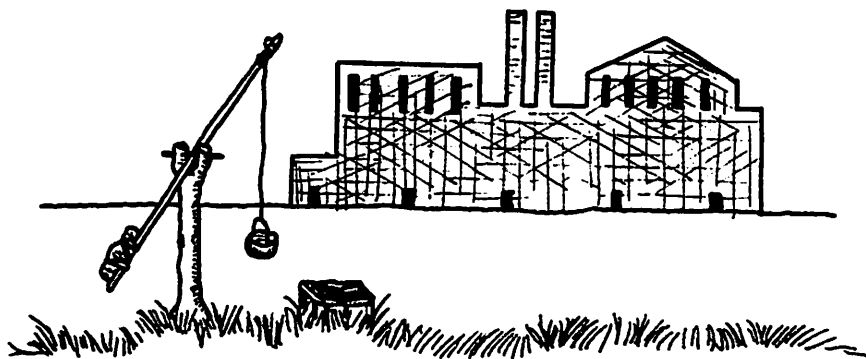
by a person who had no idea about the pre-war living standards in Bohemia and Moravia, in Greater Poland and Pomerania, and even in Hungary, and drew his knowledge of Central Europe from trips to Serbia and forlorn part of Romania.

It does not seem either that the two American anthropologists have grasped the essence of the denominational differences in the part of Europe they discuss, together with their cultural consequences. The two trends coming, respectively, from Rome and Constantinople, which brought different attitudes and loyalties, the disaster of the Turkish conquest with the resulting centuries of oppression and discrimination of Christians in South-Eastern Europe, and also many other consequences of the split of Christendom — all this seems to have been too intricate for the researchers on the other side of the Atlantic. They have also simplified the role of peasantry in the life of European nations. Their vision at least does not fit Polish and Hungarian traditions, which are more complex.

The Eastern Europe as understood by Halpern and Kideckel will always be difficult to analyse by a foreign anthropologist, because its geographical, historical, and economic conception is false. Suppose that another American anthropologist tried to single out, on the basis of alleged similarities, a region that covers Norway, Denmark, West Germany, Switzerland and Italy, in order to carry out their integrated cultural analysis. Singling out the belt from Hammerfest to Palermo would have exactly as much sense as doing that with the region ranging from Gdańsk to Tirana. In connection with the field work studies they quote one can doubt whether their authors had been really objective, and whether they had succeeded in avoiding various pressures and persuasions when they were collecting their data and preparing the work for publication. But for that one would have to become thoroughly acquainted with the items quoted by Halpern and Kideckel. Let us therefore assume their scholarly credibility.

Finally, the essay of the two American authors tells us Poles a truth which is clear but not quite pleasant. For very many anthropologists on the other side of the Atlantic Eastern Europe means primarily Yugoslavia, a picturesque country with the Dalmatian seacoast and a network of hotels and camping places. The same also applies to Romania. The further we move to the north, where the climate is less pleasant and the tourist infrastructure is not always well developed, the more the research enthusiasm of foreigners fades. Their perception of our — Polish — culture is less than

modest. Under the Polish cloudy skies cultural exoticism attracts at most those who are fond of political sensations such as the symbolism due to food shortages. Hence if we want the knowledge of our society, history and traditions reach the centres of world anthropology at least on the scale of their knowledge of Montenegrin highlanders and Adriatic fisherman, we have to do something ourselves. We cannot rely upon the foreign students of the rites connected with the First Potato Festival. We can see here an important role for Polish scholarly publications appearing in world languages, and for an adequate number of translations of works by Polish researchers which are concerned with our culture or with general theoretical problems. I am convinced that there is much truth in the objections raised by Halpern and Kideckel about the local character of culture studies in our part of Europe, although our American colleagues somewhat naively assess the possibilities of making generalizations about old and tradition-rich European cultures. Nevertheless, it may be so that the Polish ethnographers do not face new opportunities for action, namely for making cross-cultural analyses covering Poland and the neighbouring countries. Such analyses could be made by organizing joint international research projects. I know that first steps in that direction have been made several years ago. Perhaps in the future Polish initiatives will give rise to joint Central European studies of local cultures, which, when published and presented to the international forum will mean something qualitatively new in the knowledge of our part of Europe.





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