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NEWSLETTER of the **EAST EUROPEAN ANTHROPOLOGY GROUP**

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From the Editor

This is my last issue as editor of the *Newsletter*. As I announced at our meeting last December, I am resigning with the publication of this number. An End implies a Beginning. So, it is appropriate, I think, to start this last editorial with a bit of history.

The East European Anthropology Group first took shape at the 1979 Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association in Cleveland, Ohio. An informal session was organized by Mitchell Ratner and me for the primary purpose of facilitating communication among the growing number of anthropologists working or planning to work in Eastern Europe. With the proliferation and diversification of anthropological study in the area, it was feared that we were losing the sense of community that our small group had earlier enjoyed. The consensus seemed to be that the informal gathering had served the purpose intended, and accordingly, similar sessions (always followed by a group dinner) have since been held at every AAA meeting.

I put out the first issue of the *Newsletter* in the Fall, 1981. Its primary goal was the same as for the annual get-togethers. It was hoped that we might not only augment what was accomplished at the annual meetings but

incorporate into our growing community those (particularly students, but also many faculty) who were unable to attend annual meetings of the AAA. Specifically, I stated the goals of the *Newsletter* to be (Volume 1, Number 1, page 1):

- to better organize and coordinate activities of the EEAG at the annual meetings of the AAA, including both symposia and informal gatherings;
- to serve as channel of communication, transmitting news of particular interest to East European specialists;
- to develop and strengthen better understanding and mutually beneficial relations with our colleagues in Eastern Europe;
- to promote a sense of community and co-operation among all North American anthropologists working in Eastern Europe.

The *Newsletter* was first made possible by a grant which I had obtained from the Joint Committee on Eastern Europe of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council. This financial support lasted for 3 years and allowed us to distribute the *Newsletter* without charge. When the grant ran out, the generosity of Charles Gribble of Slavica Press (who was a charter member of

EEAG, though not an anthropologist) helped us weather the next couple of years. In 1984 we began to charge membership dues, but payment has always been intermittent (even a newly-elected Board Member had to be asked to become a dues-payer), and we continued to distribute the *News/etter* to nearly everyone on the accumulated mailing list. To have been stricter in this regard would have meant dropping some of our most frequent contributors and some of our most illustrious members. Keeping the publication financially afloat on our own resources was always difficult but the situation worsened a couple of years ago when AAA began to charge \$100 for room rental and program listing for our annual meeting. After publication of each issue, I worried whether there would be money enough to publish the next, but we always made it.

Mitchell and I continued to coordinate EEAG activities (he handling arrangements for meetings and I, the *News/etter*) until EEAG was reorganized in 1985 under the direction of a three-member Board of Directors. The idea was to democratize the organization, bring in new ideas, and share the ever-increasing work load. Membership of the Board was to rotate, with one member being replaced by election every third year. Unfortunately, the Board failed to do much, including arrangements for the election of their own replacements.

I hope that over the years of publication the *News/etter* has served to further the ambitious goals stated in that first issue. Perhaps, as some believe, it is now time for East Europeanist anthropologists to widen their perspective, to abandon their "parochialness." Perhaps the EEAG has served its purpose, and it is now time to move on. But perhaps not. I believe we need an organization as much as we ever did. Perhaps even more so. The field of East European anthropology is no longer what it was. The number of anthropologists concerned with the area is much, much greater than it was in 1979, by a factor of several times. We had then accumulated a body of anthropological literature only for Yugoslavia and Romania (and Greece, if that is to be included in Eastern Europe). Now our number includes anthropologists who have worked in and written

about every country in Eastern Europe with the exception of Albania. Once associated with a small number of Universities, we are now scattered about the country, both inside and outside of educational institutions. The need for information about and interaction with our colleagues abroad remains as great as ever.

There are a number of reasons for my resignation at this time. Most important, I have edited the *News/etter* long enough. It is time for a change, for someone new, with new ideas. For this reason, I have tried several times in recent years to turn over the editorship, but no one with the needed resources has come forward. I am also motivated by my disappointment regarding the recent past and the apparent future of EEAG. We have been abandoned by a portion of our membership (including several of our strongest contributors of the past) in favor of the Bigger Arena, i.e. The Society for European Anthropology. (The error of this way is demonstrated in the composition of SEA symposia planned for AAA 1988; it will be a difficult struggle if East Europeanists are not the poor stepchildren of this organization, as we have been of so many others). No matter that there are many, probably a majority, of EEAG members who wish to continue our organization. It has been a difficult struggle up to now to remain afloat, and the loss of a significant number of members (albeit a minority), who put their money and their energy elsewhere, leaves little hope for our continued viability.

The crisis has not been any easier in that it has occurred at a time when we are very weak organizationally, under the leadership of elected board members who have failed to live up to their obligations. There is still a chance, however. On the last pages of this issue is a statement from the Board which indicates a commitment to setting things right. It is my hope that younger East Europeanist anthropologists will now step forward and take up the reins, including editorship of the *News/etter*. In my current disillusionment, I cannot be of much help. I remain committed, however, to the original goals of EEAG, and I look forward to contributing in whatever way possible.

From the Executive Committee

This column, we hope, will be a regular feature of the EEAG Newsletter. With it, we intend to bring the EEAG membership up-to-date on business issues affecting our organization, summarize important past events, and suggest some directions for the future.

Much of what we have to say this time out can only be implied, since we are still awaiting the results of the EEAG balloting which was sent out to you early in February. As most of you know, this election is to decide the fate of our organization and was itself mandated by the EEAG meeting during the 1987 Chicago AAA meetings. If, by the way, you read this, have not received your ballot, but wish to vote on the EEAG future, please write David Kideckel at Central Connecticut State University, New Britain, CT 06050 or call, (203) 827-7661 or 827-7484, to request a ballot.

Perhaps the most critical issue that must be discussed here concerns an East Europeanist presence at the upcoming Phoenix AAA meetings. Those of you who are members of the Society for the Anthropology of Europe have probably received their recent mailing of proposed sponsored session topics at the Phoenix AAA meetings. The only vaguely East Europeanist session on the list was one Jim Patterson proposed on Balkan communities in North America. Please, if you've an idea for a session, get in touch with the SAE Program Chair. He is:

William A. Douglas, Basque Studies Program, University of Nevada, Reno, NV 89557, or telephone East Europeanists who might join you in your effort, feel free to contact any one of us (i.e. Bennett, Kideckel, or Verdery) for assistance in that regard. At the very least, volunteer a paper.

By the time you read this we all will have celebrated (and some of you possibly bemoaned) the 35th anniversary of the death Joseph Stalin on March 5. Though Stalin is long gone, his spirit remains with us today. Hence, we on the EEAG steering committee have realized that the loose collectivism with which we operated in the past must be replaced by some more specific division of labor. If the ballots that Katherine Verdery is currently receiving indicate that the sense of the membership is to keep the EEAG established we will consult among ourselves to develop a more adequate division of labor as befits our rejuvenated group. Similarly, after consulting with some of you, we will be proposing a new slate of candidates for election to this committee. Both Bennett's and Kideckel's terms are formally over and we write this column as "Ghosts of EEAG Past." Truly, in the world of East European affairs, history remains vital long after the events themselves! **Remember...Send in your ballots and your money...Organize a Session or volunteer a paper for Phoenix!**

Cooperation

We have a request for assistance from Steve Sampson.

I have been asked to do a review on "Collectivization: Eastern Europe and the USSR" for the *Annual Review of Anthropology*. I am writing to ask if you have any bibliography or

sources regarding this field. Any sources you could send me, or references, particularly in press or in preparation, would be of great assistance. The article will be completed in January 1989 and published in October 1989. I would like to have the review as up to date as possible. I am open for suggestions as to

format, key issues, important sources, etc. Please send any references, bibliographies or reprints from out of the way publications or manuscripts to Steve Sampson at Institute of

Ethnology and Anthropology, University of Copenhagen, Frederiksholms Kanal 4, 1220 Copenhagen K, Denmark

Conferences

Black Lambs and Grey Falcons

Early in April 1987 a conference, organized by John Allcock, Chairman of the Postgraduate School of Yugoslav Studies, was held at the University of Bradford (England). Entitled "Black Lambs and Grey Falcons," the conference focused on women travellers in the Balkans, mostly women who travelled around the turn of the century when bureaucratic restrictions were much fewer than now.

Contributions were as follows:

Omer Hadziselimović, "Two Victorian Ladies and Bosnian Realities, 1862-1875: G. M. MacKenzie and A. P. Irby."

Joan Counihan, "Miss Hannah Pipe Takes the Cure."

Julie Wheelwright, "British Medical Women in Serbia, 1914-1918: The Case of Lt. Flora Sandes."

Monica Krippner, "British Medical Women in Serbia During and After the First World War."

Andrea Feldman, "Hannah Senesh."

Lydia Sklevicki, "Alexandrine Onslow."

Anne Kay, "Louisa Rayner: An Englishwoman's Experiences in Wartime Yugoslavia."

Johan Hodgson, "Edith Durham: Traveller and Publicist."

Felicity Rosslyn, "Rebecca West, Gerda and the Sense of Progress."

Joel Halpern, "Emily Balch and Others."

Antonia Young, "Rose Wilder Lane, 1886-1948."

Bill Bland, "Slides on and about Edith Durham."

The weekend conference included a visit to the (Edith) Durham collection at Bankfield House Museum in Halifax, where the participants were welcomed by the curator for costume, Janet Pitman. Currently under discussion is the publication of a volume based on these papers.

Antonia Young

Prehistoric Cultural Development in Temperate Woodlands: Poland and the Eastern United States.

A binational conference, "Prehistoric Cultural Development in Temperate Woodlands: Poland and the Eastern United States" was held March 9-12, 1988, at Bloomington, IN. It was the eighth in a series of binational and international conferences organized through the academic exchange between Indiana University and Warsaw University. The Polish Studies Center at Indiana University and the American Studies Center at Warsaw University serve as organizers and hosts of these annual events. This year the William Hammond Mathers Museum, Indiana University's museum of anthropology, history, and folklore, served as co-organizer.

This conference aimed to provide a comparative analysis of prehistoric developments in two temperate woodland zones, one in the Old World and one in the New World. By

bringing together archaeologists working within different intellectual traditions, the conference sought to synthesize current knowledge, identify problems of common concern, and set new research agendas. Previous comparative Old World-New World archaeological studies have focused on the Near East and Mesoamerica. Models arising from the conference should be more applicable to other areas of secondary agricultural and civilizational development. The annual meeting of Hleb i Vino (an informal organization of North American archaeologists working in Eastern Europe) was held in association with the conference.

For more information, contact: The Polish Studies Center, Indiana University, Memorial Hall West 002, Bloomington, IN 47405, telephone: (812) 335-8119.

Seminar on the Biocultural Antecedants to Alcoholism

Linda A. Bennett (Memphis State College), Robert J. Meier (Indiana University), and Pavao Rudan (Zagreb University) will co-direct the Fifth Annual Anthropology and Health Course, August 14-20, at the Inter-University Centre for Post-Graduate Studies, Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia. The topic this year is "Biocultural Antecedants to Alcoholism." The goal is to encourage studies synthesizing biological and cultural factors in determining the etiology, diagnosis, and prevention of alcoholism and alcohol-related problems. To this end, the directors will: 1) review existing research from both perspectives as potential explanations for the pathways of alcoholism or alcohol-related problems among individuals and certain cultural groups, and 2) attempt to outline a biocultural research project that could be further explored by interested

participants in the course. Methodological issues will be stressed. The intent is to bring together anthropologists experienced in alcohol studies, and scientists with research or clinical background in biocultural disease, with graduate students from both groups also encouraged to participate.

For further information, contact Linda Bennett, Department of Anthropology, Memphis State University, Memphis, TN 38152.



All You Ever Wanted To Know About Fulbrights

The name "Fulbright" or "Fulbright-Hays" is merely the informal name for the "Mutual Education and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961 (PL 87-256)." Three separate agencies independently administer three completely different sets of "Fulbright" programs: the Institute of International Education (IIE), the Council for International Exchange of Scholars (CIES), and the US Department of Education (ED). Each of these three agencies requires a different application, none of which resembles the others. Each agency issues and processes its own application materials in a different manner. And each sets different terms and conditions for its own "Fulbright-Hays" awards.

The main IIE Fulbright program is its "Fulbright-Hays Grants for Graduate Study Abroad." These predoctoral awards are sometimes referred to as "State Department" or "ICA" Fulbrights. They are intended mainly for one year of graduate study or research abroad, as well as for professional training in the creative or performing arts. Applicants must be US citizens who will have a BA degree when the award itself begins, and normally must be very proficient in the language of the host country. Preference is usually given to persons who have not had prior opportunity for extended study or residence abroad. Selection is normally based on an applicant's academic or professional record, language preparation, personal qualifications, study plan, and a faculty interview here on campus. Each grant usually provides roundtrip transportation, tuition, books, and a living stipend for one year. For applications, more detailed information on this or other IIE awards, or counseling, students should contact the IIE Fulbright-Hays Program, 809 UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017.

The major CIES Fulbright program, the "Fulbright Awards Abroad Program," is for American scholars or professionals who wish to lecture or to conduct research abroad.

Applicants must be US citizens, normally have postdoctoral academic lecturing experience if they wish to lecture abroad, or a doctorate or professional qualifications if they want to do research abroad, and must in some cases be proficient in a foreign language. Awardees receive round-trip travel, a living allowance (usually paid in local currency) that varies with the country and number of dependents, a dollar supplement for lecturers, and a small allowance for travel, books, and services. Detailed information, applications, and registration for future CIES announcements may be obtained by writing to CIES, 11 Dupont Circle, NW, Suite 300, Washington, DC 20036. The deadline for completed applications is usually in mid-September. The two main Fulbright programs administered by the US Department of Education (ED) are the "Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad Program" and the "Fulbright-Hays Faculty Research Abroad Program." Both provide opportunities for up to one year of foreign-language research in "non-Western" area studies or modern foreign languages.

Student awards provide fairly generous allowances for six to twelve months of research abroad: round-trip transportation, local travel abroad, foreign tuition, insurance, research-related supplies and services, dependents' allowance, and a living allowance. The amount of each award depends mainly on the country of research, the type of research, and the number of dependents. Student participants must be American citizens or permanent residents who will be PhD candidates (by the time the award begins), and who are currently in a University department or program where they specialize in area studies or a modern foreign language. They must plan to teach at a US institution of higher education upon completion of the degree, and must prove sufficient foreign-language capability to carry out their proposal, which must be for approved dissertation research that cannot be conducted in the USA.

Faculty awards provide for three to twelve months of research abroad. They do not provide insurance or a dependents' allowance, but do otherwise provide the same allowances as for the student award above. Faculty participants must have been employed by the university in teaching modern foreign language or area studies courses for at least two years prior to the time the award begins, and must continue to be employees of the university during the award period. In addition, their research projects should be designed both to enable them personally to improve their language skills and

their knowledge of the foreign culture they are researching as well as to contribute to the development or improvement of the study of modern foreign languages or area studies at this university. Faculty awards are not given for dissertation research nor for research that could be conducted in the USA. The same application booklet is used for both programs. It is available during the first week of September at the earliest and the last week at the latest. The deadline for completed applications also varies from year to year; generally, it is in the first or second week of October.

Resources

Book Reviews

The Rusyn-Ukrainians of Czechoslovakia: An Historical Survey, by Paul R. Magocsi. Bausteine zur Ethnopolitischen Forschung 7. Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1983. 92 pp., 2 maps, bibliography, index. \$9.75 (paper).

This is a brief historical survey of the Rusyn of Subcarpathian Rus' (up to 1948), and of the Prešov region of Czechoslovakia (up to the present). The author has written a number of earlier books and articles about the history, language, and national identity of the Rusyn: this outlines the development of Rusyn history and culture as the Rusyn respond to the numerous political and cultural agendas imposed on them, more or less successfully, by the Magyars, the Habsburgs, the Slovaks, the Nazis, the Russians, the Ukrainians, and, finally, the Soviet government. The latter, like their predecessors, helped the Rusyn make up their mind about who they truly were. At last, it was officially "decided that only

a Ukrainian identity and cultural orientation would be permitted" (page 49).

Ruth Szamvaj
University of Michigan

The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror-Famine, by Robert Conquest. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987. 411 pp., bibliography, index. \$9.95 (paper).

This is a catalogue, in relentless detail, of Stalin's programmatic extermination of a large section of the Soviet peasantry through enforced famine and "dekulakization." Approximately 11 million peasants died as a result of these policies between 1930 and 1937; an additional 3.5

million perished in labor camps subsequently. Conquest attempts to demonstrate that the "terror-famine" was aimed at particular nationalities, including Ukrainians, Kazakhs, and Don Cossacks, and that it cannot be explained by the economic exigencies of rapid industrialization. While most attention is placed on government actions, there is also substantial material on peasant response. Early on, many peasants resisted grain levies by burning their fields. Next, with the official intensification of the "class struggle," some peasants tried to protect their neighbors by claiming that there were no "kulaks" in their villages; others helped themselves to the property of the dispossessed. But once the famine was systematized, and the borders of the stricken areas sealed off, efforts at survival (eating bark, dirt, human carcasses) replaced attempts to make opportunistic gains or to settle old scores. Conquest notes that by 1937 not only Soviet agricultural productivity was destroyed; with it went many elements of the traditional culture of the free peasantry and every trace of the once-thriving Ukrainian national revival.

Robert Heilbroner
University of Michigan

Book Notes

Aspects of Polish Culture, edited by Gary Minnich. Bergen Studies in Social Anthropology, No. 38. Bergen: Department of Social Anthropology, University of Bergen, 1987. 96 pp., 13 photographs. (paper).

A small, not readily obtainable, but very interesting book. The Department of Social Anthropology in Bergen and the Department of Slavic Ethnography at Jagiellonian University in Cracow have had a cooperative arrangement since 1980; this book is but the latest product of that relationship. It consists of a set of articles by members of the latter institution translated into English for this publication (some having appeared earlier in Polish): "Petty-Trading

in the Villages of South Little Poland During the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries" by Zbigniew Bialy; "The Lajkonik as a Living Tradition of the Cracow Folk" by Jan Bujat and Bodgana Pilichowska; "The Gift in the Polish Wedding" by Małgorzata Maj; "Art as a Vista" by Czesław Robotycki; and "Neighborhood" by Anna Zambrzycka-Kunachowicz. These are introduced by Robert Minnich, a member of the Bergen faculty and a long-time member of EEAG. His essay places the Polish articles in the context of both anthropological theory and Polish ethnography. This is a rare opportunity for those of us who don't speak Polish to see what our Polish colleagues are doing. It is distributed by STUDIA: The University Bookstore, N 5014 Bergen-University, Norway.

Polish Folkways in America: Community and Family, by Eugene E. Obidinski and Helen Stankiewicz Zand. Lanham, New York and London: University Press of America. 151 pp., 4 appendices, name index, subject index, and author biographies. \$24.75 (hardback), \$12.75 (paper).

A collection of articles by sociologist and social worker Stankiewicz Zand, originally published in various issues of *Polish American Studies* between 1949 and 1961. To these Ms. Zand has added a forward, providing the history of the articles, and Eugene Obidinski has contributed two chapters providing historical and sociological context. The articles themselves deal with language, foodways, community institutions, family life, weddings and christenings, child-rearing, old age and death.

And My Children Did Not Know Me: A History of the Polish-Americans, by John J. Bukowczyk. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press. 189 pp., 2 maps, 24 photographs, bibliography and bibliographical essay, index. \$8.95 (paper), \$27.50 (hardback).

A history of Polish-Americans from life in the Old Country and incentives for leaving it to

the future of a Polish-American ethnicity. It is clearly the perspective of a historian rather than an anthropologist, and just as clearly the work of a Polish partisan, with its many names of illustrious sons and rather abundant glory for the group as a whole. It is particularly strong with regard to Polish-American participation in labor struggles, the complexities of Polish-American organizational life, and a fine bibliographical essay. It is particularly weak in its failure to place the discussion of Polish-Americans in a larger context of American ethnicity, either historically or theoretically.

High Albania, by Edith Durham. Boston: Beacon Press, 1985. 352 pp., map, photographs, numerous sketches, index. \$10.95 (paper).

At long last, *High Albania* is again in print! For those who know, this is all that needs to be said. Of the several Victorian travellers who went to the Balkans and wrote about it, Durham stood above the rest. And of her many books on Yugoslavia and Albania, this is the best. Among its other distinctions, it was the single greatest factor in influencing this writer to become an anthropologist. It was originally published in 1908 and is basically the story of Durham's travels around North Albania on the back of a donkey with her tribesman guide. She went on to write another book which speaks of Albanian ethnography more scientifically and she was a frequent contributor to *Man* and the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Society*, but *High Albania* remains the best description we have of a functioning tribal Albania. This edition is enhanced by a sensible introduction by John Hodgson.

Chronicles in Stone, by Ismail Kadare. Translated from the Albanian anonymously. New York: New Amsterdam Books/The Meredith Press. \$17.95 (hardback).

This is a novel, in something of the whimsical semi-surrealistic style of Garcia Marquez. But it is an excellent read, and the closest most of us are likely to get to Albania.

A Way of Life and Death: Three Centuries of Prussian-German Militarism, An Anthropological Approach, by Emilio Wellens. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1986. 226 pp. bibliography, index. \$12.95 (paper).

There may be some ambiguity about whether or not to include East Germany in one or another compilation of "Eastern Europe." but a book on German militarism should be of interest to all East Europeanists! This was originally published in West Germany in 1984, though Willems left Germany for Brazil in 1931 (he is a reknown Latin Americanist), and has lived in the United States since 1949. In this book he traces the evolution of German militarism from obscure origins in the age of Teutonic knights through the formative period of the 19th century, to its climax of World War II, all the while emphasizing that it was a cultural system, in which military purposes come to pervade every aspect of society.

Die säkulare Veränderung des Menarchalters in Europa, by Heidi Danker-Hopfe. Stuttgart: E. Schweizerbart'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1986. 165 pp., 35 illustrations, 39 tables, bibliography, index. DM46 (paper).

A very intensive, highly comprehensive study in the Germanic tradition; everything you ever wanted to know about menarche. The bibliography alone consists of 14 pages. Her discussion of menarcheal age ranges from antiquity and the Middle Ages to the present day and throughout all of Europe, country by country. She includes a review of a great deal of East European literature on the subject.

The Plainchant Tradition of Southwestern Rus', by Joan L. Roccasalvo. Boulder: East European Monographs (distributed by Columbia University Press), 1986. 185 pp., 5 maps, 10 illustrations, bibliography, index. \$22.50 (hardback).

In this small but dense book, the author attempts to determine the sources of Carpatho-Ruthenian liturgical music as found in their basic

chant book, the *Tserkovnoje Prostopinije* (1906). She concludes that Rusin plainchant is very similar to the indigenous Rus' chant (the Znamenny) and can be traced in a direct and unbroken line from the earliest known manuscripts of Slavonic music. Discussions in the second half of this book tend to be technical and require some musical knowledge, but the first five chapters, on the history of the Rusins and their music have broader appeal.

The Image of Ivan The Terrible in Russian Folklore, by Maureen Perrie. Cambridge, New York, and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1987. 269 pp., 16 illustrations, index, bibliography. \$42.50 (hardback).

This is an intriguing study of popular monarchism, or The Myth of the Good Tsar. Perrie examines a large body of folklore (folk tales and songs) about a single ruler to answer the questions of why Ivan was such a popular figure in Russian folklore for so many centuries and why he had such a better image in folklore than historians would credit him with. She includes an interesting discussion on the methodological problems of combining historic and folkloric data and a fine comparison of nostalgia for Ivan and for Stalin. The second half of the book (pp 121-253) consists of the texts, with annotation, on which her analysis is based.

The Pariah Syndrome: An Account of Gypsy Slavery and Persecution, by Ian Hancock. Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers, 1987. xii + 175 pp., 2 maps, illustrations, 2 appendices, bibliography. \$17.95 (paper).

Hancock is a professor of Linguistics (University of Texas-Austin) who also happens to be a Gypsy. He is reknown for his work on creole languages, but it is his extensive writing on Gypsy persecution and discrimination which, particularly given the lack of scholarship by others on this topic, is the more important. Of greatest significance to most readers of the *Newsletter* is the relatively large proportion of this book (chapters 2-5) devoted to the period

of Gypsy slavery in the lands now constituting Romania (where emancipation was granted only in 1864). Much of this material was published in the author's earlier monograph, *Land of Pain* (reviewed in the *Newsletter* 2 [2]:15) but this, published in mimeograph, was never widely available. Other relevant sections deal with the history of Gypsy persecution elsewhere in Eastern Europe (chapter 6) and the situation of Gypsies in contemporary Europe, including Eastern Europe (chapter 14). Only a single chapter is devoted to the Holocaust, which most readers might consider the greatest single injustice done to Gypsies (1/2 million murdered, roughly the same proportion as Jews given the relative differences in prewar population). This, however, is a topic which we already have at least some literature (though I hasten to say, not enough) and it is, moreover, Hancock's main point that events like the Holocaust were not isolated tragedies but merely one more stage in a total history of persecution that continues today. Some readers might find the style overly strident, but this is the work of a scholar justifiably outraged both by the injustices done his people and the general lack of concern about these injustices.

Quand l'arbre devient bois: Techniques et croyances des paysans roumains, by Alain Bouras. Etudes et Documents Balkaniques et Mediterraneens, No. 11. Paris, 1986. 173 pp., 3 maps, numerous photographs and sketches glossary, bibliography.

Maisons et attenances des paysans roumains de Margina Sibiului (Transylvania), by Paul H. Stahl and Paul Petrescu. Etudes et Documents Balkaniques et Mediterraneens, No. 12. Paris, 1987. 110 pp, 1 map, numerous photographs and sketches, bibliography.

Two more volumes have appeared in Paul Henri Stahl's series of publications on Southeast European ethnology. Volume 11 concerns wood among the Romanian peasantry: from the living tree and beliefs about it to tools and techniques of lumbering to the use of wood for barrels, tubs, houses, grave markers, spoons, etc. There are additional sections on such related subjects

as bark containers and firemaking sans matches. All done with the loving detail and utter comprehensiveness of traditional European-style ethnology. The extensive bibliography alone (though restricted to French and Romanian language literature) makes this a useful reference book to keep on your shelf. Volume 12 deals with a closely related subject, the construction of houses and the ubiquitous courtyard gates in the environs of Sibiu. There are floor plans and sectional diagrams for a wide variety of house types, as well as discussions of various related topics as stove types, shrine construction, and the arrangement of furniture. Please note that, because of rising costs of production, Stahl is no longer able to distribute publications of this series without cost. The price is now \$8.00 each. To purchase, or for further information, contact: Paul Henri Stahl, Laboratoire d'Anthropologie Sociale, 52, rue du Cardinal Lemoine, 5005 Paris, France.

Amnesty International offers among its Country Reports several monographs of special interest to East Europeanists.

Albania: Political Imprisonment and the Law, 1984 (\$3.00).

Bulgaria: Imprisonment of Ethnic Turks, 1986 (\$5.00).

Romania: Human Rights Violations in the Eighties, 1987 (\$4.00).

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics: Prisoners of Conscience in the USSR: Their Treatment and Conditions, second edition 1980 (\$5.95).

Yugoslavia: Prisoners of Conscience, 1985 (\$5.00).

(For the record, Amnesty International also offers two monographs on human rights violations in the United States.) Send your order (including \$1.25 shipping charge for first book, plus \$0.40 for each additional) to Amnesty International USA, 322 Eighth Avenue, New York, NY 10001.

Periodicals

The current issue of *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* consists of a special issue on East European cities. It includes the following articles:

Ivan Szelenyi, "Housing Inequalities and Occupational Segregation in State Socialist Cities."

Maria Ciechocinska, "Government Interventions to Balance Housing Supply and Urban Population Growth: The Case of Warsaw."

Jiri Musil, "Housing Policy and the Sociospatial Disparities in a 'Socialist' City. The Case of Warsaw at the End of the 1970s."

Ivan Tosics, "Privatization in Housing Policy: The Case of the Western Countries and That of Hungary."

J. Hegedus, "Reconsidering the Roles of the State and the Market in Socialist Housing Systems"

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

Volume XXV, Number 2 (Fall 1986)

A special issue edited by Natalia Sadomskaya on Studies of the North Caucasus:

N. Sadomskaya, "Introduction."

Ia. S. Smirnova, "Avoidance and Its Gradual Extinction among the Peoples of the North Caucasus."

V. P. Kobychiev, "New and Traditional Features in the Contemporary Dwelling of the People of the North Caucasus."

S. P. Dunn and E. Dunn, "Additional Materials on Caucasian Ethnography"

Translated in *Soviet Anthropology and Archeology and Soviet Sociology*."

Volume XXV, Number 3 (Winter 1986-87)

S. V. Zharnikova, "Some Archaic Motifs in the Embroidery of Sol'vychevodsk *Kokoshniks*."

L. Manush, "The Problem of the Folk Music of the Gypsies."

I. S. Gurvich and Ch. M. Taksami, "The Social Functions of the Peoples of the North and Far East of the USSR in the Soviet Period."

S. K. Kabanov, "Archeological Data on the Genesis of Feudalism in Central Asia."

Volume XXV, Number 4 (Spring 1987)

"The State and Law in the Ancient East: A Round Table (Part II)."

T. K. Shafranovskaia and B. N. Komissarov, "The Ainn in the Journal of E. E. Levenstern."

V. E. Maksimenko et al, "Rich Early Sarmatian Complexes on the Right Bank of the Don."

Volume XXVI, Number 1 (Summer 1987)

A special issue consisting wholly of excerpts from *Folklore and Ethnography* edited by B. N. Putilov:

R. G. Liapunova, "Raven in the Folklore and Mythology of the Aleuts."

E. M. Meletinskii, "The Incest Archetype in the Folklore Tradition (Especially in the Heroic Myth)."

A. I. Zaitsev, "On the Origin of the Wondertale."

M. M. Gromyko, "The Custom of Adoptive Brotherhood in the Russian Heroic Poem."

I. Sh. Gagulashvili, "Color Symbolism in Georgian Spells."

A. L. Toporkov, "Pottery-making: Mythology and Craft."

Volume XXVI, Number 2 (Fall 1987)

A special issue on Russian Folk Narratives About the Supernatural:

L. J. Ivanits, "Introduction."

"Creation Legends."

"Devils."

"Sorcerers and Witches."

"The *Domovoi* and Other Domestic Spirits."

"Nature Spirits."

Ethnologia Europaea is an older (currently in its eighteenth year) journal of European Ethnology, but one which has recently taken on new life. It is now directed not only to European ethnologists but also to anthropologists, social historians and others studying the social and cultural forms of everyday life in recent and historical European societies. Unfortunately, as is so often the case, Eastern European societies are given short shift; of the last 43 articles, only 7 dealt directly with Eastern Europe. There is but one way to remedy this situation, and we are informed that your contributions are solicited. Send them to the editor: Professor Bjarne Stoklund, Department of European Ethnology, Brede allé 69, DK-2800 Lyngby, Denmark.

Papers on Eastern Europe in recent numbers have been:

Volume XIV, Number 1 (1984)

K. Roth and J. Roth, "Populare Lesestoffe in Bulgarien; Zur Geschichte der städtischen Popularkulture in Südosteuropa im 19 und 20 Jahrh."

Volume XV, Number 1 (1985)

J. W. Cole, "Culture and Economy in Peripheral Europe."

Volume XV, Number 2 (1985)

G. Martin, "Peasant Dance Traditions and National Dance Types in East Central Europe, 16th-19th Century."

T. Dobrowolska, "Nachbarschaft und Zusammenarbeit in den Karpathen-Dörfern."

Volume XVI, Number 2 (1986)

Yu. V. Bromley, "Ethnography and Contiguous Disciplines."

Volume XVII, Number 1 (1987)

T. Hofer, "Agro Town Region of Peripheral Europe: The Case of the Great Hungarian Plain."

Volume XVII, Number 2 (1987)

G. Klaniczay, "Decline of Witches and Rise of Vampires in 19th Century Habsburg Monarchy."

Ethnologia Europaea is published twice each year, with a majority of papers in English and with English summaries for those papers in French or German. The annual subscription fee for individuals is \$22.00. To subscribe, contact: *Ethnologia Europaea*, Hestehaven 3, DK-5260 Odense S, Denmark.

"The Erotic Stripped Bare: Romanians are Prisoners of Sexlessness," by Linda Mizejewski. *Harper's Magazine*, March 1988, pp. 57-62.

This is the first, and quite likely the last, article from *Harper's* to be reviewed in the *Newsletter*. But it will be very interesting for many of our readers, particularly those with first-hand experience in Romania. It is about repression, both political and sexual, and the relationship between the two, by the writer who spent 8 months in Romania in 1984 as a Fullbright lecturer in American literature. It's well written and provides much food for thought.



Films

Živali: Medicine for the Heart. Filmed and Directed by Les Blank in collaboration with Andre Simić. Flower Films (10341 San Pablo Ave., El Cerrito, CA 94530).

EEAG charter member Andrei Simić has finally finished his film, and it was worth waiting for. He teamed up for the project with veteran Les Blank, an independent filmmaker of some repute -- with the emphasis on independent. Blank tends to ignore fads and criticisms and to make films about those subjects he is personally most interested in, namely folkmusic, food and women. *Živali* escapes the patronizing and sexist perspective of Blank's only other film about East European subject matter, *In Heaven There Is No Beer?* (re: polka culture) and is made in the format of what many consider Blank's best, *Chulas Fronteras*. For Simić, this film was obviously a labor of love. It grew out of his dissatisfaction with an earlier film concerning his Serbian culture. *Živali* lacks a story-line or a single focus, instead leading viewers through a wide range of family and community events in Chicago and northern California and interviews with a variety of community members (the best with Ted Popovich, member of a popular tamburica orchestra). Overall, the effect is to tell what it is like to be ethnic, and specifically Serbian, in America. There is more music and dance than some viewers will want to view. But anyone who has spent much time with Serbian-Americans knows that this is no distortion. (Also, I suspect, this emphasis stems from a constellation of interests of Simić and Blank.) A more serious criticism is that the film ignores the two major divisions within the Serbian-American community, between pre- and post-WWII immigrants (the latter still referred to as "DPs" by the former) and, even more important, between the two formulations of the Serbian Orthodox Church in America (although much of the film concerns the Church or its priests). Nevertheless, *Živali* is an enjoyable film, which will have many uses in the classroom and beyond. It is especially enjoyable for those of us with some experience in the community, for it

is sure to invoke fond memories of huge feasts with good company and long nights of standing

around a tamburica band in some church basement with a drink in one's hand.

Obituaries

Michael Sozan

Michael Sozan, Professor of Anthropology at Slippery Rock University, charter member of EEAG, and frequent contributor to the *Newsletter* died November 21, 1987 after long illness. Michael came to the United States from his native Hungary after the Revolution in 1956. He took his doctorate at Syracuse University in 1972, basing his dissertation on fieldwork among the Hungarian minority of the Burgenland, Austria. His numerous publications on East European ethnology included two books of particular significance: *The History of Hungarian Ethnography* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1977) and *On Both Sides of the Border* (Paris: I.U.S., 1985).

Many of us knew him not only as a good friend but as a severe critic. He was perhaps the most outspoken critic among East Europeanist anthropologists of the present day regimes in Socialist Eastern Europe and an ardent Hungarian nationalist. As long time readers of the *Newsletter* will remember, he was not shy about expressing his criticism of those colleagues he considered naive, ignorant or misguided in their approach to East European society. We can thank him (easier in retrospect) for keeping us on our toes, for forcing us to give adequate thought to our various positions.

Memorial contributions can be sent to Michael's sister, Sarah Greenfield (800 South 21st Street, Arlington, VA 22202). These will

be used to establish a "Michael Sozan Memorial Fund" that will annually reward young scholars for their achievements in comparative anthropology, to be administered by the American Association for the Study of Hungarian History.

Fred Singleton

Frederick Bernard Singleton died in Yorkshire, England in January this year. Up to his last days he was still busy writing and working, "finishing off a few loose ends" as he put it.

Born in Hull, Singleton was both a true Yorkshireman and a citizen of the world. He was still at Grammar School at the outbreak of the Second World War. Although rather young, he joined the Royal Navy and served on the minesweeper HMS "Aurora" in the Mediterranean. It was then that he made his first contact with Yugoslavia and its peoples. A relationship was born that would soon become an important part of his life, professional and personal.

Carried away by youth and post-war enthusiasm, he joined the international student brigade determined to make his own contribution in rebuilding war-devastated Yugoslavia. That experience meant more to Singleton than just taking part in the construction of the main road between Belgrade and Zagreb. It meant paving a

road towards a future that would engage a good part of his interest and equip him with knowledge of the country and its peoples that would rightfully earn him the nickname "Mr. Yugoslavia".

On leaving the Navy, Singleton studied geography and history at Leeds University, gained his BA and MA there as well as his teaching qualifications. During his studies another interest developed – Finland. In fact, he spent the last days of his life completing the country's history.

In 1963 Singleton became a lecturer in geography at Bradford University and rose to a Readership in Yugoslav Studies in 1977, Great Britain's only post-graduate school in the field – his legacy. Singleton was Chairman of the School until his retirement in 1980, and kept a close contact with it as an Honorary Visiting Research Fellow until the end.

Retirement had a different definition for Singleton, it did not mean enjoying the view of Yorkshire from the window of his cottage in the Dales; it meant more time for researching, writing articles, working on new books, attending conferences throughout Europe. His last one was in Kragujevac last September. As a keen supporter of the Inter-University Centre in Dubrovnik, or as an ex-Chairman and then a committee member of the National Association for Soviet and East European Studies, or as a Vice-President of the British Yugoslav Society, he worked wholeheartedly on the development of better relations and understanding between the East and the West, and more broadly, towards world peace.

Singleton was Socialist at heart, an active member of the Labour Party who truly believed in the Socialist movement. He stood as a Labour candidate for Harrogate in the 1959 elections, then later for the European Parliament for North Yorkshire in 1979. His political motivations were simple – development of a road towards socialism, the fight against racism and the

promotion of international peace.

Yugoslav affairs were the subject of several of Singleton's major works – informative but never dull, conscientiously researched and skillfully presented, readable to all. His *History of the Yugoslav Peoples* is one of them. His contributions in presenting Yugoslavia to the world with an eye of a critic who could combine fair criticisms with love for the country, earned him great esteem in Yugoslavia whose government awarded him the Order of the Yugoslav Flag with Gold Wreath, which he took great pride in wearing.

Singleton's resourcefulness and eagerness to build bridges between countries and peoples set up the twinning of Skopje and Bradford, following his organisation of student brigades from Bradford to help the earthquake-stricken Skopje in 1963. That friendship and co-operation still live.

A keen walker, Singleton walked in both the Julian Alps in Yugoslavia and in the hills of Yorkshire with the same enthusiasm; he loved the countryside and fought hard for its preservation.

In recognition of his contribution to the academic world, Singleton was awarded an Honorary Doctorate by the University of Bradford, his social-scientific study of Yugoslavia earned international acclaim.

By his own choice, several hundred family members, friends and colleagues gathered in February to "celebrate his life", with songs, recollections and good fellowship.

A bibliography of Singleton's writing is currently in preparation, also a Festschrift: *Yugoslavia in Transition: Choices and Constraints* (Bradford University Press).

Ziž Stockdale
Antonia Young



Articles Solicited for *Etudes Rurales*

The French journal *Etudes Rurales* (ER) plans to devote a special 1989 issue to work carried out by American or English-speaking Canadian anthropologists which concerns European society. The issue will include articles on both Eastern Europe and Western Europe. Contributions may consist of current ethnographic work, social history, theoretical analyses or textual interpretation. Topics might include: reflections on the experience of fieldwork in Europe, analysis of ritual and religious practices, symbolic expression in the arts, ethnic minorities and local identity, European influences in American culture, American influences in Europe. A central aim of the collection will be to present work by young researchers in the context of the evolution of anthropological discourse within the discipline as a whole. The issue is intended to

provide a critical overview of current North American anthropological culture as it looks at Europe.

Contributions should be around 15 pages in length. Preference is for original work, though articles already published in English will also be considered. All articles accepted will be published in accordance with copyright restrictions and author's permission. Articles submitted in English will be translated in French. Prospective contributors are asked to submit one-page abstracts of their proposed articles. Final versions of articles from those selected will be required by Fall 1988. The abstracts should be mailed to: Joseph Gaughan (ER), 1336 Joliet, Detroit, Michigan, 48207.

News from Abroad

Racism in Bulgaria

Our colleagues in Bulgaria have made the news. The following was published in the January 25 issue of The Economist under the title, "Anthropologists":

Bulgaria has mobilised its scientists in an effort to support its government's claim that the country's 800,000 or so ethnic Turks are in fact full-blooded Bulgarians. An article in a national daily, *Otechestven Front*, has analysed the results

of "anthropological tests" supposedly conducted over the past 30 years by anthropologists from the Sofia Institute of Morphology in three districts which contain many members of Bulgaria's Turkish, Macedonian and Greek minorities. The scientists' finding: the Bulgarian nation is pure and uncontaminated, and has remained unchanged since the Middle Ages.

According to the anthropologists, the Bulgarian people took shape in the ninth and tenth centuries as a blending of Slavs, Thracians, and Asiatic tribes. This mixture evolved into a homogeneous entity, the people now called Bulgarians. The foreign invasions of the past

1,000 years left no racial mark, it seems. The implication is that members of the Turkish minority are merely Bulgarians who happen to speak Turkish.

Experts at the Bulgarian Institute of Brain Research – Yugoslavia's Tanjug news agency reports – have meanwhile been studying the Bulgarian brain. Their preliminary findings, just released, show that it has been toughened by centuries of hardship and has developed its own peculiar way of thinking. But the researchers also found evidence to suggest that Bulgarians are not using their grey matter enough. The institute's director is said to have called on "owners of Bulgaria's 9m brains to keep thinking as much as possible". They might start by reflecting on the validity of the sort of research into racial purity which went out of fashion with Nazi Germany.



Bread in the USSR

We only recently found the following news bulletin:

In December of 1986, in response to complaints of poor quality and rapid spoilage, the Soviets announced the introduction of standards for 6 new higher quality varieties of bread. The prices of these new varieties will be higher than those of existing types and reflect the better quality flour, the increased yeast, and the reduced moisture and acid content. The moisture and salt content of existing varieties will be reduced, but without any price change. The new varieties will be introduced in measure as the bakeries can be geared up to produce them. No increases in government budgetary revenues (turnover tax) are planned to be imbedded in the new prices. (*Planovoye Khozyaistvo*, January 1987.)

Does this mean that the Soviets are also eating Wonder Bread these days?

Organizations

The Social Science History Association

We wish to draw your attention to an organization which seems relevant to the interests of many EEAG members. The Social Science History Association is committed to the view that systematic inquiry into the past, using the tools of scientific investigation, is of central value to historians and historiography. . .and that

the historical perspective is equally crucial to the scientific study of society. The Association was founded in 1974 to bring together historians and social scientists – those scholars who believe that interdisciplinary approaches are of vital importance to the understanding of societies, past and present. The Association publishes a journal, *Social Science History*, and a series of books, "New Approaches to Social Science History," co-edited by Stanley Engerman and John Model. Annual dues are \$20.00 (\$12.00 for graduate students) and include a subscription to *Social Science History*. To join, contact Social Science History, Duke University Press, 6697 College Station, Durham, NC 27708.

The Association will hold its thirteenth annual meeting November 3-6, 1988, at the Bismarck Hotel, 171 West Randolph Street, Chicago, IL. Sessions are planned on migration and immigration, religion, family history and historical demography, rural history, women's history, economic history, political history, urban history, criminal justice and legal history, the history of education, labor history, and methods and theory.



Europeanist Group Organized at IU

The Department of Anthropology at Indiana University - Bloomington recently announced the formation of a Europeanist group, which provides courses and dissertation supervision in European ethnology and archeology. Europeanist anthropologists on the faculty include Richard Bauman, Joëlle Bahloul, Michael Herzfeld, Jerome R. Mintz, Christopher S. Peebles, Anya Peterson Royce and K. D. Vitelli. Of these, Herzfeld (an ethnologist specializing in Greece) and Vitelli (an archeologist specializing in Greece) represent Eastern Europe. For further information, contact the Chair, Michael Herzfeld, Department of Anthropology, Rawles Hall 108, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN 47405, or telephone (812) 335-1203.

CONGRATULATIONS!

We have just learned that in late July, during the 12th International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences held in Zagreb, Linda Bennett was awarded The Order of the Golden Circle and Star by the Yugoslav federal government. Congratulations, Linda!

**An American Perspective
on a Polish View
of American Anthropologists
in Eastern Europe:
Response to Leszek Dziegiel.**

In Volume 6, Number 1-2 of the Newsletter, we reprinted a (rather harsh) review by Polish ethnologist Leszek Dziegiel of Kideckel and Halpern's bibliographic essay on Eastern Europe in the Annual Review of Anthropology. Here is the authors' response to that critique:

INTRODUCTION: ON CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION

When Bill Lockwood first informed us that there would be a critique of our 1983 *Annual Review of Anthropology* article on the "Anthropology of Eastern Europe," we were pleased at the thought of continuing scholarly exchange about the nature of East European society and culture, the substantive problems facing the region, and the uses of anthropology in their analysis and

understanding. However, as we read the piece by Leszek Dziegiel we were chagrined to find ourselves confronted by a vehement polemic based on misintepretation of many points we made, purposeful reinterpretation of others followed by critique of the reinterpreted material, ad hominem argument, argument by belittlement, critique of research without actual first-hand knowledge of that research, and a general tone that impedes rather than fosters discussion.

In considering this polemic, it would be all too easy to respond in kind. However, since there are a few interesting points that Dziegiel raises, if only implicitly and usually in tandem with a host of insults, we prefer to address these. In discussing these issues we will also attempt to consider the intensity of Dziegiel's remarks and the vehemence with which he attacked our article since we also feel this significant for understanding East European cultural realities.

Dziegiel's article, after all, provides a useful case study of the problems involved in cross-cultural communication. We had not previously thought of the *Annual Review* as a publication primarily internal to American anthropology or, in a slightly broader sense, one which is internal to Western anthropology, but Dziegiel's review of our article clearly demonstrates the reality of national-cultural boundaries within anthropology. It is

significant that his article was written originally for a Polish audience and not for an international one. How else to explain his cultural myopia unless one takes a bit more Machiavellian view that his misunderstandings are deliberate (but this view may be overdrawn given the numerous problems with syntax and misspellings in the translation).

INTERPRETING TOPICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL COVERAGE OF EASTERN EUROPE:

Whether he realizes it or not, Dziegiel's main (only?) point is one with which we agree. It is simply that American/Anglophone anthropological analysis of Eastern Europe has been marked by an uneven coverage of the region both geographically and topically. He rightfully points out (as did we) that the chief American research effort in East Europe has concentrated mainly in Yugoslavia and subsequently Romania and Hungary. Unfortunately, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, as well as Albania and Bulgaria, have received short shrift from American anthropologists, a situation that, for Poland at least, has been slightly remedied in the few years since publication of our review.

Though Dziegiel and ourselves agree on the fact of this uneven coverage, we see its causes and significance in very

different ways. In our article we pointed out both the specific history of American anthropological research in East Europe as well as the realpolitic conditions that kept/keep these nations terra incognita for contemporary American anthropologists. Regarding the latter, one of the most obvious reasons is, of course, that American researchers were simply not welcome in most of Eastern Europe until the 1970's while Yugoslavia was, at that time, relatively open to Western researchers. Statistics on the Fulbright program and IREX exchanges reflect a similar national skewing.

Dziegiel, on the other hand, avoids these realities and sees mainly naivete, ignorance, simplified reasoning or the hedonistic pursuit of touristic pleasures (clearly he's never been to an oxymoronic "Romanian resort") lurking behind every Balkan and Danubian citation. In fact, in nearly every point he makes he condemns us for pointing out what American anthropologists have not done in the region and thus fails to see that our article was simply designed to note trends, not endorse them.

Similarly, Dziegiel focusses on our lack of coverage of the indigenous literature as a major shortcoming. Now, perhaps he may never have seen a copy of the *Annual Review*, so it is not odd that he misunderstands the purpose of our article. It was not intended to be an essay about Eastern Europe and its cultures

but something much more modest; a review of the work of American anthropologists on Eastern Europe. This matter is very clearly stated in the article's first sentence, "This essay presents an overview of East Europeanist sociocultural anthropological research concentrating on the work of American anthropologists." In fact, this was also the charge given us by the editors.

We also find it instructive about his purposes and about East European culture that Dziegiel's anger about this uneven coverage mainly concerns Poland. Though he makes some comment about Czechoslovakia and the Baltic states he only cites Polish sources (with one exception) and only refers to Polish conditions. In the author's words, "Poland...a country inhabited by 37 million peoples, is treated quite marginally by the students of Serbia." Clearly he is not similarly concerned about the lack of work on Bulgaria and especially on Albania.

DEFINING EASTERN EUROPE:

Now, to try and get beyond Dziegiel's "killing the messenger for the bearing of bad news," there is a larger issue here, i.e. how one defines Eastern Europe, the specific criteria best used to do so, and whether application of these particular criteria in any way makes "untrue and distorted" an understanding of the region. The bulk of Dziegiel's critique dealt with this problem

of regional definitions. The bulk of our response will thus mirror that.

This problem of definition has generally characterized East European studies, not just anthropology. It certainly motivates Dziegiel and was also the chief point in T. Garton Ash's "Does Central Europe Exist?," the *N.Y. Review of Books* article cited in the last *EEAG Newsletter*. Both Garton Ash and Dziegiel would split Poland and the north/Baltic region from the Danubian Basin and the Balkans (though Garton Ash includes Hungary in his Central Europe). Both Garton Ash and Dziegiel see the north as distinct in terms of standards of living, urbanism, possible political independence, and culture in general. Close examination, then, of this point is particularly in order.

Diffusion, Ethnocentrism and Regional Definitions:

First, Dziegiel's regional definition shows that he really has no conception about the nature of Western anthropological scholarship, otherwise he would not accuse us of "artificially" eliminating Greece, an area so well researched that it requires a separate article. Hellenic exclusivity is also reflected in the nature of specialized scholarly journals and associations in the West where studies of Greece are not part of Slavic and East European studies.

Aside from his understandable unfamiliarity with Western scholarly traditions, Dziegiel's region is based on a fairly narrow view of cultural causation and change and regional divergence and convergence. Throughout his polemic he basically utilizes diffusionist explanations and arguments from historical ethnology to document Polish/northern exceptionalism and to decry Balkan/Danubian comparisons. For him, only direct cultural contact and geographic contiguity seem to matter as he indicates in the lengthy paragraph on pp. 30-31 of the *EEAG Newsletter* which we will not quote for the sake of brevity. Like other diffusionists, Dziegiel is comfortable with particularistic regional definitions. However, any attempt at generalization or to discern research and regional patterns he criticizes by suggesting it indicates a simplistic sense of cultural homogeneity.

Underlying this Boasian notion of culture, there also appears to be certain internalized psychological-based conditions at work in Dziegiel's view of the world. For one, it is possible to detect a not-so-subtle ethnocentrism, possibly even racism; in Dziegiel's (and Garton Ash's) distinguishing the more cultured, urbane, politically conscious (fair-skinned) northerners from their (swarthy) peasant Balkan/Danubian Turkish-influenced neighbors. In fact, throughout his critique Dziegiel saves most

of his invective for any comparison, actual or implied, between north and south and becomes especially animated over points where we sought to do so.

Related to this unconscious racial categorization, the last paragraph of his review indicates that the heart of his critique may grow from a struggle with internalized maginality, an ambivalent feeling about one's own culture with respect to Western society:

Under the Polish cloudy skies cultural exoticism attracts at most those who are fond of political sensations....Hence if we want the knowledge of our society, history and traditions reach [sic] the centres of world anthropology at least on the scale of their knowledge of Montenegrans highlanders and Adriatic fisherman, we have to do something ourselves.

Now, we want to give Dziegiel the benefit of the doubt as to his psychological motivations and his honest appreciation of other cultures (something, by the way, he couldn't manage for our article). So, instead of stooping to the level of his critique, let's re-examine the criteria by which we defined Eastern Europe to see how they match up against Polish/northern realities.

Regional Definitions: North and South Compared

To recapitulate his argument, Dziegiel suggests that conditions characteristic of the Balkans and the Danubian states

were absent north of the Carpathians or, conversely, conditions characteristic of the Baltic zone were absent in the south of the region. These contrasting conditions include: 1) inter-ethnic conflict (limited in the north though endemic in the Balkans), 2) urbanism (present in the north, limited in the Balkans), and 3) marginal status to Great Empires (not applicable to Poland, but present in the Balkans). Furthermore, Dziegiel also objects to our use of political economic conditions (i.e. state socialist institutions and related local practice) as a regional marker. In reviewing his objections, however, we've a sense that Dziegiel is placing some personal ideological agenda before regional realities. We thus consider each of these in turn.

Ethnicity and Nationalism in East Europe:

Regarding ethnicity, to be sure Yugoslavia and Romania were, and are to this moment, hot-beds of ethnic antagonism; Kosovo is in the midst of serious civil disorder and the issue of the Transylvanian Magyars has now been raised to the level of policy in Hungary prompting ever more irrational and discriminatory actions on the part of the Ceausescu government. However to pretend ethnicity is not an issue north of the Carpathians is certainly ideological cant.

In fact, Dziegiel's assertion (p. 31) that "the vast Polish

territory served as an asylum to many nations and denominational groups which were fleeing from persecutions in neighboring countries" could be repeated with a good degree of veracity for parts of every single state in the region. But to also ignore the serious questions of inter-ethnic relations strikes us as incredibly disingenuous.

Need we remind Dziegiel of the treatment of Ukrainians in Eastern Poland, the continuing anti-German sentiment in Poland's Western Territories, the crude anti-semitism of Mieczeslaw Moczar and followers in 1968, and similar attempts at casting suspicion on KOR and Solidarity by renewed anti-semitic rhetoric before martial law made even this a moot exercise. All this, of course, says nothing of the Holocaust of World War II, the ethnic-based depths of Polish anti-Russian sentiment that both pre- and post-date the Soviet revolution, and the ethnic/nationalist conflicts of Poles and Lithuanians, Latvians and Germans, and Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians with Great Russians to this very day.

The City in Eastern Europe:

Regarding urbanism, we have no quarrel with Dziegiel's view that we deemphasized the role and presence of cities in Eastern Europe. Again, however, he ignored two crucial points about our

focus. First, Dziegiel conveniently forgets that our basic task was to review the work of American anthropologists, which has mainly concentrated in rural areas or on contemporary problems of urbanization. (We intentionally did not include in our review the important studies of American anthropologists who are archeologists, some of whose studies focus on urban development). Thus, for Western anthropologists working in East European contexts, peasant villages tend to be the equivalent of a band or tribe and seem more congenial to the holistic approach which they have favored. For reciprocal reasons, then, cities and urban populations have not received as much attention, unless they have been former peasants.

More important than this practical consideration in shaping our approach, is the meaning and role of the city in the East European cultural environment. Thus, Dziegiel fails to see that the mere presence of urban centers does not constitute an urbanized society and that our characterization was based not on the presence or absence of cities per se, but on the relation of city to hinterland.

Though "such old cities with mediaeval traditions as Prague, Wroclaw, Gdansk, Cracow and Budapest" (and we might remind Dziegiel, other Balkan and Danubian cities such as Ljubljana, Split, Dubrovnik, Ohrid, Varna, Brasov, Cluj, Ploiești, and Iași)

were/are prominent in East European society, their populations were frequently greatly differentiated culturally, politically, and economically, from the peasant masses in the countryside. This applies to Poland and the north as it does to the Balkans. The *szlachta* remnants in 19th century Poland, after all, were mainly an urban-based professional and bourgeois class who differed as much from the Polish peasantry as did the Ottoman-supported princes of Bucharest and Curtea de Arges, from their Romanian serfs.

Explaining Intra-regional Variation: Structure vs. Process

Dziegiel's problem with our consideration of East European urbanism no doubt grows from his fairly simplistic notion of what constitutes dependency/marginality. True to form, his rejection of our concern for World System and ecological relations as useful for understanding the region, is based on first putting words in our mouth. Thus, throughout his polemic he continuously rejects what he says is our notion of Eastern Europe as a zone of "civilizational backwardness." This phrase, by the way, was never used nor implied in our review.

For Poland, especially, Dziegiel wants it both ways. He rejects the idea that Poland can be understood using concepts of

dependency and marginality but maintains that it should properly be considered a Great Power *at least through the end of the 18th century*. Then, in the same paragraph, he rationalizes any kind of nationalities conflicts within Poland as due, of course, to Poland's loss of independence. Poland's partitions, neo-serfdom and the grain trade with Western Europe, and the Liberum veto, among other phenomena, are bothersome details that have no place in the diffusionist, particularistic world view of our Polish friend.

Again, Dziegiel's purpose is clear here; it is solely to criticize and propound rather than to discuss points raised in our review article. Where he is certain about the structure of things (e.g. circumstances of national sovereignty and intra-regional standards of living) our article sought, through the concept of marginality, to point to ecological processes of cultural dominance and world system relations of dependency to uncover regional movement and change.

Both ecology and dependency are totalizing concepts that offer explanations on the dynamic rise and fall of nations and how, though whole regions may be integrated into large-scale systems in generally similar ways, there are differences in development over time and in diverse micro-regions. Thus, for example, to speak generally of East European dependency is not to

deny economic and developmental diversity and intra-regional inequalities in pre-World War II Eastern Europe. It is only to attempt to develop a heuristic that links these diversities in the same general set of historical processes.

Further, analyses of dependency relations are especially crucial today. The debt burden of Poland, Romania, Hungary, and Yugoslavia plays a definite generative role in East European social systems. Thus, Polish military rule, Romanian neo-Stalinism, galloping inflation and the increasing rift between Hungarian workers and peasants, and persisting Yugoslav regionalism, though certainly different cultural conditions, can all be partially explained by the effects of world system relations on specific national cultural circumstances.

The Role of Socialist Political Economy:

In terms of the categories used to define the region, Dziegiel's complete rejection of socialist political economy as significant also strikes us as placing some personal ideological agenda before regional realities. Thus, he incorrectly assumes that socialism for us "is the most important common feature (p. 23)" by which we define the region. (Were that so, the DDR would have been included). Subsequently, he suggests that we again focus "almost exclusively (on) Yugoslavia" in our discussion of

socialism but then goes on to mention three sources on Hungary and one on Czechoslovakia which we cited. Aside from one other brief mention of collectivization, the question of socialist influence is not apparent in his analyses.

We will not reiterate the ways which socialist institutions give rise to analogous structures and conditions across the region. However, we want to stress, in contrast to Dziegiel's penchant for generalization, that our article never implied that socialism is a unitary phenomenon affecting all societies equally. Instead, we reviewed work which asked how socialist policies oriented to national accumulation influence local communities, to what degree and why socialist ideology does or does not penetrate individual and group consciousness, or how, why, and to what extent common political action and identity is exhibited in East European socialist states. These questions are certainly as relevant to understanding the region as are, in other distinct ways, the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the ministries of Cyril and Methodius, and the conversion of St. Stephen.

ETHNOCENTRISM IN ACTION:

Now, Dziegiel's disagreement with the categories we used to define the Eastern Europe of American anthropological attention,

is certainly a legitimate activity (though his ethnocentrism and insults are not supportable). However, his constant use of argument by belittlement of both our article as well as much of the research which it attempted to evaluate, must not go uncriticized. This is all the more necessary since, as he himself admits (p.32), he is basically unfamiliar with the literature (though nevertheless capable to pronounce it of doubtful objectivity).

Dziegiel's criticism of the collection of *Anthropological Quarterly* articles (vol. 56, nr. 2, 1983) on political rituals and symbolism is particularly telling. Admitting that he hasn't read any of the articles, he then goes on to imply their content is concerned with issues that East Europeans (here read Leszek Dziegiel) find irrelevant and naive. Perhaps this may be so for those in Dziegiel's ken. However, the recent Bellagio conference on "Folklore and the State in Eastern Europe" with its extensive participation of scholars from both the north and south of the region, alone belies this fact.

Given Dziegiel's broadside against American anthropological research in Eastern Europe, it is not surprising that this man who reviled us for failing to include Polish citations in our article, reserves special venom for Charlotte Chase's discussion of food symbolism, the one contribution to the *Anthropological*

Quarterly edition focussed on Poland. Still, it strikes us as strange that, given his primary concern with Poland, he is so quick to dismiss the issues that Chase took up in detail: the symbolic significance of John Paul II's visit to Poland as galvanizing political action; the meaning and interpretation of the price scissors between luxury goods (falling) and staples (rising); and the importance of the Christmas holidays and their particular foods, for Polish identity and political action. We don't feel these issues to be the product of a "naive foreign enthusiast" but rather particularly germane to Polish politics and equally pertinent today.

Dziegiel, also seems unaware of the comparative method in cultural anthropology which, for specific purposes, can make comparisons across culture areas. Some years ago Halpern wrote several articles which tried to put together, in a rather basic way, some experiences in Serbia and Laos. Dziegiel seems to find these explorations objectionable:

In one of his papers he (i.e. Halpern) even discussed the convergences between the cultural change in Serbia and Laos [sic]. It is true that in another paper he pointed to the contrasts between the conomy [sic] of Serbian peasants and that of Laotian peasants [I assume he means Lao since Laotian refers to the multi-ethnic peoples of Laos as one entity...JMH]. It can be seen, however, that within Eurasia the Balkan Peninsula and the Indochinese Peninsula are equally near to him.

No doubt Dziegiel would find Murdock's use of the term "Eskimo" in connection with the description of American kinship relations and nuclear family structure exceedingly strange.

Closer inspection of his article reveals an arrogance combined with slovenliness. He seeks to characterize the first of us (alphabetically speaking) as one who is "concerned solely with the culture of the Serbians." Clearly he never bothered to carefully examine the bibliography which was, after all, one of the main purposes of the *Annual Review* article. Had he taken the trouble he would have found Halpern's name associated with writings dealing with Croatians (#17), Slovenes (#120), Bulgarians (#68) and Macedonians (#148) as well as Laotians. This is a rather minor matter but his treatment of the Halperns' editing of the works of J. Oberbski reflects what might most politely be called studied disingenuousness combined with extreme carelessness.

The only reference to the Halperns' editing of Obrebski's work is given in a snide aside (p.22):

In the period before 1939 they mention the Pole Obrebski, 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 Moszynski, whose disciple Obrebski 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*.

This is errant nonsense. Had Dziegiel taken the trouble to consult the volume of Obrebski's writings which the Halperns edited, *The Changing Peasantry of Eastern Europe*, (many copies were sent to Poland and there is no reason to think that they were destroyed) he would have discovered in the Afterword by Oksana Irena Grabowicz, a detailed article on Obrebski's career, which Grabowicz divides into three stages (p.93). The first dealt with his work with Moszynski while the second was with Malinowski at the London School of Economics. To cite Grabowicz, "This (stage) indeed emphasized the break with his former mentor Moszynski who was highly skeptical of Malinowski's functionalist method (p.94)." The third stage related to Obrebski's work after he settled in the West when he did fieldwork in Jamaica, subsequently worked for the United Nations and finished his career teaching at C.W. Post College of Long Island University in New York.

What's In A Name?

Regarding Obrebski we see another bit of ethnocentric myopia in Dziegiel's critique concerning his correction of our use of "Josef," stating that his proper Polish name was Jozef. This is, of course, correct. But Dziegiel is evidently incapable of conceiving of the effects of culture change on proper names.

Obrebski evidently used three versions of his given name depending on the time of his life and on his particular circumstances. For his London dissertation in 1933 he is Jozef, in 1961 in the dittoed copy of his paper on Macedonia (which the Halperns subsequently edited) Obrebski chooses Joseph, and in one of his last efforts in 1966 for an article on Jamaica, he is Josef. His obituaries also reflect these differences. In the *Polish Sociological Bulletin* (No. 2, 1968) he is referred to as Jozef while in the U.S.-based *Polish Review* his name is Joseph. The Halperns' writings about him have also reflected these differences.

In closing this section, we are glad that Dziegiel inadvertently brought up the issue of the significance of name changes as cultural markers which can alter in a variable way. This, again, was and is common practice across the region, from the Baltic to the Aegean, and relates directly to issues of ethnicity and nationalism, questions of socialist political economy, and the attempts at national integration within it. Thus, today ethnic Turks suffer for refusing to Bulgaricize their names much as Yugoslav Macedonians suffered for rejecting the Serbian -ić in the past. Similarly, Breslauers and Danzigers, removed from Poland's western zone at the end of World War II, would perhaps no longer recognize the streets named for heroes of

Polish or international socialism or for revolutionary events in Wroclaw and Gdansk.

CONCLUSIONS:

In sum, we find our characterization of the region useful and continue to find numerous analogous institutions and behaviors that enable us to define the region as we did for analytical purposes. However, to generalize about Eastern Europe for analytical purposes is not the same as imputing cultural homogeneity to all areas of the region. To suggest that it is, once again, dishonest manipulation.

In related fashion (though somewhat an aside to Dziegiel) we also reject the idea that the concept "Eastern Europe" was mainly born in and is an artifice of the Cold War (though no doubt this certainly exacerbates cultural stereotyping between Europe's regions). Given cultural ecological variation and dependency relations alone, the conceptual division of the European continent long antedates Yalta. It is one, therefore, that demands continued scholarly recognition, even in a future Europe relieved of intermediate nuclear forces and anachronistic alliances and in an American Anthropological Association recently enhanced by a Society for the Anthropology of Europe.

In re-reading Dziegiel's lengthy polemic we are constantly confronted with his criticism of our not doing this and not doing that, of delving too narrowly into the role of the peasantry, of avoiding religion, of not talking about cultural diffusion, of not considering the Baltic, and so on. This is the easiest, and unfortunately, the most simplistic form of criticism. It reminds us of the scene in *Catch-22* where Clevinger, one of the soldiers, is being viciously cross-examined by an effete colonel who is demanding Clevinger tell the court what he didn't know and what he didn't do.

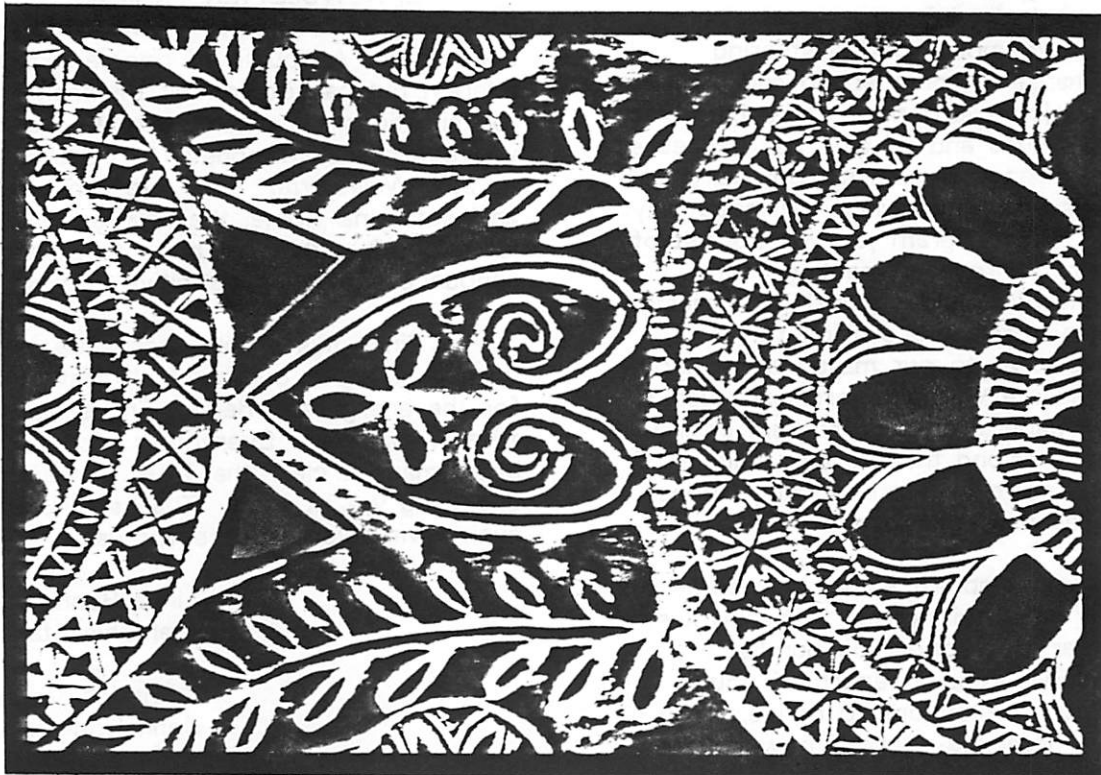
Such an approach in that book was uproarious. But both in the book, as well as in Dziegiel's critique, it has the same general end; it avoids serious exploration of issues in favor of groundless posturing. It offers definite answers instead of posing reasonable questions. Unfortunately, though we feel it reasonable to assume that Lech Dziegiel has considerable knowledge of Poland, and possibly of conditions elsewhere in the region, we have been denied the benefits of his knowledge in favor of his spleen.

Having written the above we hope that entering into a dialogue Dziegiel was worth the trouble. We very much need to go out of our way to maintain scholarly contacts with our East European colleagues by publication in each other's journals.

Maybe even the *Annual Review* should open its pages to foreign scholars writing about their parts of the world. We, however, do already have *Current Anthropology* which serves valuable functions in this connection. We hope that the *EEAG Newsletter* will continue for a long time and that the next article from an East European anthropologist-ethnologist will be one which abstains from ethnocentricities and focuses on articulated ideas instead of polemics.

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The Future of EEAG

Response to our ballot mailed early this winter was very positive. We got 36 replies, all but two of them in favor of continuing the EEAG and many of them offering to participate in the work of the group. In consequence, we feel justified in proposing arrangements for the future, along the following lines:

1) OFFICERS. On the basis of the activities each of you offered to participate in, we propose two slates of new officers. We ask that anyone who wishes to nominate him/herself or someone else for one of these positions write to David Kideckel (Central Connecticut State University) or Linda Bennett (Memphis State University) by September 1 (please do not write to Katherine Verdery, who will be in Romania). Also, if anyone nominated below is not willing to serve, please write to David or Linda withdrawing your name. The positions are for members of the steering committee in charge of membership and program. The membership job will consist of keeping track of who has paid dues and of who has expressed interest in one or another activity; our ballot provides the basis for this, which will need only to be updated. The program job will consist of paying for the room for our meeting at the annual AAA convention and organizing or asking someone else to organize a session for the convention; responses to our mailed ballot show that many people are willing to organize such a session or give papers, so the program chair will have minimal work along these lines. Neither of these jobs requires much work or any expense (costs will be reimbursed by the EEAG).

We wish to emphasize that only some of those who expressed willingness to be involved in one or another task appear on our list of nominations; we will keep a record of your responses for future elections to office. (You may, of course, nominate yourself now if you

wish to serve.) We very much appreciate the positive response that enables us to propose several people for each position and have some "in reserve."

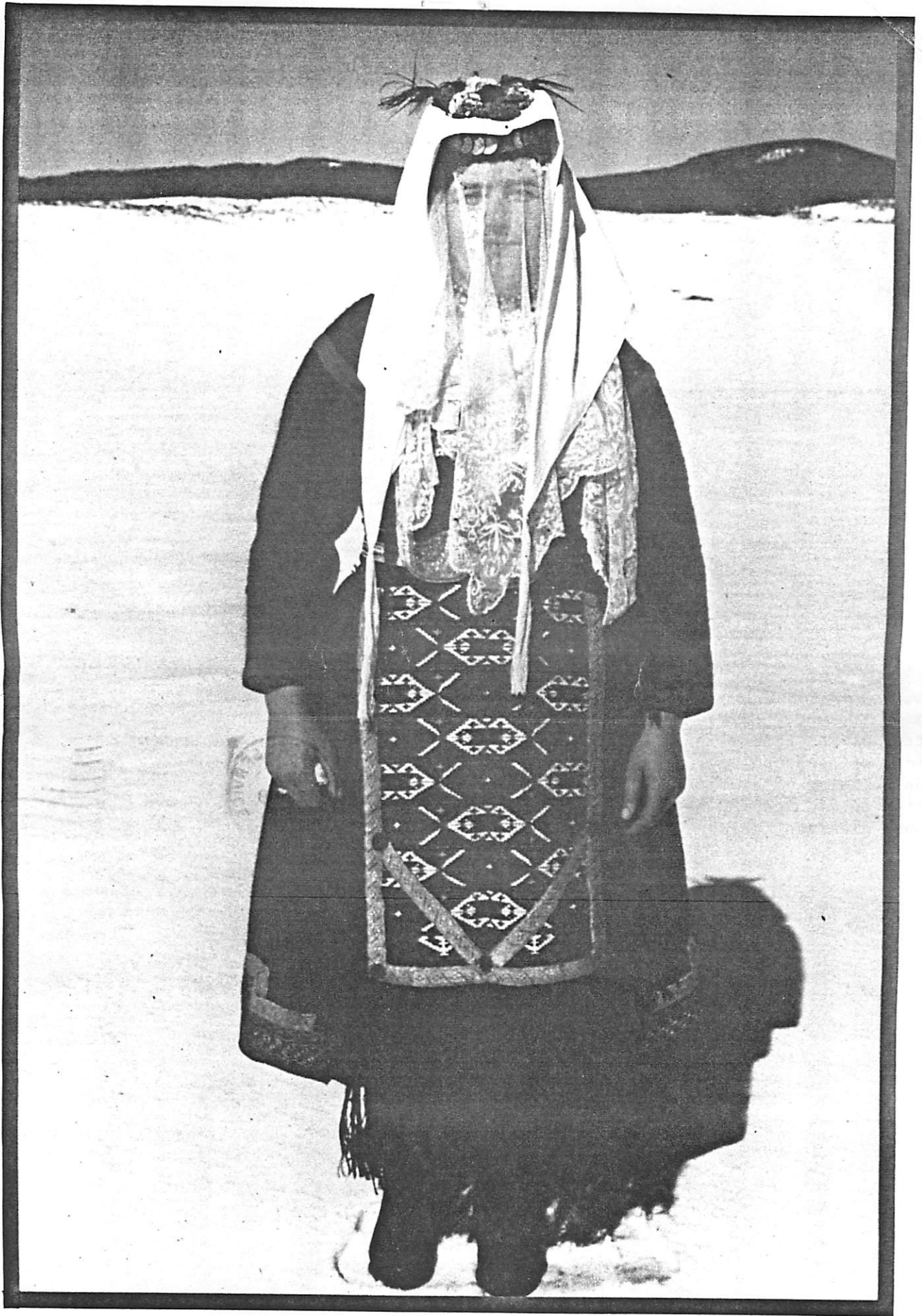
We will mail a ballot in early fall with definitive slates and will install our two new officers at the meeting in November. Proposed candidates for Membership are: Stephen Dunn (Highgate Road Social Science Research Station), Mark Forry (University of California at Los Angeles), Shirley Hauck (Anchorage, AL) and Joel Marrant (Linfield College). Proposed candidates for Program are: Susan Gal (Rutgers University), Eva Huseby-Darvas (University of Michigan at Dearborn), and Judith Rasson (Pacific Lutheran University).

2) NEWSLETTER. It is not yet certain who will take over the *Newsletter* from Bill Lockwood. A couple of people expressed interest but cannot commit themselves until their job situations are clear. A gratifying number of you expressed willingness to contribute columns to the *Newsletter*, so if we can come up with an institutional home, the new editor will have a lot to work with. We hope to be able to announce something definitive in November.

Since this is Bill's last issue as editor, we wish to express our heartfelt gratitude to him for the energy and dedication he has given to the *Newsletter*. Everyone's responses to the ballot made it clear that the *Newsletter* is the one thing we all want. Thanks, Bill, for creating such a valuable resource for us.

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