



Bulletin

Society for the Anthropology of Europe

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INCOMING REMARKS: David Kertzer's Address at the SAE Business Meeting

David Kertzer
SAE President

The Society for the Anthropology of Europe has come a long way in the few years since an intrepid band of our ancestors -- duly since elevated to the pantheon of founding deities -- established our charter, specifying in proper Malinowskian fashion the ground out of which we were to spring. In no small part due to the work of the SAE, we have shaken off the stigma that once clung all too heavily to us -- anthropologists without pith helmets.

Embarrassingly in some ways, we have become the avantguard of anthropology, as the reaction to the perceived racism of our discipline's colonial origins has served to make the study of nonwestern peoples morally, politically, and even

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SAE IN WASHINGTON: PRELIMINARY PROGRAM

Alexandre Jaffe
Program Chair

What follows is a list of the proposed panels for our 1995 sessions in Washington. Please contact the organizers individually concerning specific panels. You may also contact me should you wish to propose another panel or should you have any questions about the program in general.

1. Transforming "the Social": Culture, Democracy and Public Policy in Western Europe:

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H-SAE ONLINE: Europeanists join the Information Highway

Tony Galt
Moderator, H-SAE

The following announcement has been sent to those individuals in the SAE E-mail Directory:

H-SAE, a moderated scholarly discussion list devoted to the anthropology of Europe, is on line and ready to receive your subscriptions (see instructions below).

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**SOCIETY FOR THE
ANTHROPOLOGY OF EUROPE**

The Society for the Anthropology of Europe (SAE) was founded at the 1986 Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Membership is open to all members of the AAA who work in or are interested in Europe as an area concentration.

The *Bulletin* is the newsletter of the SAE and is published three times a year in February, May and October. Deadlines for material to be submitted are as follows:

Winter	January 1
Spring	April 1
Fall	September 1

Allow two to four weeks delivery time. If you don't receive your *Bulletin*, please contact the American Anthropological Association.

Individuals who are not anthropologists or are not based in North America may subscribe to the *Bulletin* without joining the SAE/AAA by sending the \$15 annual subscription fee to AAA, 4350 N Fairfax Dr., Suite 640, Arlington, VA 22203.

All *Bulletin* submissions except those handled by the editors below should be sent to:

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Copies of the *Directory* may be ordered (\$20.00 for members, \$22.00 for non-members) plus postage from:

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SAE MEMBERSHIP REPORT

SAE membership as of December 31, 1994, is 633, with 380 regular and 173 paid student members, for a total of 553, an increase of 16 from the previous reporting period. Unpaid members total 80: 35 regular and 45 student.

**REMINDER!:
DON'T FORGET
TO PAY YOUR DUES**

**MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE
BOARD**

**Katherine C Donahue
Secretary**

Present: J. Schneider, C. Brettell, D. Kertzer, H. Kelley, J. Nadel-Klein, J. Dubisch, K. Donahue, T. Wilson, P. Gibson, A. Jaffe, P. Allen, S. Parman

1. Approval of minutes of 1993 Executive Board meeting with the following changes: SAE Committee on the Yugoslavian Conflict included Eugene Hammel (Berkeley), and Olga Supek (Texas-Taylor).
2. The report of the above committee recommended that an on-going committee consisting of three members, serving three-year terms, be set up to consider such issues as academic freedom for scholars in Eastern Europe and in Europe generally, although the new committee would have latitude to decide on issues it would consider.

3. Tom Wilson (Queens-Belfast) reported on the 1994 SAE Program. There were 3 Invited Sessions, 2 sessions composed of volunteered papers. Tom thanked the Program Committee, consisting of Misty Jaffe, Laszlo Kurti, and Gary McDonogh. Tom also discussed the difficulties of scheduling meetings: a large Invited Session was scheduled for Sunday morning, numerous papers scheduled for a 2 hour block of time, people who chair Breakfast Roundtables also scheduled for a paper session at the same time, etc. He requested that all meetings, regional networks, etc., be scheduled through the SAE Program Chair instead of independently through the AAA Program Committee in order to avoid confusion. The idea of having a Luncheon Roundtable instead of a Breakfast Roundtable was discussed. Luncheon would cost more and would perhaps be scheduled on a day earlier in the meetings than Saturday morning. It was suggested that the issue be brought up at the general meeting of the SAE membership.

4. Donna Muncey has resigned as Treasurer. Peter Allen (Rhode Island C) has graciously, and with unanimous approval of the Executive Board, taken on the position again. Peter reported that the SAE should have \$5000-6000 left after expenses. Membership has remained steady from 1993; as of September 1994 there are 543 members. The projected 1995 budget includes revenues of \$10,930 and expenses of \$4,386.

5. Jill Dubisch (Northern AZ), discussed the possibility of organizing a meeting jointly with the AES, or the Applied Anthropologists. The CES will meet in Chicago again in 1996 (they meet on even-numbered years), and the Europeanists usually make a strong showing there. Jill will pursue the topic of a joint meeting with another group.

6. Pat Gibson (U of the South), *Bulletin* Editor, said that she is compiling an e-mail directory, and urged people to submit their e-mail addresses. She asked that people consider submitting material to the *Bulletin*, and is eager for new material, features, meeting information, etc.

7. Susan Parman (Cal St-Fullerton), Publications Chair, said that 83 Directories remain. They can be ordered through AAA. She is devising a new questionnaire for 1996.

8. Heidi Kelley (UNC-Asheville), Special Projects Chair, said that there had been 7 entrants in the graduate paper prize contest, no entrants in the undergraduate section. She encouraged submission of papers for the 1995 contest (before August). Slide sets are still available, and Misty Jaffe (SUNY-Cortland) encouraged submission of slides to her for reproduction. Also, packets of syllabi are available. A bibliography is being assembled, and some review articles are being written; graduate students might be interested in such an undertaking. The 1995 AAA meetings are a possible deadline for completion of the bibliography. For more information, contact Heidi Kelley or Misty Jaffe, addresses listed elsewhere in the *Bulletin*.

9. Jill Dubisch (out-going President), has published her report to the AAA and her out-going remarks elsewhere in the Anthropology Newsletter and the SAE *Bulletin*. She said that the SAE had voted to add a Student Representative to the SAE Executive Board. She suggested that a brochure describing the SAE be printed. Pat Gibson and Susan Parman discussed ways in which that might be accomplished. Jill is also exploring joint meetings (mentioned above). It was moved

that the Board thank Jill Dubisch for her hard work; a vote of thanks was unanimous.

10. David Kertzer (Brown) took over as President. He discussed the election of a Student Representative. The Association of Student Anthropologists has suggested a person; there are 160 student members of the SAE. The senior Member-at-Large is involved with nominations, who then chooses two other members of a nominations committee. David then discussed further the SAE Committee on Human Rights. He suggested that David Kideckel, Minka DeSoto, and David Beriss serve on this committee. He then solicited ideas for the 1995 Program and for a Distinguished Lecturer.

David Kertzer and Caroline Brettell (SMU) (President-elect) discussed the idea of establishing a Europeanist electronic bulletin board, with Anthony Galt as moderator. A committee composed of P. Gibson, H. Kelley, and S. Parman was formed to consider this idea further.

Further integration with European scholars, and with American Europeanists who are not anthropologists, are ideas which D. Kertzer will pursue further.

The meeting was adjourned at 7:50 p.m.

Respectfully submitted, Katherine C. Donahue, Secretary

SAE ANNUAL REPORT

Jill Dubisch
Out-going SAE President

A major project of the Society for the Anthropology of Europe that was completed during this last year was the Report of the SAE Committee on the Crisis in the Former Yugoslavia. The committee, headed by SAE president-elect David Kertzer, recommended several actions to be taken by the SAE itself, as well as making recommendations to the larger body of the AAA. Among the actions recommended for the SAE were to encourage and disseminate research by anthropologists on issues related to the current conflict, to promote contact and exchange of views among scholars from different areas of the former Yugoslavia, and to encourage SAE members and other anthropologists to help build/rebuild the infrastructure for anthropological teaching and research in the countries of the former Yugoslav state. In addition, the committee recommended the establishment of a permanent SAE committee on Human Rights and Academic Freedom to monitor human rights abuses in Europe and a three member committee has been appointed by the SAE Executive Committee. A condensed version of the report was published in the Anthropology Newsletter.

The SAE has also continued to develop and promote several ongoing and new projects. These include the SAE directory, which was revised under the direction of the Publications Chair Susan Parman, and a variety of projects undertaken by the Special Projects Committee, chaired by Heidi Kelley, including the student paper prize, bibliography and

filmography projects, and a directory of study abroad programs in Europe.

The SAE *Bulletin*, under the editorship of Patricia Gibson, continues to be an important feature of the organization, providing book reviews, announcements of interest to SAE members, short essays, and other features. In addition, the SAE column in the *Anthropology Newsletter*, under the editorship of SAE secretary Katherine Donahue, has continued to add new features. Two examples are the recent review of anthropological writings on Greece by Peter Allen, and a piece on the ethics of fieldwork in Northern Ireland by Jeff Sluka.

The SAE program committee for 1994, chaired by Thomas Wilson, organized a wide-ranging program for the 1994 AAA meeting in Atlanta. This program included an invited session on "American Perspectives in the History of the Anthropology of Europe" as well as a variety of other panels. The SAE is also continuing its Breakfast Roundtable series and its Distinguished Lecture series. The distinguished lecturer for the 1994 meeting was Anthony P. Cohen who spoke on "Personal Nationalism: A Preliminary View of Some Rites, Rights, and Wrongs."

A change was made in the SAE by-laws in the last election. Members voted to add a student representative to the SAE Executive Committee. Nominees will be on the slate for the 1995 election.

Future projects for the SAE include working on ways to connect the SAE to interdisciplinary programs and groups, seeking to establish ties with anthropological colleagues in Europe, and developing an SAE brochure.

SAE STANDING COMMITTEE ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND ACADEMIC FREEDOM: Report on Purposes and Agenda

David A. Kideckel
Committee Chair

At its 1994 annual meeting, following the recommendations of its ad hoc committee on Human Rights in Former Yugoslavia, the Executive Board of the Society for the Anthropology of Europe (SAE) recommended establishing an SAE standing Committee on Human Rights and Academic Freedom. David A. Kideckel (Central Connecticut) was appointed chair with David Beriss (Southern California), Hermine DeSoto (Wisconsin-Madison), and Carole Nagengast (New Mexico) named as committee members. The rationale of this committee and its goals are discussed below.

As a professional organization of anthropologists specialized in the study of Europe and concerned about the increased incidence of human rights abuses there, the SAE supports the activities of organizations like Amnesty International and the American Anthropological Association's Committee on Human Rights. However,

as Europeanist anthropologists, we feel we have a degree of specific knowledge and information about the circumstances of European societies, groups, and individuals, including those in the scholarly community. By marshaling this knowledge we hope to complement rather than duplicate the on-going work of other extant human rights organizations. Furthermore, as Europeanist anthropologists we are cognizant of the diverse expression which human rights and academic freedom abuses may take in European societies and of their implications on the nature and practice of culture. This contextualized nature of our understanding, we feel, also recommends establishing the SAE Committee on Human Rights and Academic Freedom.

Since establishing the committee the members have held a series of E-mail discussions to define our purposes and agenda for the short and longer terms. We discussed but subsequently rejected the proposition that the Committee take particular positions on the diverse conflicts on-going and/or recently concluded in Europe and its immediate vicinity (e.g. Bosnia, Chechnya). However, the Committee could instead bring up matters of human rights and academic freedom abuses to the SAE as a whole for its action or serve as an informational resource when individuals bring up such matters to the SAE.

We also briefly discussed the need to define guidelines about the kinds of issues we as a committee, and the SAE as a body, ought to consider. However, our sense was that specific guidelines need not be established, but each individual case referred to us be considered separately on its merits as worthy of the committee's attention and subsequent referral to the SAE.

Rather than serving as a source to sanction one or another party to conflict, we adopted an agenda that largely focuses on serving as a source and clearing house for information about various abuses of human rights and academic freedom in and around Europe. More specifically, we see our agenda as encompassing the following activities:

1. to publicize our existence to the membership of the SAE, AAA, and other anthropological and university organizations in the U.S. and abroad so that:
 - a. we will be regularly informed of cases of human rights/academic freedom abuses in our regions of interest;
 - b. be able to more widely disseminate information about such cases to the SAE Board, membership, and other interested parties;
2. to bring particular cases of human rights and academic freedom abuses to the attention of the SAE board and membership for their action and to serve as a general resource regarding human rights and academic freedom issues to the SAE Executive Board and membership when such issues are brought before it by others;
3. to develop a master list of individuals, organizations, and their particular areas of expertise in Europeanist anthropology;
 - a. to request that they serve as sources of information and/or as potential speakers on specific human rights/academic freedom cases;

- b. to enable us to direct information about cases to these individuals and organizations for their own action;
- 4. to develop a master list of agencies, foundations, and other organizations to serve as a resource for those seeking to publicize cases of human rights and academic freedom abuses or seeking redress for these as well;
- 5. to establish a permanent corresponding relationship with the AAA Committee on Human Rights so as to assist that Committee on its activities.

The addresses of the members of the SAE Committee on Human Rights and Academic Freedom are:

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Albuquerque, NM 87131
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BREAKFAST ROUNDTABLE REPORTS

Jill Dubisch
Northern Arizona University

The Breakfast Roundtable on Religion and the New Nationalism in Europe was attended by Mary Kay Gilliland (Arizona/Pima) who has worked in the former Yugoslavia, Margaret Steiner (Indiana) whose work has been in Northern Ireland, Mary Crain (Barcelona) who has been working in Spain, and David Beriss (USC) who has worked with Caribbean migrants in France.

I began the discussion by outlining briefly my own interest in the topic, which stems from my work on the relationship between religion and national identity in Greece. Currently there is an emphasis in Greece on the Orthodox religion as part of the Greek cultural heritage. I had wondered what role(s) religion might be playing in other current constructions of national identity in Europe, and especially in the former socialist countries where it may serve as a marker of ethnic distinctiveness in newly forming nations and/or a symbolic

marker of movement away from preceding regimes in which religious expression was discouraged or suppressed.

From this beginning, our discussion was wide-ranging and stimulating. I will not try to recount all that we discussed, but among the topics covered were the following:

1. The role of Islam in Europe. It was noted that in discussing the conflicts in former Yugoslavia, the press identifies certain groups as "Muslim," but does not regularly designate other groups by religion. Gilliland pointed out that religion is inherent in ethnic identity in this area: to be Croat is to be Catholic, to be Serb is to be Orthodox.

We noted the distinction between indigenous Muslim populations in Europe and the problems posed by Muslim immigrants to such countries as France. This later led to a (rather lively) discussion of the attempts of the French to ban Muslim girls' head scarves in French schools and to prohibit female circumcision. It was suggested that such obvious Muslim practices may be seen as a sign of allegiance to an outside political entity, and that anti-Muslim sentiments might also represent the European West against the non-European East.

2. Local versus internationalized forms of religious identity. It was noted that while religion may serve to divide and to create a distinctive sense of identity (for example in Yugoslavia, where other cultural differences between groups may be minimal or non-existent), it may also take transnational forms. International pilgrimage may be one such form (though pilgrimage may also have local and national significance as well, and may become an increasingly secular phenomenon, providing, as Crain suggested, a form of "civic religion"). New Age religion is also a transnational phenomenon and is becoming increasingly popular in many areas of Europe. It is not tied to any particular national or ethnic identity but draws eclectically on a range of religious beliefs and practices. In addition to the spread of New Age religion in Europe, we noted the increase in religious proselytizing. Beriss suggested we see religion as a "good," one that seems to be spreading into the former socialist countries along with consumer goods and commercialized sex. (Is there a link?) We also speculated as to why Protestant proselytizing is successful in certain areas more than others. Beriss said that immigrants to France from Guadeloupe, used to communal churches in their own country, did not find an equivalent sense of community in the Catholic churches of France and so turned to Protestant churches instead.

3. Religion itself as a category. It was pointed out that we tend to take religion for granted as a category when we study religion in Europe (which we might be less likely to do studying non-European countries), and that we might perhaps give more attention to what is considered "religion" within various European societies. This also involves taking into account national political and legal structures and their relationship to religion. In France, it was suggested, the state has been made into a religion, and the Catholic religion itself has been "de-ritualized." It was also pointed out that sometimes there is resistance by Europeans to having anthropologists study their religion, as it implicitly classes them as "primitives."

While it is impossible to give a simple summary of the implications of our wide-ranging discussion, I think that we were in agreement that religion is an important, albeit selectively deployed, element in the development of identity, whether local, national, or transnational, and that it is also an element of European social and political life that is often slighted or ignored in analyses of contemporary European events.

Susan Carol Rogers
New York U

The breakfast roundtable on Public Policy as Sociocultural Data was attended by Katherine C Donahue (Plymouth State), Jane Nadel-Klein (Trinity), Sarah Ohly (Connecticut College), A. Jaimie Saris (St. Patrick's), and Robert JFM van Veggel (Chicago). In a free-wheeling discussion, a variety of policy domains were addressed, ranging from the regulation of fishing, agriculture, and economic development to citizenship and immigration law. The various kinds of players, interests, motivations and responses involved in creating and implementing public policy measures from the international to the local level were also considered.

**INCOMING REMARKS:
David Kertzer's Address at the SAE
Business Meeting**
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epistemologically uncomfortable. Indeed, even to admit to *studying* such people has had to be denied (or so some seem to have thought) lest the anthropologist be endowed with an authority that in these days of relativism and multiculturalism is equated with claims of cultural superiority and dehumanizing objectification.

Lucky us, we can study our 'folk' without fear of charges of racism or neocolonialism; indeed, we have the extra virtue in the postmodern world of being able to take for our object of study our own scholarly forbears, examining, for example, their contribution to nationalist ideologies or to eugenic theories. In the few years since the SAE's founding, our good fortune -- seen from the viewpoint of our anthropological guild -- has only been bolstered by the epochal events that have transpired, especially of course the implosion of the societies of the Soviet bloc. Not only has this presented us with a rich brew of cultural, political, and economic change, it has also helped attract interest to the anthropological study of Europe.

Of course, doubts about the propriety of the discipline's attention to peoples of Europe remain in the profession, though universal commitment to the belief in anthropology's claim to interest in all of humanity makes expression of these doubts politically incorrect. These doubts rest on two tenets which have troubling associations. The logic seems to be the following:

1) Sociocultural anthropology is defined by its methodology, and its methodology is participant observation. This is a method suited for small-scale societies where individuals live their entire lives in the context of individual,

small localities, and where each locality may properly be seen as a microcosm of the whole society. Such an approach is ill-suited to European society.

2) Anthropology is the study of the Other. In the academic division of labor, other disciplines study Us -- sociology, political science, history, economics. The European is not the Other, the European is Us.

I could, of course, elaborate on each of these perspectives. What strikes me most about them is that few anthropologists would publicly admit to either one today, yet I believe they continue to be widely held, and underlie a value system that is transmitted to our students as well.

On the first point, since the storm of criticism generated against community studies thirty or more years ago, anthropologists have recognized (and recognized and recognized, Clifford Geertz might say) that small communities are not self-standing, are not microcosms of larger society, and that in fact people do not for the most part live their lives in the context of single communities at all. This is as true of people in Zaire as it is of those in Belgium.

Anthropologists would be unwilling to subscribe publicly to the second point listed above because of its obvious racist connotations, not to mention its simplistic dichotomy of the world's peoples into those "like us" and those who are "other." Yet the drive for the exotic in anthropology -- notwithstanding the postmodern critique (indeed, postmodernism may be seen as a major contributor to the exoticizing tendency in contemporary anthropology) -- continues to flourish.

In this context, I see a major role to be played by anthropologists working in Europe in the rethinking of the basic nature of the anthropological enterprise. We should be at the forefront of methodological innovations, developing approaches that retain anthropology's distinctive ability to unearth "local knowledge" and tap into actual social interaction at the local level, while dealing with the networks of relationships that go well beyond localities and even beyond national boundaries. Here I think we have already played a major role, not least in the historicizing of anthropology. This has involved not only the extension of anthropological analysis to historical cases, but taking on the analysis of social change in a much more satisfactory way.

What is to be Done?

Before I get carried away with these reflections on the state of anthropology and the role to be played by Europeanists, I'd better return to the more modest matter of what, in this context, the SAE should be doing in the next two or three years. If we survey what the organization has accomplished in the less than decade of its existence, I think we have to be extraordinarily impressed. For this, we have the foresight of our founders to thank, as well as the leadership provided, most recently by Jill Dubisch, who has devoted great energy and her impressive skills to the effort. Yet those of us associated with the organization know that what we have accomplished is, above all, attributable to the core of SAE activists who have done the bulk of the work of the organization: editing the newsletter and the column in the AAA newsletter, coming up with the ideas for special projects and then seeing them through, overseeing the production of special publications,

taking care of our finances. Given this fact, as I take over the presidency of the SAE, I feel slightly guilty that the president receives so much public recognition. (True, the amount of publicity the SAE president receives is somewhat less than that paid to Newt Gingrich or Jesse Helms, but they were not given this opportunity to spout off their views of the state of anthropology.)

I do not want to take the time here to survey the various initiatives of the SAE (many of which were reported on at this meeting); rather, I want to point to a couple of areas I would like to work with you to develop further. The initiatives I have in mind both involve a reaching out beyond the SAE's -- and the AAA's -- normal boundaries. We are now in a strong enough position -- having catapulted rapidly through our initial organizational stage -- to make such moves beyond our core.

(1) I would like to see us come up with ways to tie ourselves in more closely and more profitably with our anthropological colleagues in Europe who study European society. Of course, the SAE has already made efforts in this direction, symbolized in our tradition of inviting a European colleague to give the annual distinguished lecture, and in efforts to involve European colleagues in our regular sessions at the AAA. However, there is much more that could be done. There are, first of all, formal associations of anthropologists in a number of European countries, and we have barely begun to investigate possibilities of mutual activities with them. I am delighted, for example, that Marc Abélès, current president of the French anthropological society, is with us at our meeting today.

One of the stimuli here, for me, comes from a letter that I received from the newly formed Anthropological Society in Sofia, Bulgaria. The organizers informed us of the growing interest in anthropology in Bulgaria and asked what relationship their new society might have with the SAE. At the moment, there is little framework for developing such linkages (a matter, by the way, somewhat complicated by our status as a subunit of the AAA). I believe we have much to gain by working on such ties.

One practical step in the right direction that I would like to mention by way of illustration is the development of computer communications to facilitate the development of the broader community of scholars envisioned here. You have already heard of Tony Galt's proposal that we create an SAE electronic bulletin board, an idea that I and others had also been mulling over. Not only is this an excellent vehicle for improving communications among our members, but it could also act as an important mechanism for reaching out to our colleagues in Europe. (At the annual meeting, authorization was given to establish an SAE electronic bulletin board, an effort to be directed by Tony Galt). (See related story, ed.)

(2) I would also like to see us continue to reach out to Europeanists in other disciplines. Some progress has already been made in this area, most notably in the tradition we have established of working with the Council for European Studies on the biennial Conference of Europeanists. However, here too there is more to be done and substantial benefits to us of further developing our interdisciplinary ties.

Most of us, of course, have close ties with scholars from other fields, and many of us have collaborated in our research with historians, political scientists, sociologists, demographers -- maybe even someone has collaborated with an economist! If we look at the movement of anthropological interest in Europe -- away from community studies of remote mountainous communities and to such topics as nationalism and European identity and to the serious investigation of historical topics -- the case for further integration with neighboring disciplines is compelling.

In order to move forward on these initiatives, I have created two small ad hoc committees. I am pleased to report that Susan Rogers has agreed to chair the ad hoc committee on relations with European anthropologists and that Caroline Brettell has agreed to chair one on interdisciplinary ties. I have asked both to select other committee members in the near future and to report back to us with their recommendations at the 1995 SAE/AAA meeting.

Having rambled on, from ex cathedra pronouncements on epistemology and methodology to ending -- perhaps a sign of our times -- by creating yet more committees, let me end with a call to tribal solidarity. These are exciting times to be an anthropologist working in Europe. European-wide identities emerge even as smaller political units that heretofore seemed solid threaten to crumble. New political and social movements arise and die, while some thought moribund, reemerge. New forms of family appear hazily to take shape, while trends viewed as monotonic -- such as the decline of fertility -- turn out to go up as well as down. Basic concepts dear to the social scientist, from parenthood to nationhood, are coming to be redefined, while our political leaders -- calling for a return to virtues of the past -- invite us (albeit unintentionally) to be indefatigable in exposing the construction of public myths and new cults of patriotic virtue.

I look forward to working with you as we, by further strengthening the SAE, do all we can to build a robust anthropology of Europe and, in so doing, help reinvigorate anthropology as a whole.

SAE IN WASHINGTON: PRELIMINARY PROGRAM

(continued from page one)

Organizer: David Beriss (USC), French Studies, U of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA 90089, Beriss@mizar.usc.edu

2. Metropolitan Spaces and the Production of History and Identity in Eastern and Central Europe:

Organizer: Matti Bunzl (Chicago)

3. Reconfiguring Transnational and Translocal Cultures in East Germany:

Organizer: Edward Larkey (Maryland-Baltimore County), UMBC, Catonsville, MD 21228 (410) 455-2109

4. Auto-Ethnography:

Organizer: Deborah Reed-Danahay (Texas-Arlington),

Dept. Soc. and Anth., Box 19599, U Texas Arlington,
Arlington, TX 76019, (817) 273-2661

5. The "Other" Voices: Women and the Paradox of Constructing Civil Society in Post-Socialist States:
Organizers: Nora Dudwick and Hermine G De Soto,
Women's Studies Research Center, University of
Wisconsin-Madison, 209 North Brooks St., Madison, WI
53715, Phone: (608) 263-2053, Fax: (608) 265-2409,
HGDesoto@facstaff.wisc.edu
6. Fifty Years Later: Anthropology and the Second World War:
Organizers: Donald Pitkin and Katherine Donahue
(Plymouth State), Div. of Anth., Plymouth State
College, Plymouth, NH 03264, (603) 535-2335
7. Language Reform: Scripts, Ideology and Identity on Europe's Margins:
Organizer: Frances Trix (Wayne State), Dept of Anth,
Wayne State U, Detroit, MI 48202, (313) 577-2935
8. Title unavailable at press time:
Organizer: Jim Nyce (Ball State), Dept Anth, Ball State
University, Muncie, IN 47306, (317) 285-1575

H-SAE ONLINE:
Europeanists join the Information Highway
(continued from page one)

H-SAE is affiliated with the Society of the Anthropology of Europe, and run under the auspices of H-Net, a National Endowment for the Humanities funded consortium of discussion lists in the humanities and social sciences.

H-SAE is devoted to all anthropological approaches to the study of Europe. However, you need not be an anthropologist to join. We welcome subscriptions from applied fields such as history, sociology, folklore, and so on. It is open to independent and university affiliated scholars, graduate students, and serious undergraduates (with an e-mail note from a sponsoring professor vouching for seriousness).

H-SAE is a moderated list. This means that no extraneous misdirected subscription requests, or advertisements for things like film developing will clutter your mailbox. It also means that the moderator will return postings that contain vicious personal attack ("flaming") to their authors for calm reconsideration. Otherwise the moderator will not alter messages in any way.

H-SAE is affiliated with the Society for the Anthropology of Europe, which is a section of the American Anthropological Association, but you need not be a member of either to join, (although we encourage you to do so).

H-SAE is a place to post scholarly queries, carry on discussions of issues in the field, publish announcements of conferences and calls for papers, and plan certain SAE activities, among other things.

H-SAE also has an easily accessible fileservers where we will store documents like bibliographies and directories of e-mail addresses of scholars. Eventually, H-SAE will have space on the H-Net gopher, where documents can be placed, and read directly on your screen or downloaded.

H-SAE can be used in a variety of ways in the future, depending upon subscriber interest. Other H-Net lists review books (and H-Net has an infrastructure in place for interacting with publishers about review copies), post summaries of panel presentations at meetings, publish course syllabi, and even conduct interviews on line with significant scholars. Such initiatives are welcome.

To subscribe to H-SAE send the following message to listserv@msu.edu:

SUB H-SAE first name last name, university

You will receive a form to fill out and return to the moderator, and then you will be subscribed.

We would appreciate it if you would forward this message to colleagues who might be interested.

Direct other queries to:

Tony Galt, Moderator H-SAE
GALT@UWGB.EDU
Prof. of Social Change and Development and Anthropology
University of Wisconsin-Green Bay
Green Bay, WI

INAUGURAL MEETING OF EAA HELD IN SLOVENIA

Cornelius Holtorf
U of Wales, Lampeter, UK

After some years of planning and preparing, the Inaugural Meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists (EAA) took place on the 22nd to 25th of September, 1994, in Ljubljana, the capital of Slovenia (former Yugoslavia).

First of all, for all those who are not too familiar with European geography LJUBLJANA lies in the very West of the former Yugoslavia and is now the capital of Slovenia. It is not an area where any war is, or recently was taking place. Slovenia appears today more like Northern Italy and Austria (both countries are very close, and their culture clearly does not stop at their borders) than like a typical 'Eastern European' country. We all, I believe, were very impressed by the beauty of the town and its surrounding landscape, but also by the living standard in this country which appeared to be virtually no different from the UK. We were also impressed by the Department of Archaeology at the University of Ljubljana which organised this meeting perfectly.

Present at the conference were approximately 250 participants from almost all European countries; field archaeologists, heritage officers as well as university lecturers. Unfortunately,

a number of Russian and Eastern European archaeologists could not come at short notice, because it turned out to be financially impossible (those who came traveled mostly by train -- one apparently had spent 7 days on the Transsiberian railway!). In relation to their absolute numbers, not very strongly represented were French and German archaeologists, while lots of participants came from the Iberian peninsula, Scandinavia, SE-Europe, Britain, and of course Slovenia itself.

At the actual Inaugural Meeting of the EAA, its first Statutes were unanimously accepted. However, in the future the ruling that the working language is English will be reviewed with the acceptance of more (main) European languages in mind.

Currently the 'officers' of the Board of the EAA are Kristian Kristiansen, Gothenburg (President), Alain Schnapp, Paris (Treasurer) and Henry Cleere, Paris (Secretary). For elections at the coming regular meetings a Nomination Committee has been elected which consists of Angeles Querol, Madrid (for 1 year), Anthony Harding, Durham (for 2 years), and Predrag Novakovic, Ljubljana (for 3 years). The office of the EAA is at Oslo until the end of 1995 (address see below).

Besides the organisation of an annual conference, the work of the EAA consists of the production of the lively new *Journal of European Archaeology* of which the third issue (2.1) has just appeared. The EAA also produces a regular Newsletter, *The European Archaeologist*, which is open for all sorts of announcements (edited by Henry Cleere).

The Academic Programme of the conference consisted of the Inaugural Lecture by Colin Renfrew, Cambridge, who emphasised the "perversion of ethnicity" as it can be seen in the ethnic propaganda of some of the new states of the former Yugoslavia, as well as a number of partly parallel sessions of papers:

- Contemporary Myth of the Past (chairperson: Bozidar Slapsak, Ljubljana)
- Gender Studies (chairperson: Elisabeth Arvill-Nordbladh, Gothenburg)
- Archaeological Landscapes (chairperson: Felipe Criado Boas, Santiago di Compostela)
- The Role of Population Movements in Creating the Multicultural Nature of Europe (chairperson: Kristian Kristiansen, Gothenburg)
- Science in Archaeology
- The Interaction between Animal Husbandry and Agriculture in European Prehistory (chairperson: Bogdan Brukner, Novi Sad)
- Legislation Problems (chairperson: Henry Cleere, Paris)
- The 'Long Duree' in the Archaeology of Europe (chairperson: John Bintliff, Durham)
- The Role of Early Metallurgy
- Traditions in European Archaeology (chairperson: Alain Schnapp, Paris)
- Reconstruction and the Issue of Authenticity (chairperson: Michael Shanks, Lampeter)
- The Interface between Archaeology and History (chairperson: Matthew Johnson, Durham)
- New Developments in Cemetery Analysis (chairperson: Anna Maria Bietti-Sestieri, Rome)
- Regional Perspectives in European Archaeology (chairperson: Phil Mason, Novo Mesto)

- 'Commercial Archaeology' (chairperson: Gustav Trotzig, Stockholm)
- Passing the Alps: The Study of Cultural Relations (chairperson: Mitja Gustin, Ljubljana)
- Rock Art and Symbolic Representations (chairperson: Jarl Nordbladh, Gothenburg)

In addition, two Round Tables on the 'European Institute of Archaeology' and 'Archaeology in SE-Europe' took place.

We also were invited to two rather nice 'parties' in local Galleries as well as to a field-trip to the karst area of Slovenia and the most amazing caves which many of us have ever seen in their life!

The next conference of the EAA will take place in late September 1995 in Santiago di Compostela (Galicia, Spain). For 1996 negotiations are being carried out with Latvian archaeologists for a meeting in Riga. In the future, participation of Eastern European (including Russian) archaeologists will be crucial for the success of the EAA. It is hoped to raise funds that could allow giving grants to those who could not otherwise afford to come.

For a continuous cooperation of European archaeologists, e-mail and discussion groups on the Internet as well as access to the 'World Wide Web' (WWW) can provide a generally cheap and quick medium of communication. Many continental Departments of Archaeology and Universities, however, are not yet 'on the net.' It should therefore be a priority for the EAA to improve such facilities all around Europe.

This, however, in turn demands that the European archaeologists accept the EAA as 'their' association and representational body. With currently a bit more than 400 members, many more European archaeologists or archaeologists interested in European archaeology, are invited to join the EAA. (Full membership is open to professional archaeologists -- you are a professional archaeologist if you feel you want to belong to this organisation, according to Henry Cleere, Secretary of the EAA).

If you want to join the EAA (and get the *Journal of European Archaeology* for free) or contribute to *The European Archaeologist* newsletter, please contact:

The Secretariat of the EAA at Oslo
c/o Riksantikvaren
Dronnigens gt. 13
Postboks 8196 Dep.
N - 0034 Oslo
Norway

SECOND EDITION OF THE SAE DIRECTORY AVAILABLE!

The second edition of the *SAE Directory* was published in November 1993, and printed copies and/or computer disks were mailed to persons who placed orders. Future orders may be placed through the Book Order department of the AAA (\$20.00

for AAA members, and \$22.00 for non-members and institutions):

AAA Book Order Department
4350 N Fairfax Dr.
Suite 640
Arlington, VA 22203

The *Directory* lists members of the **Society for the Anthropology of Europe** who sent in their questionnaires by the end of August 1993, with information about their fieldwork experience, research interests, topics on which they would be willing to speak, and membership in similar organizations. Useful as a networking tool, the *Directory* lists telephone and fax numbers as well as e-mail addresses.

The indexes and analysis provided by Susan Parman indicate past, present, and future interests in the anthropology of Europe. You can find out:

- * which universities trained current Europeanist anthropologists (the most frequently listed Ph.D.-granting university was UC Berkeley, followed by Indiana)
- * where most fieldwork in Europe was done (Spain)
- * who is doing (or interested in doing) what kind of research today (geographical area and subject topic). Categories were generated by the contributors, so the *Directory* is a cognitive map of current anthropological research interests in Europe (with categories as diverse as "Bardic and Druidic Inventions of Traditions," "European Community," and "Turks in Europe").

SAE 1995 UNDERGRADUATE AND GRADUATE STUDENT PAPER COMPETITION

In 1995, the Society for the Anthropology of Europe will hold its third student-paper competition. Two categories of entries will be accepted: graduate and undergraduate students. The following rules apply:

1. Papers must deal with some aspect of European anthropology and/or European anthropology's contribution to the broader field. This rule will be interpreted liberally to include papers of a comparative and/or general theoretical nature.
2. All submissions must follow the standard anthropological format for citations, footnotes, and "References Cited" as outlined in the *American Anthropologist* style guide.
3. All manuscripts must be printed or typed, double-spaced with one inch margins. The smallest allowable type is elite.
4. Maximum length is fifteen typed, double-spaced pages, including tables, notes, and references.
5. The author's name, address, telephone number, university affiliation and status (undergraduate or graduate) should appear typed on a cover sheet separate from the title page of the manuscript. Include an abstract of 100 words or

less. The author's name should not appear elsewhere in the manuscript.

6. Entries that do not conform to the above requirements will not be accepted.
7. Four copies of the manuscript and one cover sheet are to be submitted to the student paper competition Chair by **August 15, 1995**. No late entries will be accepted.

A prize of \$100.00 will be given for the best paper in each category (undergraduate and graduate) and abstracts of 100 words for the winning entries will be published in the *SAE Bulletin*. Winning entries may be returned to their authors with suggestions for revisions and possible locations for publication.

Heidi Kelley serves as the Student Paper Competition Chair for the 1993-94 academic year. All entries must be received by **August 15, 1995**. Submit entries to:

Professor Heidi Kelley
Department of Sociology
University of North Carolina-Asheville
One University Heights
Asheville, NC 28804-3299

SYLLABI RESOURCE PACKETS AVAILABLE FOR SALE

A new and updated SAE Resource Packet, entitled "The Syllabi of Members of the Society for the Anthropology of Europe" is now available for sale. The packet contains all syllabi submitted during the past nine months and an index to the more than 200 pages of syllabi. Most of the materials in this edition are new and are for courses given since 1990. Many more materials are included, for example for Eastern Europe, than in the previous resource packets. The cost for this SAE Resource Packet is \$20.00, plus postage. A list of actual costs, depending on the destination is included:

U.S.:	\$20.00 plus \$3.00 postage	\$23.00
Canada:	\$20.00 plus \$5.00 postage	\$25.00
Europe (surface)	\$20.00 plus \$6.55 postage	\$26.55
Europe (air)	\$20.00 plus \$14.25 postage	\$34.25

Prepaid orders only, made payable to SAE, may be sent to:

Elizabeth Evans
Anthropology Program
University of New Hampshire
Durham, NH 03824-3586
Tel: (603) 862-1884

CALL FOR PAPERS

* EUROPEAN STUDIES CONFERENCE

The 20th annual European Studies Conference, sponsored by the University of Nebraska will be held at Omaha, Nebraska,

October 5 to 7, 1995. The conference brings together individuals of diverse disciplines, but united in their interest in the area between the Atlantic and the Urals. Interdisciplinary panels, workshops, and plenaries bring perspectives and insights that have earned the conference a reputation for the "unity of being" it composes. The deadline for submission of an abstract of a proposed paper, together with curriculum vitae and application form is **March 31, 1995**.

Those people interested in presenting a paper, serving as chair of a session, organizing a panel, or participating in any other way should contact:

Mary Macchietto
Conference Manager
College of Continuing Studies
University of Nebraska at Omaha
Omaha, NE 68182
Tel: (402) 595-2355
Internet: mmachietto@unomaha.edu

MEMBERSHIP NEWS

* **SABINA MAGLIOCCO** has jointly won first place in the prestigious Chicago Folklore Prize for 1994 for her book *The Two Madonnas: The Politics of Festival in a Sardinian Community* (published by Peter Lang). The Chicago Folklore Prize is supported by an endowment established by the International Folklore Association (see related story).

ORGANIZATIONS and INSTITUTES

* ITALIAN SECTION, AMERICAN FOLKLORE SOCIETY

The Italian Section of the American Folklore Society represents a group of experts in the areas of Italian and Italian American folklife. We are professors, public sector folklorists (museum curators, festival coordinators, etc.), independent scholars, archivists, performers, enthusiasts. Our interests span a wide gamut of folklife, from oral traditions (song, tales, legends, life histories) and festivals, to material culture, foodways, organizational folklore, and more. We maintain an active link to colleagues in Italy and to a network of related groups in North America (including the American Italian Historical Association and the Society for the Anthropology of Europe).

Collectively, we publish a newsletter and participate in the American Folklore Society's annual, end-of-October meetings, individually we contribute to a range of journals, scholarly and popular, and engage in public lectures, presentations, exhibits. Section members have recently published a collection of essays, *Studies in Italian American Folklore*, Luisa Del Giudice, ed., Logan: Utah State University Press, 1994, an official Publication of the American Folklore Society

To receive news about activities, be kept up to date on current research in Italian and Italian American folklife or to become a member, send a \$10.00 check or money order (for a members' directory add \$2.00) to:

Sabina Magliocco, Editor
ISAFS Newsletter
3312 Monroe St.
Madison, WI 53711

* INTERNATIONAL FOLKLORE ASSOCIATION

The International Folklore Association sponsors the annual Chicago Folklore Prize. This year's winners included SAE member Sabina Magliocco, and were chosen from among thirty seven entries dealing with a large variety of subjects, from an exploration of "American Folklore and the Mass Media" to a work on laborlore called "Wobblies, Pile Butts, and Other Heroes." Entries must be monographs published within two years of the annual **April 1st** deadline. No restriction is placed on the contestant's choice of material since folklore is interpreted in its broadest sense.

PUBLICATIONS

* PETER LANG PUBLISHING, INC.

Peter Lang Publishing Company, headquartered in Bern, Switzerland, has recently made available its new catalog on Asian, African, Oceanic, American, and European Studies, Slavonic Languages and Literature. Many of these books have been published in Europe and might otherwise be difficult to obtain in the United States. Some of the publications are in German; others in English and Russian. For more information, please contact:

Peter Lang Publishing, Inc.
62 West 45th St.
New York, NY 10036
Tel. (212) 764-1471
Fax. (212) 302-7574

IN MEMORIAM

* ROBERT NETTING

We report with sadness the death of Prof. Robert Netting who is reported to have died in recent days of bone cancer. Prof. Netting was a pioneer in ecological and demographic anthropology, renowned for his studies of an historical Swiss alpine village and of modern day pastoralists in East Africa, and for the comparative study of household organization. He had recently been elected to the National Academy of Sciences of the U.S.

Gene Hammel (from H-SAE)

SUMMER FIELD SCHOOLS

* FRANCE 1995: PENN-IN-BORDEAUX

After last year's success, Penn Summer Abroad is offering again the unique program focusing on the important issue of *humanness*. The program is located in a part of France where many of the most important fossil and archaeological sites documenting modern human biological and cultural origins have been found. Just to the east of Bordeaux are the Departments of the Dordogne and Charente, the area where discoveries such as those at Cro-Magnon and Lascaux, as well as numerous Neanderthals, have provided us with much of our knowledge of the initial beginnings of modern humankind. Field trips to these and many other sites will be an important part of the course, and will provide an essential background to classroom discussions. The course meets on the campus of the University of Bordeaux I four days per week, from 10 a.m.-noon and from 2-4 p.m. The application deadline is **April 1, 1995**. For application forms, or additional information, please contact:

Alan Mann
Department of Anthropology
University of Pennsylvania
343 Museum
Philadelphia, PA 19104-6398
(215) 898-6986

or
Penn Summer Abroad
College of General Studies
University of Pennsylvania
3440 Market Street, Suite 100
Philadelphia, PA 19104-3335
(215) 898-5738

* ANCIENT GREEK CIVILIZATION AND MEDITERRANEAN STUDIES

College Year in Athens offers a program of university-level study conducted in English, which takes constant advantage of the resources of Athens and of Greece at large. The combination of classroom study and classes conducted in the museums and on the relevant sites, both ancient and modern, creates a learning environment unavailable at any college or university in North America. The summer program consists of six weeks of two courses in ancient Greek civilization interwoven with study-travel and a three-week immersion course in Modern Greek language. A rolling admission policy is employed for applications received until **April 15, 1995**. Applications are welcome after this date, but will be considered on a space available basis. For further information please contact:

College Year in Athens
North American Office
P.O. Box 390890
Cambridge, MA 02139
Tel. (617) 547-6141
Fax. (617) 547-6413

* FIELD SCHOOL IN ANTHROPOLOGY - BRUNNENBURG CASTLE, ITALY

The University of New Orleans and the University of Florida announce the ninth annual summer study program in the Merano Valley of Northern Italy. The field school will be conducted in a renovated 17th-century farm house within the complex of Brunnenburg Castle, owned by anthropologist Dr. Siegfried de Rachewiltz, the grandson of Ezra Pound. The program's focus will be the historic and contemporary cultural ecology of the Tyrolian Alpine region. Included in the course of study are trips to markets, castles, cathedral towns, and a three day visit to Venice. Hiking, local festivals, folk dancing, traditional bread-baking, haying, and much more are on the agenda. Italian and German are the native languages in this bilingual region, but the course of instruction is in English.

To register, an application form must be completed together with a brief essay explaining why you would like to participate, and returned with a \$100.00 deposit payable to UNO (fully refunded if not accepted into the program). Final payment will be due **April 15, 1995**. For further information, please contact:

Dr. Margaret Davidson
Office of International Study Programs
P.O. Box 1315
University of New Orleans
New Orleans, LA 70148
Tel: (504) 286-7116.

JOURNALS...JOURNALS...JOURNALS...

* JOURNAL OF CONTEMPORARY ETHNOGRAPHY

More than just informative, the *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography's* provocative views of people and lifestyles make fascinating reading. From issue to issue, article to article, JCE brings you relevant material that deals with the broad spectrum of human nature and behavior, as well as organizations, society, and culture. Past topics have included Women in Motorcycle Gangs, Workers' Response to Boredom, Managing Parenthood, Cult Controversies, and Organization Cultures. JCE is currently making an offer of a free copy of the October 1994 special issue on Ethnography and Discourse with your individual subscription (at reduced rates) of \$45.00 per year (for institutions, the cost of \$137.70). To subscribe, or for further information, please contact:

Sage Publications, Inc.
P.O. Box 5084
Thousand Oaks, CA 91359

* PUBLIC CULTURE

Public Culture has established itself as a field-defining cultural studies journal that seeks a critical understanding of global cultural flows and cultural forms of the public sphere that define the late twentieth century. The journal provides a forum for discussing places and occasions where cultural, social, and

political difference emerge as *public* phenomena, manifested in everything from highly particular and localized events in popular or folk culture to global advertising, consumption, and information networks. Contributors include artists, activists, and both well-established and younger scholars, from across the humanities and social sciences and around the world. First-time subscription rates are as follows: Individuals - \$21.25, Students (with copy of valid ID) - \$12.75 and Institutions - \$42.50. To subscribe, please contact:

University of Chicago Press
Journals Division
P.O. Box 37005
Chicago, IL 60637

BOOK MARKS

Gary McDonogh
Book Review Editor

* POLAND AND CAPITALISM

Elizabeth Dunn
John Hopkins University

Jeffrey Sachs, *Poland's Jump to the Market Economy*.
Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1993.

Andrzej Kozminski, *Catching Up?: Organizational and Management Change in the Ex-Socialist Bloc*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993.

For anthropologists interested in post socialist change, it is not the details of the economic plan he devised for the Polish government in 1989 that makes economist Jeffrey Sachs's book interesting. Rather, it is the assumptions about Poles in particular, and human nature in general that underlie Sachs's understanding of both the goals of the economic 'transition' from socialism and the process through which it is to occur that make this book fascinating reading.

Like all neo-liberals, Sachs's central problematic is "freedom." More specifically, Sachs assumes the *a priori* existence of persons of a specific nature and of things of a given sort, and focuses on transforming the relationship between those persons and things. Privatization becomes the keystone of Sachs's plan precisely because he believes that when the nature of the bond between persons and things is an "ownership" relation, market forces will discipline the rational, self-interested individual, who will in turn discipline privatized enterprises. (Sachs asserts this holds even when stock in a firm is widely dispersed, although such minor stakes in a firm should not encourage shareholders to be any more involved in enterprise management than they were under socialism. Such shareholders only act through indirect mechanisms such as falling stock prices -- which don't in themselves lead to creative or innovative management.)

Sachs's problematic can center on "freedom" only because he assumes that all human beings, including Poles, have similar desires and interests. He assumes that socialism repressed or frustrated those innate desires. Therefore, he can call his transformation of the relation between persons and things

liberating only because he assumes that the kinds of economic behaviors he wants to see are what people would do if they were not constrained. His blatant assumptions about Poles' common desire to join the European Community, to mimic Western European economies and property structures, and to join the "global economy" all reveal the bases of his teleology, in which a market economy will emerge if only technical impediments to the expression of innate desires are removed.

This view was accepted in 1989 and 1990, when Sachs was consulting to the first Solidarity government. However, events proved that "market rationality," which is a different animal from "socialist economic rationality," was neither innate human nature nor the necessary product of market forces. Management schools, business consulting, and a horde of books written for both Western and Eastern European managers all focus on the idea that a new form of "rationality" or "mindset," which amounts to a transformation of persons and their economic actions, is necessary for economic reconstruction. Andrzej Kozminski, Director of the Warsaw University International Management Program, says managers must learn these new forms of personhood, and then teach them to employees, consumers, and suppliers. As he says, only managers are "potentially capable of translating changes in the macroeconomic environment into corresponding microeconomic behavior of firms. Otherwise, transformation to a market economy will not happen" (145).

Kozminski's book is one of the best of this lot. He subscribes to the same vision of the transition as a path predetermined by the West as Sachs does. He reveals this in his title, *Catching Up*, which presumably refers to Western economies. However, he regards the development of market logic, with its attendant technologies such as accounting, capitalist labor discipline, and business strategy, as part of the transition process rather than as a necessary outcome of marketization.

Because Kozminski uses Western business strategies and practices as a standard to evaluate enterprises designed for totally different functions, he finds them woefully lacking. He prescribes Western management techniques as the appropriate means to transform Eastern European enterprises into the flexible, efficient, and responsive producers desired by Western economies and potential business partners.

Key among the Western management techniques he prescribes is a change in "organizational culture," which he defines in terms of norms, values, behavioral patterns and philosophies (p. 143). Managers, he argues, are the only people who can change the "culture" of an organization. These managers must first transform themselves or be transformed by exposure to Western business. Through rich biographies and case studies, he shows how these managers acquire knowledge of Western business practice, economic outlook, and values. The managers use this knowledge not only to make themselves into different persons, but to change the attitudes toward the firm and production, work ethic, and market orientation of their employees.

One theoretical conclusion that one could draw from Kozminski's work is that the "transition" is not a problem of freedom, or of changing the relation between predefined persons and things in the same way it is for Sachs. Instead, it

is a problem of *revaluing* both persons and things; of changing the social meaning of types of persons and things and the process through which they come to have value. His adulation of Western management prevents him from seeing this as an open-ended process. He sees only two options: Westernize and prosper or maintain socialist cultural forms and die. Yet, the problematic his work implies opens up new questions for anthropological understandings of the transition in Eastern Europe. Using traditional anthropological categories such as value and personhood, we have the opportunity for new understandings of socialism, the "transition" in Eastern Europe, and the process of socio-cultural change.

* THE HORRORS OF GENOCIDE

James S. Amelang
Universidad Autónoma, Madrid

Pierre Vidal-Naquet, *Assassins of Memory: Essays on the Denial of the Holocaust*. Translation and foreword by Jeffrey Mehlman. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992. 205 pages. index.

A historian known for his innovative studies of ancient Greek mythology, Pierre Vidal-Naquet focuses on a different type of myth in this series of brief essays: that of "revisionism," the contention that the mass murder of European Jews at the hands of Nazi Germany during the Second World War never took place. Dismissed in the past as the delirium of right-wing anti-Semitic cranks, revisionism has lately gained attention and, more alarmingly, even some acceptance in the mass media and on the fringes of academia in France, the United States, and elsewhere. The author defines his task in this "melancholy essay" as not to engage revisionists in a debate, but to expose the fact that the latter's intellectual dishonesty and blatant disregard of widely respected standards of evidence and proof render true debate impossible. Vidal-Naquet's measured rehearsal of fraud and deception on the part of the revisionists not only highlights the sinister nature of certain trends in contemporary academia, but also raises significant questions about broader issues, ranging from the relation between discourse and reality to the purposes of historical writing. Anthropologists may discern in these pages some (rather dispiriting) matter for an ethnography of contemporary French culture and politics; all readers will find much to ponder in this reasoned meditation on the tasks and aims of scholarship, and more generally, on truth -- its sources, shapes, and fate in our times.

Anahid Ordjanian
The Queen's University of Belfast

Donald E. Miller and Lorna Touryan Miller, *Survivors: An Oral History of the Armenian Genocide*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993. 254 pages. \$25.00 (cloth).

The strength of this book is not its methodology or theory but its honesty and empathy in discussing some of the moral and ethical crises that survivors face during genocide. While this is not the first book to discuss ethical questions as they relate to genocide, it is the first book to offer a systematic study of survivors of the Armenian genocide, an ethnocide which occurred in the Ottoman Empire between 1915 and 1922. Miller and Miller, a philosopher of religion and a social worker, interviewed one hundred survivors from whom they

took oral histories. They begin this volume by providing a description of the historical context in which between eight hundred thousand and two million Armenians lost their lives. It is unfortunate that the complex historical factors to this genocide are not sufficiently described. Many readers may have difficulty deciphering the social, political, and economic forces, on the regional and the international level, which led to this tragedy. One worries that readers may conclude that the Armenian genocide was another apparently random, albeit unfortunate, case.

In the main body of the book Miller and Miller analyze the oral histories. Their commentary and analysis is interspersed with quotes from their taped interviews. These quoted passages are among the most compelling parts of the book. Survivors speak in heartrending detail of horrifying events. In attempting to identify patterns, however, the authors convey the commonalities of experience among survivors, but spend too little time discussing the differences. Individual survivors are not placed within the contexts of Armenian and Ottoman societies; when passages are quoted, the interviewees are not identified in any meaningful way. This is surprising given the diversity which existed among Armenians in the Ottoman Empire in social class, geographical region, and religious affiliation.

The book's most significant contribution is its discussion of the complex nature of morality experienced by survivors. Miller and Miller found that the decisions which their subjects were forced to make during deportations and massacres were ones with which they spent the rest of their lives coming to terms. Many of these decisions concerned the most fundamental issues of survival. For example, some women (p. 94), left alone with their children (because their husbands had been arrested or killed), were forced to decide "Would their children have a greater chance of survival if given or sold to passing Turks or Kurds?" or, with meager food rations, "Should one sacrifice the life of a weaker child in order to preserve the life of a stronger son or daughter?" A different kind of moral dilemma was faced by a young boy (p. 17) adopted by a wealthy and generous Turkish family. Lavished with kindness and affection and adopted by the patriarch of the family who treated him as his own grandson, the boy was eventually given a new name and lived happily as a Muslim. After the war ended, however, the boy's sister returned to find him. One night he fled with her to rejoin the exiled Armenian people. Throughout his life he mourned the loss of his adopted Turkish grandfather and was haunted by having betrayed this kind man.

These cases reveal a complex picture of genocide. The authors show, without absolving the Turkish State of its responsibilities in the crime, that there were kind Turks as well as cruel Turks. Through the unforgettable stories of these tormented survivors the authors convey the truly hideous nature of genocide.

* FINLAND: SAUNA AS A WAY OF LIFE

Dennis Gaffin
SUNY College Buffalo

L.M. Edelsward. *Sauna as Symbol: Society and Culture in Finland*. New York: Peter Lang, 1991. 267 pp.

The Finn, whose culture was originally based in the forest, identifies with nature as the ideal setting for life. Independence and perseverance to survive within nature (*sisu* in Finnish) are central cultural values. Yet the realization of such a life in the context of modernization and urbanization makes such an ideal scenario out of the question for most Finns. However, nearly every Finn still retreats each summer holiday to the forest and weekly into the ubiquitous sauna, a ritual center for the "Forest Finn."

Edelsward wrote a very readable monograph, easily read in three or four hours (in great part because it is double-spaced with relatively large print). She comprehensively shows how the sauna, not simply a bath or bathing complex, is distinctively Finnish in meaning and reference. Her book demonstrates how the ancient sauna, mentioned frequently in the Finnish epic *Kalevala*, and the contemporary sauna merge into a "key symbol" of Finnish culture, both to Finns and outsiders. Originally a smoke sauna, the "real sauna" incorporates a complex of practices and associations including sauna preparation with a wood fire, meditation and proper comportment in the sauna, quiet socializing, and a post-cleansing wash, drink, snack, and chat. It includes the *kiuas* (sauna stove), *löyly* (sauna steam), and *vasta, vihta* (birch twig switches), linguistically separate from other kinds of stoves, steam, etc. Ideally the sauna is next to a lake or river for washing and swimming. For the now many urban apartment dwellers, however, the ritual utilizes a less-than-fully authentic electric mini-sauna.

Yet the sauna has remained, Edelsward argues, the main synecdoche and metonym for nature and Finnishness. Nearly every Finn has access to a sauna -- "even the poorest peasant manages to build a sauna." This egalitarian-minded practice also, in the very nakedness of sauna occupants, levels each person to equal social status. It mediates the place of the private, independent individual with public, social existence. It also becomes the major avenue for the ordinarily shy Finn, (shy by self- and outsider definition), to reveal him/herself and become friendly.

And while some Finns have used academic science and psychology to explain its healthful benefits, the sauna goes way beyond a practical forum for physical and psychological well-being. It is a "semantic network" of cultural and spiritual meaning which the Finns utilized in their nationalist movement in the 1800s as a forum of unification of disparate districts and political sentiments, (not unlike other European nationalist movements which utilized folklore, language, and traditional customs). Thus the author suggests that the sauna is a symbol of both living and invented tradition (a la Hobsbawm).

While not a major contribution to anthropological theory, Edelsward's book, based upon fieldwork, folklore, literature reviews, and extensive quantitative analysis of questionnaire responses, contributes to the comprehension of key symbols in culture and the ways that a people can define and redefine history, technology, and cultural practice as upholders of traditional values. It also adds to the general understanding of Nordic cultures, I suggest, which often use nature and the past as organizing principles and where the tense balancing act of individualism and egalitarianism is an everpresent theme.

The book of chockful of questionnaire respondents' quotes and, combined with a clear organization and purpose, convincingly argues the power and centrality of the sauna in Finnish identity. It could well serve as an undergraduate course case study in European ethnography or anthropological theory.

As a link between the (nature-based, egalitarian) past and the (urbanized, hierarchical) present, each sauna experience makes the person "reborn a 'real' Finn." Thus the sauna helps to resolve and integrate contradictions in Finnish culture -- "In nature, in the sauna, the Finn may find the strength to live in society."

* COMPUTERS AND CLASS IN ENGLAND

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David Hakken with Barbara Andrews, *Computing Myths, Class Realities: An Ethnography of Technology and Working People in Sheffield, England*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993. xiv + 251 pp. Bibliography.

This book examines the roles played by political economy, class, and technology in the spread of "computerization" in Sheffield, England, a city which "holds a unique place politically as the leading workers' city" (p. 31). The authors -- David Hakken, who teaches anthropology at the SUNY Institute of Technology, and his wife Barbara Andrews -- approach this complex moment of social change not from a structural or philosophical perspective, but through ethnography, drawing on data they collected from a field study they conducted in 1986-87 among working-class people in this workers' city. They argue that both "computopian" (in which computers solve all of society's ills) and "computropian" (in which computers create new social ills and/or enhance all of the old ones) perspectives on computerization fail to capture what is happening in Britain today, in part because such studies have not taken into account cultural questions, the kind of questions anthropologists are equipped to answer.

Hakken and Andrews show that computerization has had ambiguous and contradictory effects: sometimes, computerization has resulted in deskilling, job loss, and increased animosity between the working class and management, while in other cases, computerization has resulted in new skills, new jobs, and cooperative relations. This evidence of contradiction leads the authors unequivocally to reject both computropian and computopian extremes as accurate because such perspectives cannot account for these contradictions, in part because they put too much emphasis on the power of technology to determine social and political outcomes. They argue instead that political-economic structures and cultural "class realities" of advanced-capitalist Britain have much more to do with the differential ways in which computerization has affected labor policy and work in organizations.

I found the authors' insistence that it is essential to examine people's discourses, practices, and experiences in order fully to understand the complex consequences of new technology to be a welcome and important message, one that reaffirms the contribution which an anthropological and cultural approach can make to the study of contemporary social issues in Europe. The book indeed succeeds in suggesting some of the

complex "class realities" for working-class people in Sheffield during the Thatcher years (in fact, the authors draw heavily on ethnographic work they did on working-class culture and politics in Sheffield in the mid-1970s). However, the book ultimately fails as an "ethnography," despite the authors' claims to the contrary.

The book reads largely as a treatise in political economy, with Sheffield treated as a case study to test various theoretical presumptions. Although Hakken and Andrews repeatedly insist the discourses, symboling, and other cultural processes are integral to understanding the process of computerization, in the end they fail to present much in the way of ethnographic evidence of such discourses, symbolic or other cultural processes. The authors spend far too much time (as they themselves acknowledge) defining terms and far too little time exploring ethnographic material. They interrupt every chapter for long discussions of theoretical problems; these interruptions dominate the narrative, such that the "ethnography" appears only in a variety of "vignettes" (the authors' term) presented without contextualizing detail and more as so much "local color." These vignettes are, thus, not really treated as "data"; they are not explained or explicated in any kind of "thick description" of work and lives, but instead appear in the narrative as unconnected anecdotal examples enlivening what is an otherwise quite abstract and didactic text. By turning the promise of ethnography into a haphazard presentation of anecdotes and selected "cases," the authors undermine their own important claim that ethnographic and cultural approaches must be pursued alongside more traditional macro-level analyses of political economy and technology.

* EAST EUROPEAN PARADIGMS

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Anna Zambrzycka-Kunachowicz, ed., *In Search of Paradigm*. Cracow: Department of Ethnology, Jagiellonian University, 1992.

Thomas Kuhn's use of the concept "paradigm" has certainly influenced the manner in which scientists consciously conceptualize their work. As he perceives the concept, the essential elements of a paradigm, or "discipline matrix," are: symbolic generalization, models, and tokens. Zambrzycka-Kunachowicz employs Kuhn's concept to discuss the research tradition of the Department of Slavonic Ethnography, Jagiellonian University, Cracow.

Zambrzycka-Kunachowicz's introduction provides a brief intellectual history of the department and of Polish ethnology as well. She is correct in stating that scientific progress, including that at Jagiellonia University, proceeds by paradigm building and destruction. The articles that follow this introduction are a welcome addition to the literature. The fact that they are in English makes them readily available to a wide audience.

Particularly timely is Malgorzata Maj's "The Myth of Slavonic Unity." After outlining the process through which Slavs first began to create mythological unity, the first Slavonic chronicles from the 12th century, through Pan-Slavism, Maj turns to recent mechanisms through which the myth functions in today's world.

Other articles in the collection basically follow Maj's theoretical lead; that is, they focus on the broad area of interpretive anthropology. Thus, there are articles on the smith (Hanusz Baranski), the pope as a popular hero (Kinga Lozinska), two articles on gifts (Roza Godula and Anna Zambrzycka-Kunachowicz), Moslem myths and house designs (Andzzej J. Romanowski), and so forth. Certainly, it appears that the department is currently working from a common paradigm.

More importantly, perhaps, the paradigm has inspired a body of significant research. These articles are both readable and essential to anyone wishing to understand current developments in modern central European anthropology. They provide insight into often puzzling developments in the post Cold War era as well as make contributions to the general theoretical development of anthropology.

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