

Editor's Notes

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Over the course of the last year East-Central Europe and the Soviet Union continue to be shaped by the aftershocks of socioeconomic and political transition and the tremors of worldwide economic and political realignment. Opposition and dissent from within the oppressive structures of communism and external challenge caused transitions in each of the countries that make up the geographic corridor between East and West. While questions continue to be raised regarding the efficacy of maintaining a distinction between East and West Europe, we feel that to do otherwise limits, rather than enhances our capacity to understand post-communist change. The challenges in East Europe are related to West Europe, but they are different. Former dissidents are now part of the new political establishment, grappling with issues of democratization, privatization, market dynamics, equality and justice. But East-Central Europe culture and political economy retains much of its statist and exclusivist character.

This issue, we hope, combats the banalities and journalistic clichés often used to describe the revolutionary changes in East Europe: the death of socialism; the end of history. The two lead articles by David Ost and Balazs Szelenyi and Ivan Szelenyi focus on the continuity and conflict over customs and behavior in these lands claimed by ideologues as the long-lost tribes of Western Civilization. Ost questions the premise that civil society in East and West are the same. He regards the growth of civil society in East Europe as emerging from the centralized economics of collapsed communist states and claims that political parties are unable to appeal to particular sectors of society. Instead, new parties have appealed to "society" as a whole, thus reproducing a collectivism analogous to past regimes. Such a political economic configuration makes the sought after transition to liberal market-driven democracies difficult as no specific interests drive the competition for state power. Quite the reverse, it appears as if the state is back in the driver's seat, moving society along and even the post-communist entrepreneurial class is made up of the old elite. Szelenyi and Szelenyi predict the death of the peasant-worker, the part-time family farming unit, as the transition to a market economy results in lay-offs among the rural and least skilled strata of the working class. Peasant workers survived

through a symbiotic relationship with cooperative farms. As they lack an entrepreneurial spirit, their politically significant demise will occur simultaneously as the cooperatives move into a market economy. Agriculture is a critical political economic sector in Hungary and most likely will become even more diverse in its organizational character with large cooperatives, small cooperatives and family farms. The structure of the agrarian economy will appear quite similar to that before the war, before the communists, and the struggle over property rights will continue to reverberate in the Hungarian political system.

Linda Bennett's paper celebrates Bela Maday's contributions to Europeanist anthropology and, in so doing, urges anthropologists working in East Europe to cooperate and more fully collaborate with colleagues there. We include this article at this time to draw attention to the importance of working with our East European colleagues and expanding and deepening our relationships with them. This is especially important now as an informed and nuanced social science seems to us especially useful for these times. Bennett suggests the importance of respect for professionals with whom we contact and the intellectual traditions they espouse. In these times of dramatic change, non-East European anthropologists have new opportunities to engage colleagues in the field, learn from their experiences and their anthropological traditions.

Zdenek Salzmann provides a historical recap of nation building in Czechoslovakia and brings us up-to-date regarding the tensions between Czechs and Slovaks as they contest their place within the post-communist state. Inter-ethnic rivalry here is related to control over regional development and contested terrains. Salzmann's paper, the current Yugoslav events and Kürti's Congressional testimony in this issue make clear that nationalism and ethno-nationalism will continue to mediate relationships between social groups and the state.

Two reports from the field also raise questions about the extent and nature of the East European transition. Joel Marrant's account of his visit to Romania strikingly discusses the disarticulation of political changes at the national level with people's every-day experiences. Joel Halpern analyzes the Bulgarian transition by viewing a ritual where people are literally throwing out the vestiges of communism. His perspective makes us wonder if in the future we will be looking back on this post-communist period as a period of liminality.

We continue our effort to expand *The Anthropology of East Europe Review* to include more articles and information about this rapidly changing region. The response to our request for articles has been gratifying. Yet, we had hoped to attract contributions from East European

colleagues and from anthropologists working in linguistics, archeology, medical and health fields and in areas of practice or application. Still, we are encouraged by the quality of the contributions. In our effort to be more inclusive, the Soviet and East European Studies Program of Cornell University has funded the publication of this issue in this enlarged format. We are grateful for this support.

Finally, we are saddened to report the death of Stanley Diamond, known for establishing the Anthropology Department at the Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Sciences of the New School for Social Research and for founding and editing the international journal, *Dialectical Anthropology*.

Stanley was a genuinely talented and creative person. He saw himself dealing with essences of human interaction-- more often than not only on his terms. He refused to be deified and was impatient about dealing with any one unless he could deal with the person-- not the persona. He sought out authentic and honest relationships. He was critical, self-critical and critical of others. Many of us loved and respected him for these qualities. As anthropologists are apt to do, he mucked around the margins of society. He carried out field work in Central Nigeria; Biafra; Israeli Kibbutz; Arba Village; Seneca Iroquois; schizophrenic families; and an Irish neighborhood in the Southend of Boston.

He understood the periphery and its relationship to the center. He was critical of capitalism and its dehumanizing effect and sought out authentic ways of life. He rejected the pathological and distorted results that capitalism brought in its wake and fought against these with his words and actions. He had little patience for what he called "acts of self-deformation, exercises of power without principle and to stay in business at any cost" (e.g., to be passive in the face of amoral acts). His opinion on experts was that, "They know more and more about less and less about nothing." Stanley treasured the specific in relationship to the general, but abhorred the universality of economic thought. He was adamant about education and the importance of self-learning." "He thought that formalizing schooling was a form of "colonial intrusion, a colonization of the mind." He stressed the importance of teaching as practice in his words, "You teach while interacting." You integrate rather than divide learning and socialization. He felt that the division of the instrumental, affective and cognitive elements in education and in our everyday lives is a central source of modern psycho-pathology. He believed and practiced the idea that "wisdom arises from experience." His students became part of him and he became part of them.

We are grateful to Stanley for opportunities he provided us to express in public forums and publications voices of difference, not only voices of the "other," but the voices of the marginalized among ourselves and within the self. Perhaps it is for this reason that in the last few years he returned to poetry, to express the, at times, unexpressable. We have lost Stanley Diamond. We will remember him well and pass on the anthropological, humanistic and critical traditions he helped invent.

Stanley looked at my three year old son standing outside on the corner of 5th Avenue and West 16th Street. It was a bitter cold day and he was on his way home. Yet he stopped to chat with me, but more to be close to my son, who looked up at him with smiling eyes. Stanley was bundled up the way only Stanley would bundle up. He wore a wool overcoat that he said he bought at a second hand store not far from his house. He said, "What a bargain, like new." He said this with a degree of ambiguity, enough so that it made me wonder whether he was putting me on, or what? He said it with enough authority to prevent an effective follow up question about the matter and so we went on, but having left that sense of ambiguity in my thoughts which would echo later in my memory, as it does now. What did he mean by that? Why did he say it? This was Stanley at his best, allowing ambiguity to be the teacher.

There he stood with one of those hats fashioned after a Russian winter hat with the ear flaps down and the long strings flapping in the wind. He wore the hat only as Stanley could wear it. He liked wearing hats, even indoors. I always wondered why he wore hats in his office. Was he covering his head of hair, which was thinning? Was he looking to hide his age somehow? He was careful about his appearance. He dressed well. There we stood on the corner. He was looking down at my son and my son looking up at him. He loved children. I had no doubt about it. Momentarily he struggled with his overcoat and pushed his hand into his trouser pocket, theatrically stooping over to do so. To me it seemed as if his pocket had sucked his hand and much of his arm down into his trousers, farther than his pocket could possible stretch. He had my son's full attention. He dug around in a focused way. He gave his entire attention to the action. I could tell that he was thinking of nothing else but his search. Then he smiled in a knowing way, the way that you smile when you have anticipated an action, the completion of an action in your mind's eye. Quickly and deftly he scooped the shiny quarter into his hand, bent down to my son's level, gently pulled his arm up and pressed the quarter into his tiny hand, wrapping his little fingers around it so he wouldn't lose it. This was Stanley!

Stanley contributed to the study of the Soviet Union and East Europe. Through the journal he founded and edited, *Dialectical Anthropology*, seminars and public forums that he organized, he gave voice and provided a legitimized and legitimizing arena for the silenced other in the political discourse within anthropology, but also sibling disciplines in the social sciences and the humanities. He sponsored and supported the writing of those of us who sought to understand the communist world from within its own logic.

We will miss him.