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'Memories and Identities in Central and Eastern Europe'

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Trinity Long Room Hub

Abstracts book

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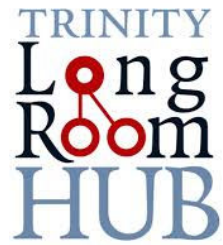
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Thursday, 7 May
Keynote lecture
Polly Jones (Oxford) 'The Many Uses of the Usable Past: Rethinking Revolution(s) in Late Socialism'

The Brezhnev era in the Soviet Union witnessed a 'historical turn' that stretched from dissident historiography and amateur historical research to hugely popular published fiction about the recent and distant past. With Stalinism rendered impossible to celebrate by the previous decade of de-Stalinization, the Soviet regime needed to reignite enthusiasm for the increasingly distant revolutionary past. At this time, though, Soviet writers also increasingly looked to the Leninist and pre-revolutionary past both for pre-Stalinist ideals of behaviour and also for the roots of the ethical and political problems of the Soviet present. My paper will examine how these different ways of making the revolutionary past meaningful intersected and collided in the production and reception of late socialist historical fiction and biography.

Friday, 8 May
9.00-10.30 – PANEL 1
1: *Identity and Religion in Soviet and Post-Soviet Eastern Europe*
Chair: **Maria Falina** (University College Dublin)

Daniel Rygovsky (Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography / Novosibirsk State University), 'Alternative Orthodoxy: Spiritual Practices of Russian Old Believers in West Siberia in Soviet and Post-Soviet Times'

Since the religious reform of patriarch Nikon in 1650s-1660s, connected with revision of liturgical books and some rituals, the maintenance of "correct" prayers had become the key question for Russian Orthodoxy. Modern Old Believers claim that they saved the prayer's tradition "unspoiled", remaining principals and rules that existed in Church before the Nikon's reform, or, even, in times of Jesus Christ.

This work is based on field research, which was held among representatives of several Old Believer's communities in West Siberia. We supposed that different spiritual practices (church or cellular praying, pilgrimage and visiting sacred places) of Old Believers and "alternative church" discourse is essential for saving identity through different historical periods. Siberian Old Believers consider soviet period as "godless times" (or "soviet godlessness"). They think that within these times church people were put on severe trials comparable with early Christian persecutions. However, there were many zealots who had been defending their faith and who were martyrized for that. Secret meetings for praying, struggle for permission to build a church and a discourse against atheistic propaganda worked on consolidation of West Siberian Old Believers' communities.

In post-soviet times, it became necessary for Old Believers to oppose themselves to "official" Orthodox Churches, which is "full of various heresies" as they say. Visiting sacred places (usually, burials of martyrs or the ruins of demolished in 1930s by soviet power churches, marked by eight-pointed crosses), Siberian Old Believers attach a particular value to stories connected with history of that places, that usually contaminates with history of Old Believers' Church. These pilgrimages are followed by active commemoration and creation of narratives dedicated to the place what features a group memory.

James Kapalo (University College Cork), '"And the Archangel Michael Looked Just Like Me!": Visual Media and the Re-Presentation of Divinity in Moldovan Radical Religion'

This paper explores the power of the visual to contest and subvert dominant religious beliefs and doctrines. Through an exploration of Inochentism and Archangelism, 'home-grown' religious movements in twentieth and twenty first century Moldova, I trace the power of visual media, when combined with folk narratives, prophesy and visionary literature, to contest state and church authority, embody the sacred and transform belief. The two movements discussed, driven underground by nationalist and communist regimes in Romania and Soviet Moldova, deployed visual media in the form of vernacular icons, photographs and photomontages, as powerful tools for critique and as a means of mobilizing belief during periods of intense persecution by the state. Based on a series of interviews with members of these movements between 2011 and 2014, on secret police archival sources and on Soviet propaganda publications, I examine how, under the pressure of state atheist ideology and political oppression, relations between divine and human, this world and the next, and the material and immaterial were re-imagined, re-presented and embodied by Moldovan village people.

Rasa Pranskevičiūtė (Lithuanian University of Health Sciences), 'Life as a Hare Krishna Devotee Under the Threat of KGB in the Soviet Republic of Lithuania'

The paper focuses on the origins and early development of the Hare Krishna community in Lithuania until 1989, when the collapse of the Soviet Union began and official registration of religious communities started. The aim of the paper is to reveal the situation of the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON) in Lithuania under the Soviet regime until its official registration in 1989, focusing on the life as a Krishna devotee under the threat of KGB.

Using a historical narrative method, the formation of ISKCON is retraced as well as how the movement came to Lithuania from Moscow, Russia through Tallinn, Estonia and Riga, Latvia. The community developed within the underground under the threat of the KGB repressions where it existed until the beginning of the Sąjūdis (the Reform Movement of Lithuania), when public community activities became possible, such as public programs, book distributing and founding of official temples. The ideas and practices of ISKCON were a form of resistance to the Soviet regime and the communist ideology. It did not emerge as an open opposition towards the communist ideology, but its actions appeared more as an attempt to exist in a suppressive sociocultural environment. The Lithuanian ISKCON community played a significant role in the development of ISKCON throughout the Soviet Union, because after the imprisonment of Armenian activists, Lithuanian members organized secret printing and distribution of the ISKCON literature throughout the Soviet region. The presentation depicts a very different ISKCON that, compared with today, lacked an organizational structure and functioned without the guidance by senior foreign ISKCON members.

The presented findings from the Hare Krishna movement are mainly based on data obtained from the members (archive with the interviews of activists of the early community) and a research, including participant observation and semi-structured (in-depth) interviews with respondents. Fritz Schütze's (1983) semi-structured interview analysis was applied in the interpretation of in-depth life story interviews in order to reconstruct past events. This autobiographical research method focuses on how the respondents make and use stories in order to interpret their world and understand others around them.

References
SCHÜTZE, Fritz. 1983. "Biographieforschung und Narratives Interview". *Neue Praxis, 3*, pp. 283–293.

11.00-12.30 – PANELS 2 A&B
2A: *Remembering Communism in Central and Eastern Europe*
Chair: **Graeme Murdock** (Trinity College Dublin)

Alina Thiemann (Institute for Social Research, Frankfurt am Main), 'Public vs. Vernacular Memory: Remembering Communism in Romania'

Scholarship on memory studies distinguishes between various forms of collective memory, such as official, public or communicative memory, and emphasizes the unstable character of memory as the result of ongoing negotiations among societal actors over issues which need to be publicly recognized and collectively remembered. Memory is thus produced and consumed within societies. Particular societal actors (e.g. political elites, news media) have a powerful position in shaping collective memory for legitimation purposes, as they benefit from a higher authority among other actors competing for supremacy in the public sphere. However, the members of a mnemonic community might challenge or reject the official narratives regarding the past especially when they do not fit the community's mnemonic frameworks. Journalism represents not only the main source of information in a society, but as communication scholar Carolyn Kitch noted, also "a site of memory construction," which allows for both official and vernacular forms of memory to interact with each other. With these ideas in mind, this paper tries to identify narrative templates regarding communism and its collapse in two different types of discourse. On the one hand, it analyzes the media anniversary of the 1989 Romanian Revolution in several national newspapers which dedicated a lot of space to remember the fall of communism from recycling news since 1989 and recalling atrocities committed under communism to in-depth investigation of the events which led to the end of Ceausescu's regime and nostalgic testimonies of everyday life under communism as well. On the other hand, this paper scrutinizes the narratives regarding the recent past as expressed in interviews with participants to the Romanian Revolution. It thus tries to identify both common themes and points of discontent regarding communism and the 1989 Romanian Revolution expressed in two different types of memory: media memory and autobiographical memory.

Manuela Marin (Babes-Bolyai University of Cluj -Napoca), 'Remembering the Communist Past: Memory and Nostalgia in Contemporary Romania'

25 years since the collapse of the communist regimes in Europe, the nostalgia for the communist recent past continues to spread in the former countries of the Soviet bloc. Both foreign and native observers explained its emergence as being the result of a romanticized remembering of the socialist past and also of overlooking the dictatorial nature of the former communist states. In addition, they also expressed concerns regarding the threat that nostalgia posed to the consolidation of democracy and its values in post-communist countries today.

In contrast, using various sources (Romanian newspapers, different opinion polls) my paper explains the emergence of Romanian nostalgia after the communist past from a twin perspective. Firstly, it shows how the social and economical changes of the transition period altered the meaning of communist nostalgia, namely how it evolved from being a sign of perceived political backwardness to gaining the status of a widespread way of remembering the recent past. In this context, my paper also examines how attempts of coming to terms with the communist past and the country's integration in the European Union not only fostered but also enriched the meaning of Romanians' communist nostalgia. Secondly, my proposed analysis of the opinion polls indicates what people's 'frameworks of social memory' (Maurice Halbwachs) about the communist period are, and how and to what extent they have influenced the nostalgic approach to it. Moreover, this way of reading the results of the polls also indicates the nature or the focus of people's nostalgic longing for the communist past.

In the last part of my paper I examine the commodification of communist nostalgia. Therefore, I will show how the Romanian advertising industry used nostalgia for successfully promoting certain products that had their own history in the communist period, such as the Romanians' national car, Dacia, Rom chocolate and Pepsi Cola. In addition to considering these commercials as fulfilling the role of lieux de memoirs (Pierre Nora), I am also interested in how they created a new type of memory, the prosthetic memory (Alison Landsberg) about the communist period for both mature consumers and young people.

Zsófia Réti (University of Debrecen), 'Educating the Youth About State Socialism: Actual Sites of Memory and Knowledge Transmission in Hungary'

How is the Hungarian state socialist past represented to the Hungarian youth? What are the primary media of historical knowledge transmission about the Kádár era? What are its main claims and how do teenagers react to it? These are the primary questions the paper seeks to address. Based on research conducted with the participation of adolescents aged 14–16, the paper compares the practices used by the two most prominent Hungarian memory projects: the House of Terror and the Statue Park. The combination of two methods – the discourse analysis of the written materials that are found in the two museums, along with a dozen semi-structured interviews with teenagers – allows for a balanced, yet interdisciplinary approach to the topic.

The paper argues that the two museum spaces demonstrate very different segments of Hungarian cultural memory – in fact, it is different pasts that they refer to. The interplay and interference of memories related to the early and the late Kádár era, which can be perceived in the two museums, provides very fertile grounds for examining collective memory practices related to the pre-1989 period. The paper concludes by looking at the basic means of reflecting on the state socialist era (primarily considering traumatic and nostalgic approaches) and by offering a framework in which these interpretations of the near past do not contradict, but rather complement each other.

2B: *Children of the Balkans*
Chair: **Clemens Ruthner** (Trinity College Dublin)

Dragana Kovacevic-Bielicki (University of Oslo), 'Discourses on Memory, Collective Identifications and ́Othering ́: The Case of Former Child Refugees from the Yugoslav Wars in Norway'

This paper focuses on findings from research conducted for my doctoral thesis, in particular on the analysis of twenty in-depth interviews with former child refugees: These "1,5 generation migrants" (Rumbaut 2004) relocated and resettled in Norway due to the wars in former Yugoslavia. Twenty years later, how do they construct belonging and negotiate collective identifications (Brubaker 2004)? With ethno-national identifications as particularly salient for interlocutors due to two important reasons (1. the fact that they are refugees from ethnically framed violent conflicts and 2. the fact they grew up as "immigrants" in a nation-state with a dominant "ethnic" majority), their negotiations of identifications most prominently relate to construction of in and out-group: Negotiation what "I" am in this cases includes constructing the "we", drawing boundaries to various "others".

In this paper I focus on one particular type of othering ́, related to ideas about "history and memory": I show how former child refugees discursively construct ethno-national belonging, and how they perform ́othering ́ in relation to the war, "memory", and "history", assuming and advocating attitudes on "what really happened". Reisigl, Wodak, Cilia (1999) discuss how

national identity builds on the emphasis on common history. "We" in that sense seem to be the ones who to some extent agree on "our" history. One of the central points of the national "debates" and discourses on good "us" and bad "them", "perpetrators" and "victims", revolves around discourses on "what really happened" and "who started it". In the context of the former Yugoslavia, with many families that found themselves having to run away from "one side", family narratives that get reproduced and transmitted revolve around what can be paraphrased as: "They knew what was coming, we were the naïve ones". Who "we" and "they" are changes contextually, based on one`s "ethnic loyalties" and preferences.

Memory is constructed and reconstructed in relation to the legacy of war, contested and competing "collective" narratives and discourses and partially on official histories that individual those discourses. Personal memories of former child refugees are intertwined with narratives of their families and social circles, and based on an individual´s own positioning on the "ethnic map" and ideas of "ethnic loyalty". (Kovacevic Bielicki, forthcoming). It means that the principles that guide most people's view of past conflict are largely accidents of birth.

Elisa Satjukow (Universität Leipzig), 'A New 'Lost Generation'? Young Serbs between Apathy and Uprise'

The disintegration of Yugoslavia in the early 90s was accompanied by war and crisis. Younger people are still deeply affected by the events of that transition period. The generation of 'war children' was undergoing their primary socialisation mostly as helpless victims: They grew up in an era of war and crisis, of national mobilization and persecution of political dissidents. One could assume that the search for an individual identity during their second socialization phase must have been problematic and controversial for this kids - today in their twenties and thirties. Parents and grandparents went out to fight against their neighbouring states, the ones who stayed struggled with live under a state of exception. Nowadays young people are still faced with high rates of unemployment, the persistent practises of corruption and limited social mobility. They feel disappointed by political elites and often refuse to participate in political life. Having grown up in a time of change, they are the first 'generation' of citizens of the new parliamentarian Republic of Serbia that superseded of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Committing to the Serbian national identity has become more than ever before a personal as well as political mission. This finds expression in frontier concepts which do not only result in fraught relationships between former wartime enemies who have since become supposedly peaceful neighbours, but also in an ambivalent attitude towards the 'West.' At the same time these young Serbs are part of a generation of digital natives, which use social media, and the information stream of the World Wide Web to become part of the global Internet community. The same young people are facing the enormous challenge of being actively involved in the planned integration of their home country in the European Union.

In my dissertation I investigate childhood and youth in Serbia in the 1990s. I examine the conditions for children and young people growing up in a country in a permanent state of war and crisis and the consequences of the societal transformations on their understanding of democracy. The project draws on oral history and ego documents in order to include personal stories into general historical narratives. The importance of my investigation is not only to gain insight into their experiences during the war but also to explore how these experiences are still influencing their personal views on political and societal issues, most importantly the process of EU integration.

Selma Harrington (Trinity College Dublin), 'Memories of Normality: The Grandchildren of Revolution at Sarajevo's Nazi Birthday Party'

14.00-15.30 – PANEL 3
3: *Memory, Identity and Visual Culture*
Chair: **Clemens Ruthner** (Trinity College Dublin)

Zsolt Győri (University of Debrecen), 'Memories, Traumas and Emic Perspectives: The Historical Documentary in 1980s Hungarian Cinema'

Hungarian filmmakers of both feature films and documentaries in the 1980s began to directly address historical events considered taboo by official memory politics. My paper examines two representative examples, both of which were produced in the decade mentioned, then shelved for political reasons and screened in full length only after the regime change. These are Sándor Sára's 26-episode-long Krónika (Chronicle: The 2nd Hungarian Army at the Don) and the Gulyás brothers' Magyarok és az első világháború (Hungarians and WWI), documentaries which break with the ideologically biased perspectives of Marxist historiography and adopt the life-interview approach of oral history to articulate the traumatic narratives of survivors and war veterans. I borrow the term 'emic approach' (Pike, 1967; and Berry, 1969) from cultural anthropology and explore ways in which it can be applied in the field of memory studies. I use emic memory to denote the counter-ideological memory of witness accounts in these films which brought to surface alternative interpretations and traumatic details of the past. At the same time, the above mentioned filmmakers, I contend, demanded more than an authentic and historically credible narrative of past; they hoped to draw public attention to the veterans' social and cultural struggle against marginalization and victimization and the struggle for the freedom of memory: a basic civic right in democratic countries and a way of coming to terms with historical wounds. While identifying and examining various memory genres – the traumatic, the nostalgic-antiquarian, the epic-heroic and the critical – I argue that they render legible not only the identity crisis of WWI and WWII veterans but the crisis of national consciousness in state socialist Hungary.

Lucian Dumitrescu and **Nicolae Tibrigan** (Romanian Academy of Sciences), 'Identity Narratives in the Republic of Moldova: Graffiti and Street Art in Chișinău'

The post-Soviet history of the Republic of Moldova is tantamount to the history of Chi□ină. With almost 800,600 inhabitants, that is 22 percent of the total population of Republic of Moldova, the city of Chișinău stands out not only as the major urban contributor to the Republic of Moldova's economy (almost 60 percent of GDP), but also as the site of the most intense symbolic clashes and protest marches, the latter being organized by both political parties and retired people, war veterans, public clerks, journalists, students etc. But the most prominent clashes that have shaped the city of Chișinău in a particular way from an architectural perspective are the identity ones. Starting with the "Twitter Revolution", (April 7–9, 2009) one could easily notice that the "identity battle" had reached a new level: from the collective and public level, coordinated by the state, to the individual level. This individual level, with collective reach and underground characteristic, is expressed by the graffiti messages. We argue that once the parades are over, fanfare silences, and public celebrations come to an end, the graffiti message will continue to persist on the public agenda the following identity dilemma: "Who are we?"

In trying to answer this question, we have focused our research on the 'Othering process' pictured by the graffiti messages in Chișinău. We strove to find out how the identity borders drawn through public discourses over the last twenty years in the Republic of Moldova have influenced the art of unknown public artists. In so doing, we have examined the three main identity narratives articulated in the Republic of Moldova starting with 1991 with a focus on power mechanisms employed in order to engender identity strategies. Then, employing a

processual approach to culture, we have captured the way that public identity discourses have imprinted on the graffiti messages. The methodological approach that we chose in order to carry out this particular research is characteristic for visual anthropology.

Radek Przedpelski (Trinity College Dublin), 'Crystals of the Steppe. Sarmatism as the Deleuzian Virtual World-Memory in the Art-Work of Marek Konieczny'

The following paper sets out to investigate the mechanisms by which Marek Konieczny, an artist associated with the Polish neo-avant-garde of the 1970s, makes a transhistorical, transversal connection with the old-Polish cultural formation of Sarmatism which linked Polish nobles to nomad-warriors of the steppes of the Herodotian antiquity.

By framing my argument in terms of the Deleuzian philosophy of time and art – mutated by the productive interventions of Nadine Boljkovac, Keith Ansell-Pearson, Stephen Zepke and Simon O'Sullivan – I posit Konieczny's strategy epitomised by his 1974 installation 1672–1974 as entering the Deleuzian crystal-image and its zone of indiscernibility between the past and the present. Konieczny's art can thus be situated on the threshold of the Deleuzian virtual and actual where it constructs a hallucinatory perception, a matte surface of the steppe so to speak, which does not represent but fabulates history in a gesture akin to the Nietzschean untimely. This particular diagram of Konieczny's art machine will be brought into relief when juxtaposed with the dialectic montage and early critical art of the Kwiekulik artistic duo on one hand and the ritual staging of the living 17th-century history in Jerzy's Hoffman's 1974 film The Deluge, on the other.

The above formulation aims to redress a current rift or compartmentalisation persisting in Polish scholarship between Cultural and Literary Studies on the one hand, and Art History and Aesthetics, on the other. Therefore, Konieczny's art can be seen as signalling issues relevant to Polish post-transformation modernity and its ensuing aberrant memories and non-linear timelines. I believe that the Deleuzian-Bergsonian conception of time and art can be instrumental in connecting the recycling of Sarmatism in contemporary post-1989 Polish culture, as investigated by the cultural theorist Przemysław Czapliński, to Łukasz Ronduda's art-historical enquiry into re-activation of neo-avant-garde attitudes amongst the practitioners of the so-called "critical art" of the 1990s.

Last but not least, the paper seeks to make a contribution to discussions pertaining to Memory Studies, relying as it does on the Deleuzian understanding of memory as becoming; as, in the words of Nadine Boljkovac, "pure, nonpsychological memory and subjectivity".

16.00-17.30 – PANELS 4 A&B
4A: *Framing the Nation and Collective Identity in Croatia: Political Rituals and the Cultural Memory of Twentieth Century Traumas*
Chair: **Maria Falina** (University College Dublin)

Vjeran Pavlakovic (University of Rijeka), 'Framing the Nation and Contested Narratives: Commemorating Antifascist Uprisings in Croatia'

Commemorations (and counter-commemorations) of the antifascist resistance movement during the Second World War in Croatia continue to provoke debates over both state-building narratives and ethnic identities. This paper examines the transformation of two memorial days in Croatia during the post-communist transition, in particular focusing on the content of the commemorative speeches given at these political rituals. The new official Antifascist Struggle Day (22 June) replaced the former Uprising Day (27 July) after 1990, essentially erasing the

latter from Croatia's commemorative culture because it was considered to be too "Serbian". Political elites and representatives of various organizations (including minorities, veterans, and opposition parties) have used these commemorations to posit their visions of contemporary Croatia, from a plural multiethnic society founded on antifascist values to a nation-state which needs to restrict remembrance practices only to those supporting the state-building narrative. By remembering the events of 1941, political actors offer interpretations of the war in the 1990s and contemporary ethnic relations which are framed within a much broader narrative of Croatia and the former Yugoslavia in the 20th century. In addition to analyzing the commemorative speeches delivered in 2014, the paper relies on representations of the commemorations in the print media and field research conducted this year at these two sites of memory.

Davor Paukovic (University of Dubrovnik), 'Remembering Communist (Partisans) Crimes in Croatia: A Case Study of Jazovka'

After the post–communist regime in Croatia was established in 1990, a strong anticommunist discourse emerged. As a part of that official communist history was challenged and revised, the public attention was directed toward Partisan (communist) crimes that had taken place at the end of the Second World War. This paper will examine the discourse about communist crimes through a case study of Jazovka, a mass grave of victims liquidated by the Partisans at the end of the war. More precisely, two commemorations will be analyzed and compared: one from 1990, and the other from 2014. The discovery of Jazovka and later commemorations received great attention in the Croatian public and media in 1990. It was followed by numerous texts about Partisan crimes at the end of the war. The Jazovka commemoration in 2014 was barely visible in public and media discourse. Whether there is any significance of these changes in the general narrative about communist crimes is one of the questions this paper will try to answer.

Tamara Banjeglav (University of Graz), 'War Commemorations as Sites of a 'Shared Past': A Case Study of the Day of Remembrance of the Victim of Vukovar'

This paper presents preliminary research done as part of a wider research project which examines the framing of historical narratives and collective identity discourses at three levels: top-down political discourse (elites), media representation and transmission, and the reception of the narratives in Croatian society (bottom-up reactions). The aim of this paper is to examine war commemorations organized in the city of Vukovar, which are related to a crucial event from the 1991–1995 war in Croatia: the Battle for Vukovar. Vukovar became a part of the official national remembrance and occupies one of the central places in the construction of Croatian national identity, as it symbolizes suffering that the Croatian state endured in its fight for independence. The research examines official commemorative practices held at this site of memory in order to examine how political elites use commemorative events in order to present to the public their narrative about the past. The paper, thus, examines how the annual commemoration of a crucial event from the 'Homeland War' is used in order to create a framework for the understanding of Croatia's recent past and the real 'truth' about the war. In order to analyse strategies of framing the narratives of the past and collective identities through commemorative practices I employ the methodological tool of frame analysis. Moreover, the research tries to find out in what way and to what extent these narratives created by the political elites and the messages sent through political speeches at commemorative events are accepted by the local population and how people appropriate the official narratives with their own experiences of the war and with the things that were done or that happened to them personally. For this reason, the research is also based on personal interviews conducted with the local population in the Vukovar area.

Benedikt Perak (University of Rijeka), 'Framing the Nation and Collective Identity in Croatia: Discourse Analysis of the Profiling of Cultural Models and Affective Experience in the Discourse of Commemorative Speeches'

This paper presents the theory and methodology based on Cognitive Linguistics which was used in the discourse analysis of Commemorative Speeches. Epistemically grounded in the embodied cognition perspective, this discourse analysis relies on the application of cognitive linguistic theory and corpus methods. The analysis aims to describe qualitatively and quantitatively respective conceptualizations of cultural models in the Commemorative Speeches used to frame national and collective identities. The theoretical background for the identification of conceptualizations is related to the cognitive linguistic assumption that people understand narratives by subconsciously imagining (or simulating) the situation being described (Feldman and Narayanan 2004; Charteris-Black 2004; 2005; Lakoff, and Johnson 1999; Lakoff 2008). In this sense, the narrative structure of Commemorative speeches refers to the historical events, but more importantly serves as a cognitive means to construct cultural memory from salient metonymies and metaphors that activate affective experience and pragmatic ideological inferences. The paper will discuss the elements of the construction of cultural memory of the Homeland War in Croatia in the speeches delivered at the Commemorations in Knin and Vukovar in 2014.

4B: *Memory Practices in a Historical Perspective*
Chair: **Jonathan Murphy** (University College Cork)

Tadhg O hAnnrachain (University College Dublin), 'Reshaping Memory in Early Modern Hungary: Péter Pázmány's Felelet'

This paper examines the historical perspective articulated by Péter Pázmány, the future primate of Hungary, in the Felelet, his first major vernacular work, produced in answer to what he saw as the calumniation of Hungarian Catholicism by the preacher István Magyari. In this text, Pázmány offered an alternative providential explanation for the disaster of the Turkish conquest in sixteenth century Hungary. In his published work, Magyari had ascribed the Turkish invasion to divine chastisement of the Hungarian nation for the sins of its Catholics, particularly because of the idolatrous nature of Catholic worship. Drawing heavily on the Old Testament, Magyari had argued that Chosen People had been heavily punished for Idolatry on several occasions and suggested that only the pure religion of Hungary's Lutherans had preserved a remnant of the old kingdom from the Turks. Pázmány's text offered an alternative reading which linked the fall of the Hungarian kingdom to the advent of Lutheranism so that a realm which had stood for hundreds of years while the Catholic faith had been preserved was swiftly overthrown when heresy began to sap it from within. Not only does the text offer an alternative historical narrative but Pázmány engaged also with Magyari's biblical examples. While accepting that idolatry was a feature of God's anger with the chosen people (and of course denying any idolatrous component in Catholic worship), his discussion concentrated on the punishment of the Jews for the crime of innovation in religion, in effect for heresy. The implications of Pázmány's argument was that by preserving the critical element of the Hungarian past, its Catholic identity, the nation could once find a future as God would assist in the turning back of the Turkish conquest.

Tetiana Onofriichuk (European University Institute), 'Memory of Enlightenment in the Periphery: Ideas and Practices of the Gentry in Volhynia in the 18th and 19th centuries'

After the partitions of 1772, 1793 and 1795 the lands of the former Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth happened to belong to different monarchies. At this time, the gentry from Volhynia attempted to re-evaluate its past and to re-define the role of their province in the history of Poland. The ideas of Enlightenment, on occasion forcefully implemented in the region during the years of partitions, stood in the focus of these peripheral noblemen.

The main sources for my inquiry are the memoirs of the peripheral gentry that date back to the 1770s–1860s. In this paper, I analyze diverse and conflicting views on the Enlightenment, *oświecenie*, and the reforms of education during the end of the 18th and the 19th century. The manifestations of the Enlightenment in this distant terrain of Europe became a tool for the writers to describe their Polish past and to explain the reasons for the downfall of the Polish state, albeit in many cases "European Enlightenment" is merely an alternative word to Voltaire and Rousseau. The Enlightenment thus is either condemned for "enflaming" the gentry with sensitivity and anti-religious views, or this "new European philosophy" is seen as an amendment to local passions, the system of education, and the economy. Often the writers introduce the concept of *oświecenie* as a local process of improvement. Either blamed or praised, the references to the Enlightenment are a comfortable tool for explaining the fatalities during the reign of the last Polish King, or the endurances of the Volhynian gentry in its fight against the Russian absolutist regime, as well as its gradual acceptance. While describing the Enlightenment as a foreign, implanted, or inherent phenomenon, the peripheral memoirists represent a society that is independent from the state. A private sphere on the periphery, thus, manifested itself in its own moral and social laws, which secured many visions of the Polish past and defined 'nation' and 'identity' for the peripheral noblemen in the 19th century.

My research negotiates belonging of the Volhynian lands simultaneously to different worlds of ideas - Polish, Russian, and European - in the course of the 18th and 19th centuries. This particular *provincja* can provide answers to the questions about centre and periphery relations, as well as about the mechanisms of circulation of ideas between Paris, Berlin, London, Warsaw, and Moscow.

Lili Zách (National University of Ireland, Galway), '"Central European Ulsters": Irish Responses to the Formulation of National Identity in Austria-Hungary and its Successor States'

This paper will examine Irish perceptions of the transformation of Habsburg Central Europe, and the impact it had on the formulation of national identities, from the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 until the Munich Conference in September 1938. More specifically, drawing on contemporary newspaper accounts and journal articles, this paper investigates how the Irish nationalist press (Freeman's Journal and Irish Independent) and Catholic Irish journals (Irish Ecclesiastical Record; Catholic Bulletin) interpreted the transformation of the Dual Monarchy into independent successor states. Instead of the framework of "nation states", the focus will be rather on borderland regions and the question of their (multiple) identities as perceived by the Irish small nation in a parallel situation, similarly aiming to achieve independence and fight for their right to self-determination. By relying on case studies such as that of "Bohemian Ulster", as well as other Ulster-like nationality conflicts from the Balkan, Transylvania, and Slovakia, this paper aims to provide a deeper understanding of how Irish nationalists reflected on the formulation of identities in post-Great War Central Europe. Finally, the paper will also refer to how Irish attitudes towards these "Central European Ulsters" formulated their own national identities. The aim is to demonstrate the co-existence of multiple "loyalties" and therefore the Irish awareness of different layers of identity in Habsburg Central Europe during the Great War and the interwar years.

17.45-19.15 – PANELS 5 A&B
5A: *Post-Communist Nostalgia in the Balkans*
Chair: **John Paul Newman** (NUI Maynooth)

Jovana Vukcevic (Charles University, Prague), 'The Commodification of Collective Memory: Yugo-nostalgia as a Marketing Strategy'

This paper focuses on a specific type of contemporary nostalgia for the Yugoslav past, emerging in recent years across the post-Yugoslav space – Yugonostalgia. This nostalgia creates a new Yugoslavia from the ashes of the old – a depoliticized Yugoslavia, not a state or an ideology, but a life story, a personal and social history that happened to take place within the former state. It is argued in the paper that Yugonostalgia can be understood as a longing for the solidarity, sociability and dignity of the socialist life-style, and even as a critique of the consumerist aesthetics of modern capitalism. However, in no way has it been a call to re-establish a Yugoslav state or to validate its ideological propaganda.

Furthermore, in the intersection of capitalist profit-making and communist heritage, nostalgia has became more than a simple discursive construction, emerging from the idealized collective memory - it turned into a veritable marketing strategy exploiting Yugonostalgic symbols. Media campaigns that instigate warm feelings for Yugo-commodities and positive associations with the former state create new patterns of consumptions seeking to commercialize the nostalgic experiences. This study, therefore, focuses on this highly profitable form of Yugonostalgia by arguing that companies in the region are largely exploiting "nostalgic" capital by stimulating positive emotions from the past associated with certain memories. It tends to explain how nostalgia has been used to brand Yugoslav products and how collective memories impact consumer's decision-making. How, through the identification with certain values and products from the period of communist Yugoslavia, did a whole new market of nostalgia emerge?

The central argument is that, while people have relied on nostalgia as a collective therapy for diverse perturbations of the memory, to preserve values from the socialist period and create a bridge with their ex-compatriots, certain brands (supermarket goods as much as rock bands, politicians, or TV shows) have based their success on Yugoslavia's commodification. In this complex interaction, the collective memory was used as a reconciliation tool as much as a marketing strategy.

Irida Vorpsi (Vienna University), 'Memories of Communism in Post-Communist Albania'

Between 1944–1990, Albania experienced one of the most totalitarian communist regimes of the former Eastern Bloc. Execution and detention of the political and cultural elite, the massive presence of the state security (Sigurimi), the proclamation of the country de jure as the first country to be atheist made possible the absolute absence of political dissidence. After the collapse of communism, Albania was politically and economically on a crossroad. The former communist party transformed itself overnight into the Socialist Party, which inherited the majority of its party members from the communist party. Now, 24 years after the fall of the Iron Curtain, with the Socialist Party in power, it seems that Communist nostalgia is not hidden anymore, but a reality reflected in everyday life. Nostalgia involves a certain melancholy desire for lost times, including a strong desire to rehabilitate the figure of the communist dictator Enver Hoxha by portraying him as a leader in the war against the Italian and German occupation during WWII, transforming him into a myth by creating the myth of the war warrior and avoiding the dictator.

This paper analyses the lack of politics of memory in post-communist Albania, the weak institutions and the almost completely nonexistent practices of mastering the past by analysing the appearance of nostalgia in the country´s contemporary politics, culture and in the development of the national identity.

The relationship between past and present is a focal point for the shaping of the future of Albania. This paper takes off from the paradigm of "restorative" and "reflective" nostalgia as discussed by Svetlana Boym in The Future of Nostalgia (2001), and "revisionist", "aesthetic" and "escapist" nostalgia as suggested by Zala Volčič (2007). It presents how the selective and fragmentary inclusion of the past creates nostalgic narratives among the post-communist period generation since they perceive very random information regarding the past regime.

Lisa Le Fevre (Columbia University / Santa Clara University), 'Narrating Memories and Realities in Europe and "Democracy": Elders' Accounts of Time, Place, and Lived-Experiences in Bulgaria'

Eastern European studies have historically focused on narratives of time in terms of nostalgia, especially when about past life under socialist regimes. These studies tended to look at nostalgia for "longing," raising issues as to whether memories were delineated between constructions of Eastern and Western Europe. Challengers questioned whether or not reminiscences actually floated between temporal and spatial boundaries. This paper attempts to further those investigations by looking at Bulgarian elders' accounts of time, place, and lived experiences within the context of Bulgaria's current space in the EU (a positioning that opened in 2007). Begun as exploratory research on stressors involved with aging, well-being, and survival in one of Europe's poorest regions, the work evolved to address tales across the country. Faced with actualities from depopulation, vulnerabilities, or limited access to certain social resources, categorizing juxtaposing recollections of former family gatherings, crimeless societies, or employment for all as "longing" seemed dismissive and invalidating. It's not that the majority of interlocutors wanted to return to former times, but that they were responding to events through experience and a lens toward pinpointing possible futures. Examined closer, these narratives exposed complex understandings of lived-experiences positioned in tandem with creating identities within (and arguably of) Europe and "democracy." These included people's interpretations of survival strategies and potentialities interacting with historical, national, and continental forces. Thus, situated in ethnographic data collected from 2008 to 2013, the aim here is to take an anthropological approach to realities and time in one population and country– the aged in Europe's Bulgaria– as multifaceted, valid, and alive. This aim also follows scholars such as Berdhal (1999), Yurchak (2006), and Boym (2001) who highlight looking at constructions and interpretations of everyday life for complexities, color, and possible trajectories – in this case of Europe and people within it.

5B: Exhibiting *Individual Identities. Spaces, Practices and Memories of the Self in Socialist and Post-socialist Romania*
Chair: **Conny Opitz** (Trinity College Dublin)

Ruxandra Petrinca (University of Quebec / McGill University), 'Make Love Not War. Cultural Dissent on the Shores of the Black Sea'

This paper explores the history and social transformation of the Black Sea Romanian border communities of 2 Mai and Vama Veche, focusing on the culture of dissent that developed there in the 1960s and reached its peak in the 1980s. 2 Mai and Vama Veche represented oasis of individual freedom, alternative spaces, or brief moments of reprieve in an era when civil society

was otherwise oppressed. These Black Sea communities became a gateway for open-minded members of the middle class, escaping the burdens and limitations of city life. It was here that frustrations with the restrictions imposed by the regime on individual liberties were expressed through restricted or banned activities: free speech, nudism, yoga, performance of folk and rock and roll songs, poetry, and dance. Despite the Iron Curtain, western influences reached Romania, and the "imagined communities" of 2 Mai and Vama Veche developed into a social phenomenon, a counterculture emulating the American hippie movement.1

Ironically, this micro-universe was partially populated by the Party's intelligentsia. As a result, controversies over the cultural identity of these emblematic sites, their social component, and the nature of the activities that took place are a constant theme in Romanian media. Drawing on oral history interviews with members of the 2 Mai and Vama Veche alternative communities, as well as published memoirs, diaries and fictional writings, the dissertation will argue that attitudes of dissent and acts of civil disobedience resulted in an alternative life-style that, ironically, was propagated by the very gatekeepers of state ideology, the communist intellectual elites.

Daniela Moisa (University of Quebec), 'Official and Unofficial Heritage Agencies in Romania, from Elite: Intimacy to Popular Movements'

In line with Rodney Harrison's concepts of official and unofficial heritage (2013), we will explore definitions, uses and practices of cultural and natural heritage in Romania and the relation with political and scientific authority. From the destruction of Bucharest city center in the seventies, to popular movements in support of Rosia Montana in 2013 and 2014, heritage is an important territory of affirmation and communication of identity, time visions and social values. Usually, the concept of heritage is associated with nation-state identity, with a past representation or exceptional values. In our presentation, we will emphasise the other side of heritage, one that is more in tune with the present and which addresses the socio-ecological and transnational cohesion thus challenging the classical heritage meanings and the authority of its political and scientific actors.

George Neagoe (University of Bucharest), 'Romanian Literary Bohemia. Between Work Ethic and Resistance through Culture in the Context of Socialist Humanism'

Our paper attempts to draw the lines of an underground phenomenon in the years 1970–1980 known as the "bohemian literaries". This professional community – composed mainly of poets, who were joined by critics and artists – has combined vice, protest, public indifference and good writing. Their attitude was questionable in many respects. With their preference for increased alcohol consumption and little interest in clothing and immediate needs, they defied morality, common sense, hygiene and the traditionally accepted standards of civilization: job, housing and comfort. At the same time, this lack of concern for the living conditions and the practice of a disordered lifestyle was also a way of defying and disobeying the State and its socialist mores. These poets defied one of the fundamental rights stipulated in the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania: the right and obligation of all Romanian citizens to work. In terms of political power, those practices were labelled a "bourgeois" phenomenon of parasitism, expressed through laziness, indolence, frivolity, individualism, and misanthropy. If discovered, the artists were punished by imprisonment or forced into menial jobs, according to the laws of the time. Socialist humanism, the official doctrine of Romania between 1970 and 1980, considered these acts as crimes.

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1 I borrow this term from Benedict Anderson's famous book, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso, 2006 and used it to describe a socially constructed community;

However, it should be noted that literary bohemians were not disapproved by the average living citizens and by the unyielding authorities. At times, it was not only the socialist establishment who regarded them as some dubious individuals, enemies and saboteurs of social order, but also the cultural world, to which they belonged, marginalized and isolated them under the label of "bizarre cases". Due to the fact that they were not affiliated with any group, magazine, circle or movements, unconcerned with promoting their own writings, they had little access to consecration. Their works were rarely commented on or ignored, because of their weak links with the publishing system. However, the literature and the fine arts products of this bohemian community rejected Communist politics and thus we are faced with a conflictual situation that requires some nuances. Dictatorship perceived them as enemies, without paying attention to their creative endeavours. Forefront writers and critics contributed to this state of affairs in the paternalistic style of the socialist State, although some claimed common interest with the bohemians when it suited them to fight Nicolae Ceausescu's directives in matters of literary and artistic policy. Therefore, at times the bohemians aroused political adversity and rivalries within the artistic community that would otherwise ignore them.

Mariana-Alina Urs (The Institute for the Investigation of Communist Crimes and the Memory of the Romanian Exile), 'Dealing with a Communist Caesar. Persecuted Believers in Romania during the 1970s-1980s'

Romania was a country theoretically free of political prisoners after 1964. Nonetheless, believers who acted in ways that were perceived by the authorities as being against the regime continued to be subjected to repressive actions: harassment, blackmail, perpetual unemployment, isolation, imprisonment, forced hospitalization in psychiatric facilities or, in the case of priests, defrocking.

The objective of this paper is to do an analysis of the ways in which the discourses of dissident believers about their personal experiences underwent changes, depending on the recipient and the historical context. In the 1970s and 1980s, many would try to send letters abroad, in an attempt to make their ordeal known and, in some cases, to obtain the right to emigrate. Meanwhile they would also appeal to their church, to other believers or even to Ceaușescu himself. When contacted by the political police, they were forced to give statements regarding their actions; however, more often than not, Securitate officers recorded another version of events, more suitable for the regime, and taking into account the data obtained from their informers. Furthermore, various organizations that acted for the defense of human rights and religious freedom would also try to speak on their behalf, adapting the information they had on each case to the potential 'listener' or decision-maker. On the other hand, after the fall of the communist regime, many of the survivors wrote memoirs or gave interviews about what had happened to them, including or omitting yet another series of details about their experiences.

We will discuss the choices made by believers in terms of 'exhibiting their identity' before and after 1989, by using a variety of sources, such as letters, memorandums, articles, samizdat, interviews, memoirs, as well as documents belonging to the archive of the political police. Were there differences between the information selected to be sent abroad and what circulated inside the country? How did they engage in dialogue with people who were deemed as 'untrustworthy'? Did the Revolution mark a change in their discourse? What would remain unsaid?

Saturday, 9 May
9.00-10.30 – PANELS 6 A&B
6A: *Memories from the Collectivized Countryside*
Chair: **Jonathan Murphy** (University College Cork)

Daria Mattingly (University of Cambridge), 'Thugs, Heroes or Ordinary People? Cultural Memory of the Rank-and-file Perpetrators of Holodomor'

The paper is an interdisciplinary examination of the identities, activities and memorial traces of the rank-and-file perpetrators of the 1932–33 famine in Ukraine known as Holodomor. While the perpetrators of the Stalinist Purges have recently become an object of enquiry, the men and women who directly facilitated mass famine in this region have largely been neglected by scholars. Who were the perpetrators on the ground? How have they been remembered? To answer such questions, I propose an innovative methodology that incorporates a microhistorical analysis of the famine period with a close reading of memorial and cultural texts composed after the famine. In this way I seek to chart the socio-cultural traces of the perpetrators of Holodomor in time and space.

My paper draws on archival data, on testimonies of both the perpetrators and the survivors of the famine and on contemporary 'post-memory' in two Ukrainian villages: Petrivtsi (Poltava province) and Toporishche (Zhytomyr province). These villages were identified in the memoirs of Lev Kopelev and in the testimonies by other perpetrators that provide detailed descriptions of collectivization and grain requisitioning. Already collected oral memories in the selected villages and archival data from the local and republican archives (DAZhO, TsDAGO and GA SBU) in summer 2014 allow me to argue that this microhistorical project casts what took place in the rest of the country in greater relief. In my research I use the approaches from the Holocaust studies and genocide studies, including 'post-memory' (Hirsch), the perpetrators phenomenon (Baum; Hilberg; Jensen; Mamdani) and trauma (Caruth).

Juxtaposition of the facts on the rank-and-file perpetrators with their depiction in cultural texts composed after the famine demonstrates reductiveness of the existing narrative and calls for further research in Holodomor studies. In this way, my study challenges reductive 'lacrimogenetical' readings of the famine and the prosopographical interpretation of the perpetrators of Holodomor as outcasts devoid of historical agency. Ultimately, the paper addresses the contemporary state of play in Ukrainian Studies and raises a new question in the field of Memory Studies.

Klara-Maeve O'Reilly (Trinity College Dublin), 'Remembering Collective Farming on the East German Periphery'

6B: *In Search of Nationhood*
Chair: **Conny Opitz** (Trinity College Dublin)

Stanislava Kolková, (Herder Institut) '"A nation Without History?" Slovak Memory and Identity Narratives (1939-1945)'

In my paper I deal with the various forms and versions of politics of memory of Slovak patriots/nationalists from 1939 to 1945. While before 1918 and partially also in the Czechoslovak state the politics of memory grounded on the survivalist's narratives and accentuation of cultural oppression by Hungarians and Czechs respectively, the Interwar Period

brought about more elaborated past narratives as parts of political discourse. It incorporated them in the reasoning of the "historical indispensability" of the destruction of Czechoslovakia in 1939 and the "new" construction of the history of the Slovak nation.

After proclaiming the Slovak State (March 1939) the historical and legal justification of Slovak statehood became necessary and both scholars and politicians intended to show the historicity of Slovak state not only in Slovakia but also for international publics. In these narratives, the new state was a revival of the old and glorious Slovak state from the 9th century - Great Moravia.

This form of historical narrative, when older but historically insignificant events get in the background of "culmination points" of history, reminds of narrative of Fascist Italy, as the Italians would not begin their history with Romulus and Remus, or the Roman Republic history, but with Augustus and his empire. Similar narratives can be found in Hungary, based not on the crown of the Prince Gejza (about 950), but on the Hungarian King Stephen I. (about 1000).

But one can also encounter similarities between historical accounts of Slovaks and Bulgarians. One juxtaposed such events as the fall of the Great Moravian Empire and the fall of the Bulgarian empire. Both these two nations were "conquered in the Middle Ages" and subsequently "thrown into political and cultural worthlessness". A similar historically underpinned interpretation, also characterized the Croatian-Slovak relations, based on the rhetoric that the Slovak and Croatian nation were marked by the same or at least a similar fate: a long struggle for lost statehood and their renewal in the years 1939 and 1941.

The main question of the paper is how the circulation of identity and memory narratives worked in the transnational context in the time of the Slovak state from 1939 to 1945 and how the Slovak actors used the historical memory and "transfer" of memory narratives from other states for the creation of "own" identity narratives and strengthening of the "national identity" of the Slovak people..

Jana Fischerova (University College Dublin) 'Germans out, Russians in: the Changed Notion of Czech Cultural Identity after the Second World War'

Following the traumatic experience of demobilisation and the subsequent annexation of the Sudetenland to Hitler's Germany in 1938, many Czechs hoped that the republic might be saved by the Communists. The Czechoslovak Communist Party had by then come under the direction of Moscow and its leader, Klement Gottwald, had pushed it into the role of the people's front against fascism. While the threat of the German occupation was not dispelled, the core of the Communist propaganda – polarising the situation in terms of a class struggle – had been established. When in 1945 the nation was liberated from the Nazi yoke by the Red Army, the Czechs celebrated the hour of Slavic solidarity and the Party's support base rapidly expanded. The German minority – now considered 'unreliable' – were, under controversial circumstances, transferred out of the country.

The spontaneous, wide support that the Communists received in the immediate aftermath of the war provided the Party with the power it needed to conduct the takeover of 1948. The Sovietisation of Czechoslovak culture was carried out in the course of the next two years. The statutes of the newly created Czechoslovak Writers' Union reflected the Communists' decision to obliterate much of Czech cultural heritage and accept the Soviet tradition in its stead; Soviet literature started to be placed on the same level of importance as Czech literature. In order to unite and homogenise the nation and its culture under the banner of anti-fascist and pro-socialist struggle, the new leaders introduced what could be called the 'politics of hatred'. This involved the idea that being Czech was synonymous with being Communist and being part of the new socialist world. Gottwald called on writers to become not only engineers of human souls but also 'spokesmen for the people's love and hatred' – invoking the legacy of the Munich Agreement and the war, and inviting them to cast off the Western connections that had been integral to Czech culture.

The aim of this paper will be to consider the situation in Czech literature and culture in the early years of the Communist regime. The focus will be on the transformation of the notion of Czech identity (official and popular), as reflected in the literary production and the cultural policies of the time. It will be shown that as a result of the traumatic memories of Munich and the Nazi occupation of the country, the Czech people allowed for a regime to be imposed on them that was at odds with the essence of their culture and national spirit.

Tornike Metreveli (Universität Bern), 'Rhyming the National Spirit: Taras Shevchenko and Ilia Chavchavadze'

The paper is a comparative inquiry into the roles of Ilia Chavchavadze (1837–1907) and Taras Shevchenko (1818–1861) as national poets and anti-colonial (anti-Tsarist) intellectuals within the context of their respective national traditions (Georgia and Ukraine). During the period of their activity (19th and the beginning of 20th century) both Ukraine and Georgia were under Tsarist imperial rule, albeit the two poets lived in different periods of Russian empire history. Through their major works, each called on their communities to 'awaken' and 'revolt' against oppression, rejected social apathy caused by Tsarist subjugation and raised awareness about the historical past of their nations. The non-acceptance of the present and the belief in an independent future was one of the dominant themes in the poetry and prose of both. Their contemporary importance is illustrated in political discourse both after the Orange Revolution in Ukraine (2004), and the Rose Revolution in Georgia (2003) where both poets were referred to "as founding fathers of national ideology", the history textbooks alluding to them as "symbols of anti-colonial resistance".

To this day, however, there has been surprisingly little academic writing in the West endeavoring to compare the works and activities of the two poets and their impact on national mobilization in Tsarist Ukraine and Georgia, even though their countries are often mentioned in the same breath by commentators on contemporary culture and politics. The paper attempts to fill this gap and tries to understand the relationship between literature and social mobilization in 19th century Russian Empire. By reflecting on Taras Shevchenko's and Ilia Chavchavadze's poetry, prose and social activism, I will try to explain how in different periods of Russian imperial history, the two poets helped to develop a modern form of political belonging among their compatriots and stimulated an anti-colonial mobilization with different political outcomes.

To theorize on the role of poets and novelists in anti-colonial national movement, I will reflect on the writings of Benedict Anderson (1991), John Hutchinson (1994; 1999), Rory Finnin (2005; 2011) and problematize Miroslav Hroch's (1996) three phase model of the development of national movements. Overall, the paper would aim to show the importance of, what John Hutchinson called, 'cultural nationalists' in understanding contemporary nationalist discourse in Georgian and Ukrainian societies.

11.00-12.30 – PANEL 7
7: *Memory and Identity in Post-Communist Central and Eastern European Literature*
Chair: **Aneta Stepien** (Trinity College Dublin)

Alexandra Tieanu (St George's School Ascot, Berkshire), 'Central Europe seen as a Journey Inside: Representing the Central European Region in Post-Communist Travel Literature'

There is currently a vast literature stemming from different research areas on the subject of Central Europe and how it is represented, physically and mentally. Large or small communities usually use subjective representations and perceptions to construct their own identity and imagine themselves in contradiction to Others. Central Europe has been a focus of interest for many scholars during the 1980s and 1990s that have given considerable thought on how this region has defined itself as a specific identity and culture. However, a rather limited research has been done on the reflection this region had within the Post-Communist literature coming from the young writers from this region.

This paper analyses the manner in which Central Europe was perceived and represented in the Post-Communist travel literature written by a generation of young authors. These writers matured during the last years of the Central European Communist regimes and were literary formed especially after their fall, providing a new representation on this region as an internal space experience by means of traveling inside this common regional space. The area we will refer to will be limited to the narrow understanding of Central Europe, comprising the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia. We will make a comparative analysis by taking into account the travel literature from these different countries, and using therefore the works of three authors: Andrzej Stasiuk, Péter Zilahy, and Pavel Vilikovský. Their works deal with Post-Communist Central Europe, its symbols and self-perception, as well as the common identity of the region based on shared histories and traditions.

Natalia Palich (Jagiellonian University, Cracow), 'Narrating the Past: Modes of Representing Post-Communist Memory in Czech Contemporary Prose'

The present paper sets out to give a coherent analysis and interpretation of narratives in Czech contemporary prose (published after the year 2000) involved in the question of post-communist memory within a methodological framework based upon following schools of interpretation: 1) anthropology of literature, 2) cultural studies, 3) postcolonial theory, and 4) memory studies.

The research material demands an interdisciplinary approach that may raise more general questions in the field of humanities, the analysis and interpretation intend to emphasize the experiential dimension of literary texts, strong entanglement of this kind of writing in the cultural transformative processes that take place outside the fictional world and, finally, the engagement of literature in the preservation of memory. Therefore, the aim of this paper is to argue two theses: firstly, that the source of this kind of literary expression can be identified in new paradigms of representing memory in literature, and, secondly, that although in the context of Central European cultures we cannot diagnose the 'traditional' postcolonial condition, we can apply categories (re-)defined within postcolonial studies in the research of Slavic literatures, such as Spivak's re-writing, Bhabha's mimicry and third space etc.

The analysis focuses on literary texts in Czech published since the beginning of the 21st century that address the issue of post-communist memory, and concentrate on modes of experiencing and representing the past created by authors who belong either to the younger generation of Czech authors, or come out as original writers after the year 2000 (P. Hůlová, J. Rudiš, T. Zmeškal etc.). Finally, as a part of the authors in question managed to avoid or barely tasted the communist era, one of the significant forms of writing the past discussed here is the post-memory (Hirsch) and modes of its literary representation.

The paper is a part of an ongoing research project designed to give a complete description of new phenomena that occur within Czech prose published after 1989 and are strictly entwined with the cultural transformative processes.

15.30-17.00 – PANELS 8 A&B
8A: *Memory of the Holocaust: New Perspectives*
Chair: **Aneta Stepien** (Trinity College Dublin)

Anna Menyhért (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest), 'Digital Trauma Processing in Social Media Groups'

The aim of this paper is to analyse trauma processing in the framework of digital memory studies, with a special focus on collective trauma processing in Hungary as a post-socialist country. The paper explores the ways in which 21st century digital forms of communication influence and shape collective memory and trauma processing on the one hand and personal trauma narratives on the other hand.

In the past few years there has been a growing number of social media groups (mainly on Facebook) concerned with memories of the Holocaust in Hungary (characteristic examples are the groups named 'The Holocaust and My Family', 'The Roma Holocaust and My Family', 'The Descendants of the Victims and Survivors of the Holocaust').

This paper sets out to examine firstly, how personal memories of ordinary events and everyday life are connected with memories of loss and trauma; secondly, how the digital environment and the various online communication tools (such as for example comments to posts and chat) enable the sharing of memories of traumas and thus help to unblock previously blocked avenues to the past; and thirdly, how the sharing of personal memories contributes to the processing of collective historical traumas and consequently to mobilising memories, to modernisation and to the transformation of identities.

Ioana Grigorovici (Trinity College Dublin), 'Soviet Representations of the Holocaust: The Case of Babi Yar'

Kata Bohus (Georg-August-Universität Göttingen), 'Anne and Eva - Two Diaries, Two Memories'

The paper investigates the history of the publication of two diaries in Communist and post-Communist Hungary: the world-famous diary of Anne Frank and the much less-known "Hungarian Anne Frank," Éva Heyman. The stories of the two young girls are remarkably similar. Both were around the same age when they found themselves persecuted as Jews in the 1940s, Anne in Amsterdam, Éva in Oradea/Nagyvárad (then belonging to Hungary). Both diaries describe the gradually worsening situation of Jews up until the time when both authors were captured and taken to camps. Anne died in March, 1945 in Bergen-Belsen, Éva in Auschwitz in October, 1944. Their diaries were published posthumously, Anne's by her father, Otto Frank, and Éva's by her mother, Ágnes Zsolt.

Anne Frank's diary was first published in Communist Hungary in 1958. It went on to have several more editions both during and after the system change, as well as theatre adaptations in Budapest and elsewhere. The story of the publication of Éva Heyman's diary is rather different. The diary first appeared in 1948 under the title "Éva Lányom" (My Daughter Eva). This first publication was only followed by a (single) second one in 2011. András Jeles' movie Senkiföldje (No Man's Land), which is based on Éva's story, premiered in 1993.

The paper will examine these publication histories, focusing on the memory politics of the Hungarian Communist regime and of the later democratic governments. Anne Frank's diary, paired with her father's endeavors to connect his daughter's memory to universal human rights issues, was more compatible with the ideologically loaded Communist interpretation of the Second World War. Moreover, the wide international acclaim of Anne Frank's diary made it universal yet politically inconsequential to the narrative of Hungarian history. Éva's writing, by contrast, highlights very concrete, local problems that tear into the very centre of Hungarian collective memory. Her diary addresses such taboos as the relationship between Hungarians and

other minorities in Transylvania, and Hungarian attitudes towards the annihilation of Hungarian Jewry during the war. These issues remained for the country's post-Communist governments (both left and right) as well. Hungary's integration into the European Union meant that the Hungarian understanding of the Holocaust as an event of global significance meshes well with Western interpretations, while the local meaning of the Holocaust in Hungary remains a contested topic. This contradiction is clearly visible from the publication histories of the two diaries.

8B: *Ethnographies of Memory*
Chair: **Susan Grant** (University College Dublin)

Alexandra Warkentin (St Antony's College, University of Oxford), 'Preserving Memories: Food and Tradition in Contemporary Saint Petersburg'

This paper examines how customary food practices now most commonly associated with economic scarcity safeguard and transmit memory in modern day Russia. These practices include canning, drying, or home production of fruits, vegetables, and other food products. As the project progressed, the participant interviews revealed a much deeper inter-relation between memory and tradition in and through food. These practices now weave together personal and national histories, from memories of the blockade of Leningrad and the national response, to how individual families found ways to make sure everyone was fed throughout the Soviet era and the 1990s. These practices also serve as a modern day link to the nation's history of serfdom. These practices have become a living family memory, passed down from generation to generation as second nature, but with the stories and meanings maintained and developed each time they are taught. The processes and preparations are fraught with emotion, from the mood one is in while preparing a meal or preserve, to the love for one's family tasted in every jar of jam. The memories of struggles and of worries over them are encapsulated in these practices, and the knowledge of both the skills and significance are passed down in the kitchen and savoured at the dinner table.

  This project was inspired by themes which were brought up in Melissa Caldwell's ethnography *Not by Bread Alone; Social* Support *in the New Russia* but not explored further and haven't been in subsequent literature. My findings show these customary food practices are about more than just sustenance, but have deep rooted emotional connections to the past, and are vessels to transmit memories to future generations.

Gertjan Plets (Stanford Archaeology Center), '"I Want a Man Like Putin": Performing Memory, Heritage and 'Russian' Citizenship in Indigenous Siberia'

Recent events in Ukraine have put Russia and the socio-political development of the broader post-Soviet space into the international limelight. And the image is uncomfortably clear: while the Soviet bloc might have collapsed two decades ago, many geopolitical and ethno-political issues remain unresolved, let alone fully known and understood in the West. Despite some pioneering investigations that appraised the chaotic transition of society in the 1990s, the dearth of anthropological perspectives on the socio-political realities of life inside Putin's 'sphere of influence' keep us from fully understanding Russia's discourse and agenda.

  Drawing on six years of ethnographic fieldwork, this paper provides some insights how the unfolding 'Russia vs. the West' conflict is lived inside Russia and its interconnectedness with the Kremlin's ethno-cultural agenda. The locus of the study is the Altai Republic, a semi-autonomous federal subject that has a large indigenous population and is striving for more

independence. The perception of the conflict and interrelated sense of 'Russian citizenship' is investigated through exploring four remarkable 'cultural memory texts' that give profound insights in the symbolical political discourse of 'Russia 2.0'. Produced by the Kremlin and the indigenous people themselves, these texts give unique insights how heritage and memory is used on the one hand in a formative way to negotiate a strong Russian Federation and on the other hand how heritage plays a normative role enabling indigenous people to make sense of the socio-political landscapes in which they are caught up.

The four cultural texts that will be spotlighted include: (1) the return of Stalinist anti-fascist 'agitprop' in the cityscape of the Altaian capital and broader use of WWII references to stigmatize indigenous cultural activism; (2) Rumors and historical myths about president Putin and his alleged mistress produced by indigenous religious leaders, depicting Putin as a long awaited destined leader; (3) Gazprom subsidized cultural heritage centers that negotiate Altaian citizenship and historical connections with Russia; (4) The political and symbolic life of a 2,500 year old 'dead body', whose unresolved fate is used by indigenous people to explain the variety of misfortunes that impact their well-being, including the recent events in Ukraine.

Irina Perianova (University of National and World Economy, Sofia), 'Something Borrowed, Something New: Representations of Food and Diasporic Identities in Central and Eastern Europe'

As Jack Goody wrote: "The continuity of borscht may provide some thread of living to those passing through the years following the October Revolution, just as a hamburger clearly states to many an American that he is home and dry".

Undoubtedly, certain emblematic foods may be regarded as a ritual expression of a shared collective identity. Shared love for identical foods and the same commensality traditions signify bonding and affiliation. Eating the same food together on significant occasions, such as birthdays or cultural holidays, serves as a mirror in the Lacanian sense identifying commonality and belonging.

By and large, some foods involuntarily conjure up common memories of childhood, a function which Marcel Proust exalted in his seminal description of the taste of madeleine cakes. Foods may also raise an awareness of common historical heritage. That function, which should, without doubt, be regarded as universal, was metaphorically described by Salman Rushdie in Midnight's Children" as chutnification of history, whereas Roland Barthes called it "a protocol of usages, situations and behaviour". While food serves as a unifier, the idea of serving up history always makes for a quick buck.

In my talk I set out to show how the subtle gradual change of symbolic foods, or edible chronotopes, alters for East European and Central European diasporas the traditional identity perspective. I believe that this change may be described using the category of wrapping (Joe Hendry). The issues I will touch upon are identity transformation as reflected in food as the changing food combinations and the emerging new avatars of familiar foods morph into a succession of simulacra. How relevant is the default value of familiar and favourite foods in the age of globalization? Does borsht (in a manner of speaking) still provide a bonding thread?

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17.15-19.00 – PANELS 9 A&B
9A: *War and Memory in Poland*
Chair: **Dmitri Tsiskarashvili** (Trinity College Dublin)

Ewa Ochman (University of Manchester), 'When is the Forgotten Past Recovered? Remembering the Polish-Soviet War in Post-1989 Poland'

Memory scholars mostly now recognise that although social memory is culturally constructed, people encounter various constraints when adapting the past to their group's needs and values. The aim of this paper is to revisit this old question of the malleability and persistence of the past but in the context of the intensive official memory production that emerged during a period of rapid change in post-1989 Eastern Europe on the one hand, and the process of fragmentation and pluralisation of national memory on the other. The images of the past that have been given a prominent place in official post-communist collective memories relate mainly to traumatic events, un-rectified grievances and previously silenced stories of victimhood and sacrifice. The successful recovery of such pasts has been aided by the strength of family memory in Eastern Europe and the preservation of unofficial memories by the anti-communist opposition. The recovered past that I am concerned with, however, is centred on military triumph rather than martyrdom, it is not a constitutive part of formative memories of existing political elites and its wider public resonance was very limited by the time of demise of the Soviet Bloc. In this paper I am concerned with the current official commemorative celebrations of the Battle of Warsaw, the decisive encounter of the Polish–Soviet war (1919-21). The significance of this past in Poland has been steadily increasing since 1992 when the anniversary of the Battle of Warsaw was returned to the national calendar. As might be expected the annual celebrations have been used by political leaders to generate pride in national identity and to legitimise their choices of domestic and foreign policies. In my paper, however, I argue that the successful recovery of the Battle of Warsaw memory is not brought about by the competent reclaiming of the pre-war commemorative traditions and cannot be attributed to the symbolically rich nature of this historical event that allows for diverse appropriations and expressions of competing national self-understandings. The growing significance of this past is generated by the hugely attractive memory work undertaken by the municipalities on whose territories the battle took place. Here we encounter an amalgamation of war commemorations grounded in an 'authentic' geographical location, "heritage tourism" and business opportunities. Is it possible that through the commercialisation and commodification of memories of the Polish-Soviet War, the Battle of Warsaw could once more gain the mobilizing power of a core national myth?

Krzysztof Hoffmann (Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań), 'The Polish Mother Dolorosa or a Lusty Messenger Girl? Women Taking Part in the Warsaw Uprising: Mythology of Identity and Deconstruction of the Myth in Contemporary Polish Representations'

The Warsaw Uprising was the largest action of the resistance movement during the WW II. Today one can see that the decision about starting the Uprising and its outcome remain controversial in both: works of historians and pop-discourse of history. With over 200 thousand of civilian casualties and 85% destruction of the capital, the Warsaw Uprising has been a trauma that fueled historical narrations for years. The 63-days fight between Polish Home Army and Nazi Germany created framework for subsequent mythology of at least three generations: 1) those who fought in the Warsaw Uprising, 2) those who were brought up in the Polish People's Republic (PRL) and had a direct relation from their parents and from the muted ruins of Warsaw, 3) those who were brought up in the post-1989 Poland and have access to the Warsaw Uprising only via post-memory. Each of them had a different story to tell.

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The proposed paper would like to make a survey of the contemporary (post-1989) representations of the Warsaw Uprising protagonists. Moreover, it would like focus on the female characters not the front line male soldiers. It seems that two main cultural roles for a Polish woman of 1944 are highly stereotypical: she can be either a suffering mother or a sexualized tool for male actions (e.g. a messenger girl or a paramedic). The tentative hypothesis claims that the contemporary Polish culture supports these models or challenges them, although it does not question the roles itself, i.e. it does not (with few important exceptions) produce new perspectives to perceive femininity. The paper would like to take an interdisciplinary approach and examine different modes of representation: a non-fiction literature (*Dziewczyny z powstania* by Anna Herbich), a feature film (*Miasto 44* by Jan Komasa), a comic book (*Morowe Panny* anthology) and a postmodern visual art/literature project (*Co robi łączniczka* by Darek Foks and Zbigniew Libera).

Ewa Stańczyk (Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study), 'Archival Photographs and the Commemoration of Jewish Children in Poland: The Case of Łódź and Lublin'

This paper looks at the representations of Holocaust in Poland by discussing the ways in which photographs of Jewish children are used in public commemoration. In particular, the paper examines projects that came to the fore in the last few years and focuses on two Polish cities that had significant Jewish communities prior to the war, namely Łódź and Lublin. It shows how a "postmemorial reading" of these images by predominantly gentile artists and social actors might be viewed as an attempt to rhetorically fill the void left after the extermination of Poland's Jewish community and to project an image of a tolerant civic society. While looking at the ways in which archival photographs feature in commemoration, I reflect on the interaction between the visual representations of Jewish children, the memory of the Shoah in Poland and the fashioning of Polish national and regional identities in the wake of the accession to European Union.

9B: *National Identity and the Legacy of Communism*
Chair: **John Paul Newman** (NUI Maynooth)

Nutsa Batiashvili (Washington University in St Louis), 'Bivocal Memory and Geo(rgian)politics of the Past'

My paper engages a multidisciplinary approach (sociocultural anthropology, political anthropology, sociolinguistics, literary theory, philosophy) to a) explore the nature of memory discourse in Georgia as a culturally shaped form of social poiesis and b) examine this situated discourse as a site of contestation where local and culturally intimate issues intersect with global and geopolitically shaped concerns. I show how the memory debate becomes an active and culturally intimate battleground for subverting and/or reinforcing categories of cultural and political belonging as well as forms of national self-identification. The discursive terrain I unfold, emerged as a result of the 2008 war with Russia and diffused across several social layers of the cultural and political elite. Its key players understood contests over memory-making as exercises of agency and autonomy despite wider geopolitical constraints. These ethnographies provide insight into the forms of social poiesis that are rooted in the culturally predefined meanings, even while being shaped by the political processes that are globalized and globalizing both in their conditions of existence and their collective anxieties and desires.

In my attempt to look "behind the façades of national unanimity" (Herzfeld, 1997) I analyze the public sphere where Soviet generation intelligentsia and liberal intellectuals animate the past on the Russian–Georgian relations in two distinct ways, producing two contradictory

but mutually constitutive discursive genres on Georgian identity: one based in the voice of self-idealization and the other in self-condemnation. These two genres are embedded in historical conceptions and enact public debate on the country's geopolitical challenges.

The central conceptual claim of the paper is that Georgians conceive of their past in a way that presupposes the co-existence of two contradictory registers of "Georgianness", and framing of the historical narratives reflects what I refer to as the bivocal nature of both Georgians' memory and their identity. This is a bivocality involving mythically idealized terms, on the one hand, and critical self-condemning terms, on the other. However, I argue that two contradictory voices that articulate Georgia's past and Georgian identity belong not so much to distinct speakers as to discursive domains that exist within, as well as between speakers. While I coin "bivocality" to express the interplay between distinct discursive registers and their relationship to the pre-fixed cultural form, it has a genealogy linked to the neo-Kantian philosophical traditions, primarily based in Mikhail Bakhtin's notion of "voice" and "multivoicedness" in speech and Ernest Cassirer's conception of symbolic mediation.

Özgecan Kesici (University College Dublin), 'The Delineation of Kazakh Ethnicity and the Alash Movement'

This paper demonstrates how the memory of Kazakh genealogy created the boundaries of Kazakh ethnicity, which constituted the foundations of the Kazakh nation as propagated by the first Kazakh nationalist movement, also known as the Alash movement. The movement began its activities at the beginning of the 20th century as the Russian imperial colonisation drive into the Kazakh steppe intensified. As this caused socio-economic problems for the Kazakhs, an intellectual elite emerged, demanding autonomy rights for the Kazakhs, on the grounds of the Kazakhs constituting a nation. The paper demonstrates the way in which this intellectual elite justified the Kazakh nation. The mobilisation of memories of Kazakh belonging to one single family tree in the writings of this elite provided the prime justification. The single genealogy (shezhyre) from which, it was claimed, all Kazakhs stemmed, was recorded from oral history by members of the Alash movement. By doing this, the mythological figure of Alash was resurrected, the progenitor of Kazakh tribes. The figure of Alash was used in poetry and the mobilisation of Kazakhs to demand autonomy from the Russian Empire. The paper thus explores the use of 'myths of origin' (Smith 1986) in order to justify the nation-seeking autonomy. As such, the members of the Alash movement constituted the first group of Kazakh intellectuals to verbalise and create the narrative of a Kazakh nation, which would create the foundations of the Kazakh nation and ethnicity, as it is understood today in independent Kazakhstan. By examining this particular case study in the history of the Central Asian steppes, it is hoped that more insight on the formation of identities and their origins may be found. These may arise as a result of socio-economic problems or injustice in the face of a colonising power, or else as a result of an elite who wishes to manifest their own power within their societies.

Miso Dokmanovic (Ss. Cyril and Methodius University), 'Ancient Memories in the Contemporary World: Antiquisation as an Instrument for the Transformation of Macedonian Identity in the 21st Century'

The relatively short period of 23 years of a democratic political system in Macedonia was marked by a number of challenges in different fields. However it seems that no other process' effects or issues have been so widely discussed as the so-called 'antiquisation' process.

Given the fact that elements of antiquisation were present in the Macedonian liberation movement in 19th and 20th century, its contemporary embodiment reached dramatic proportions. This unprecedented process accelerated after the 2008 NATO summit as a reaction to the Greek veto of the Macedonian admission to the organization within the already defined framework in respect to the name of the country.

The 'antiquisation' process has initiated renaming of airports, stadiums, city squares and streets and even main highways with names of individuals from ancient history. Moreover, a controversial project called "Skopje 2014" was supported by the Government with the sole purpose of building public buildings at the main square in Skopje in classical style. At the same time, over 50 statues including a 30-meter statue of Alexander the Great as well as a Triumphal Arch have been erected in the nation's capital center which further infuriated the Greek public. Being one of the central projects of the ruling party VMRO – DPMNE (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization – Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity), its realization reached an unimaginable amount of over 500 million Euros.

Although condemned by the general public, it seems that this retrograde process has served as a powerful instrument for mobilization of the masses. Since 2006, VMRO – DPMNE has managed to win 7 rounds of elections in a row (parliamentary, presidential and local elections).

Furthermore, the paper makes an attempt to analyze the role of the 'antiquisation' process in the transformation of the Macedonian identity. In particular, the paper evaluates the effect of the project in targeting categories most likely to effectively respond. Representing a new and perplexing manifestation of Macedonian nationalism, the 'antiquisation' process is assessed within the overall political and ethnic situation in the country. Apart from that, the paper examines whether any additional factors have affected the success of 'antiquisation'.

Finally, having in mind the analyzed unique features of the 'antiquisation' as an instrument, the paper will make a bold attempt to answer the question to which degree this process has affected the contemporary Macedonian identity.

Oksana Myshlovska (Geneva Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies), 'Nationalization of Controversial Historical Memories in Ukraine from Yushchenko to Poroshenko'

This paper studies the political process of the transformation of controversial regional memories into national ones starting with the presidency of Victor Yushchenko. The granting of the status of national heroes of Ukraine to Stepan Bandera and Roman Shukhevych, controversial nationalist leaders of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) respectively, attracted lots of attention and criticism at the end of Yushchenko's presidential term. At the same time, many other normative documents adopted during Yushchenko's presidency, for example the 2010 Decree "About the Commemoration of the Participants in the Fight for Independence of Ukraine in the 20th century" which mandated the central and local authorities to develop teaching materials dedicated to the fight for independence in the 20th century (which included OUN and UPA), the renaming of public spaces after fighters for independence and holding of commemorative ceremonies in their honour, have remained largely unquestioned. Under Yanukovych, only the most controversial issue, the status of Hero of Stepan Bandera, was abrogated while other pieces of legislation remained in force. Furthermore, controversial historical memories and issues continued to be normalized even under the Yanukovych regime through the work of the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory created under Yushchenko and the popular political manifestations organized by the nationalistic Party Svoboda in major cities throughout Ukraine. Finally, the process of normalization manifested itself during the Euromaidan protests when OUN slogans were adopted as the central mobilizing slogans of the protest.

This paper explores the hypothesis that normalization of controversial historical issues took place through packaging of these issues with more neutral and widely shared historical narratives which has made it difficult to question and deconstruct them.

Sunday, 10 May
9.00-10.30 – PANELS 10 A&B
10A: *The Break-up of Yugoslavia: Memories and Legacies*
Chair: **John Paul Newman** (NUI Maynooth)

Dora Komnenovic (Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen), 'Uncovering Memory Holes: Book Dumping in the Former-Yugoslav Space in the 1990s'

The (nationalist) élites that came to power after the dissolution of Yugoslavia had to justify the emergence of the new nation states with historical narratives that would replace the Yugoslav one. As many times before, history was (mis)used as a playground for ethnocentrism and a battlefield for various number games. Controlling what should be remembered and what forgotten constituted one of the main determinants of political change, if not change itself. In an Orwellian fashion, street names were changed, history textbooks re-written, language reform and new festivities introduced, as the old ones were abolished. Similarly, old museums and monuments were abandoned, damaged or destroyed and new ones erected. Building (and demolishing) monuments in particular became a synonym for reinforcing and reinventing identities. While the latter have attracted considerable scholarly attention, less is known about the so-called «inappropriate» books that have been removed from circulation. For instance, more than 2.8 million of undesirable publications dealing with the anti-fascist struggle, self-management or another «leftist» topic, or simply published in Serbia and/or in cyrillic have disappeared from Croatian libraries. In this climate of general nationalist hysteria, those who «dared» to defend denied memories were publicly attacked as anti-patriotic, yugo-nostalgic quislings, foreign mercenaries and «multicolored devils» by the media and the political élites.

The paper analyzes the implementation of the processes of forced remembering and organized oblivion through library practices, i.e. book acquisitions and «purges» in the former Yugoslav space throughout the 1990s. By examining a number of libraries, it describes the frequency, the mechanisms and explanations behind such practices. The aim is to scrutinize the widely promoted cultural exclusiveness and anti-intellectualist approach to culture in relation to the consolidation of victimization narratives, which are still abundantly present in post-Yugoslav societies and are calling for a change of «brand».

Ivor Sokolic (School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University College London), 'Heroes, Courts and Normative Clashes: The Different Effects of the ICTY and Domestic War Crimes Trials on Norm Change in Croatia'

This paper investigates how different types of war crimes trials have influenced norm building in Croatia. The main theoretical assumption guiding the study is that the traditional and principal aims of war crimes trials, those of retribution and deterrence, lack the capability to instigate significant normative and cultural change in society, which may be required. Despite the Croatian state generally complying with the international demands for transitional justice put on it, primarily from the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), there has been little cultural change associated with this. The particular normative dynamic studied is that between the commitment to the Croatian war narrative versus the commitment to a fact-finding effort. The war narrative forms an important founding, or refounding, myth in Croatia. It is also present in an institutionalized form in the Declaration on the Homeland War, issued by the government in 2000 and still legally valid today.

The paper presents the results of focus groups and interviews held in Croatia in 2014 that form part of a broader mixed methods study. They target high school history teachers, pensioners and members of war veterans' groups in three cities and several non-urban locations. The study first traces the debate of norms in the media and then, through focus groups and follow-up interviews, identifies changes in values and priorities associated with the many factors

that influence norms and understanding. It does not seek to establish the dominance of one norm over the other, but instead looks at how much importance is attached to the fact that norms are at stake in the process and that this debate is taking place (or possibly not). Following this it is possible to compare the different effects of the ICTY and domestic war crimes trials on normative debates, in order to see which has been more effective in this extra-legal sense, or if an altogether different approach is required to instigate such discussions. Multi-Value Qualitative Comparative Analysis (mvQCA) is used to make up for the lack of quantification in the study.

Dario Brentin (University of Graz), 'The 'Banality' of Being 'Ready for the Homeland': Memory and History in Croatian Post-Socialist Football'

In the case of post-socialist Croatia, sport has proved to be a highly politicised form of national expression functioning as a salient social field in which Croatia's national habitus code – its identity, culture, history, etc. – are most intensively articulated, debated and contested. An incident emblematising this argument occurred on 19 November 2013. On that evening, the Croatian national football team secured their qualification for the 2014 FIFA World Cup in Brazil, and yet, it was not the game itself that would cause a broad public debate, but an incident that took place after the final whistle. In front of the 30,000 strong crowd, a national team player, Josip Šimunić, grabbed the stadium speaker's microphone and 'greeted' all four stands with a loud chanting of 'For the home(land)', to which the stands thunderously responded 'ready'; the official salute of the Independent State of Croatia, a Croatian fascist-WWII-quisling-state. The Šimunić incident can therefore be identified as a particularly problematic case of historical revisionism epitomising the intense struggle of values and interpretations within Croatian society towards history and in particular towards the legacy of the Croatian WWII experience.

What followed was an 'explosion' of debates in the Croatian public sphere about the relationship Croatian society has with its past, the Ustaša regime, the anti-fascist consensus of post-WWII Europe, as well as about the acute problem of open expressions of xenophobia, nationalism and racism amongst some parts of Croatian football fans. Although significant research has been presented on political extremism amongst football hooligans in the region, this contribution argues that the issue extends beyond (symbolic, verbal, physical) violence amongst radicalized football fans and hence has to be understood from the analytical standpoint of 'social memory'. By focusing on the social field of football, the presentation scrutinizes debates in the Croatian public sphere dealing with questions of history and national identity and provides an insight into its complex and multi-layered nature. Ultimately, the contribution argues that Croatian football has to be understood as a social field in which social memory is prominently constructed, heatedly articulated and powerfully disseminated, thereby offering an additional layer to existing studies of social memory and remembrance in post-Yugoslav societies.

10B: *Identities on the Margins*
Chair: Frane Karabatic (Trinity College Dublin)

Alex Cooper (Central European University), 'Remembering Pride: Memories and Pessimism in Serbian LGBTQ Activists' Narratives'

Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) rights activists in Serbia must contend with strong anti-LGBTQ attitudes and, at times, episodes of violence. This ranges from politicians who openly criticize LGBTQ events to nationalists who physically assault LGBTQ activists and other LGBTQ people. Many Serbians who hold anti-LGBTQ attitudes view non-heteronormative behavior as wrong and against the traditions of the Serb nation. The people who work in the field of LGBTQ activism must navigate through this anti-LGBTQ environment to

accomplish their stated goals and objectives. Often rejecting masculine, heterosexed nationalist ideologies, many LGBTQ activists in Serbia take a humanist approach that claims equal protection through universal citizenship for all Serbians while also negotiating their identity as LGBTQ and Serbian.

The record of LGBTQ rights in Serbia is one marred in violence and discrimination. Out of the three large-scale Pride Parades activists have been able to organize, the first two Prides were violently attacked by thousands of nationalists and hooligans. Through the use of ethnographic fieldwork conducted from June to September 2014, this paper sets out to examine how these activists use memory in their own understanding of the high-risk activism they undertake. Activists over and over again return to past traumas in the LGBTQ rights movement in the country to argue for better protection for sexual minorities. I argue that by doing this, LGBTQ activists reiterate a sense of disappointment that is now characteristic of Serbian politics and civil engagement. For the activists, the gains that are won in the movement are continuously overshadowed by the past memories of violence.

Thus, these activists see failure as an inevitability. In my conversations with my activist informants, many expressed the belief that LGBTQ activism had achieved some goals in the past several years; however, they always returned to a negative present and negative future in these same discussions. Though they may have completed their objectives in some capacity, the past memories and present dangers forbid LGBTQ activists to recognize a completed aim as a "success." The paper thus seeks to provide an analysis of the use of this pessimism as not only a way in understanding the trauma they have faced in their work as activists, but how it is also used pragmatically in LGBTQ rights politics in Serbia.

Bob Ives and Madalina Alama (University of Nevada, Reno) 'People with Cognitive Disabilities - Oral Histories, Romania, 1989'

Prior to the 1989 revolution in Romania, the government provided no public education support for children with cognitive disabilities. Universities offered no programs to train teachers to work with these children. Parents had no choice except to keep their children at home or institutionalize them. Similarly, during this time there were no public services for adults with cognitive disabilities. There was no employment training, and there were no opportunities for supported independent living. Parents of adults with cognitive disabilities were required to choose between supporting their children at home, or institutionalizing them. We will share the oral histories of ten mothers who raised their children with cognitive disabilities in Romania before 1989. Their oral histories reflect the efforts of these mothers to construct their own identities, and the identities of their children. These identities develop within the context of their interactions with informal institutions, included family and friends, as well as formal institutions, included the educational, medical, and legal systems. Developing these identities also requires that these women define normality in ways that can differ from the normality of their friends and neighbors. Further, the oral histories of these women also reflect the shifting of identities after 1989, as the political and social systems continue to grapple with westernization of values, membership in the European Union, complying with the Bologna agreement, and other structural changes. In these ways, the work aligns with the themes of "The changing contours of memory, and memory/identity studies since the collapse of communism," and "Memories of normality and everyday life," with less direct connections to other suggested themes of the conference.

Valentina Glajar (Texas State University), 'Secret Police Files and Life Writing: The File Story of "Fink Susanne"'

Romanian Securitate files, similar to secret police files from other Eastern European countries, present fragments of individual lives that consist of a collection of informers' notes, officers' reports and analyses, interrogations, letters, photographs, and wiretapped private conversations.

While these notes and reports resemble particular snapshots of a person's life, often taken from different angles and through various lenses, confirmed and reconfirmed by numerous Securitate informers, they typically resist the search for a plot, yet they do offer relevant insights into the organization of the Securitate and its tactics. The selectively collected facts are astonishingly accurate and focus on many events in a person's life, but the way the Securitate processed them, and to what end, as well as the numerous inherent lacunae in these files make it difficult for post-communist researchers to trace a story--a file story.

This paper focuses on the story of the former German–Romanian informer "Fink Susanne" as contained in the newly unearthed secret police files. She was part of one of the "German" show trials in 1950s Stalinist Romania. As I will show, the file of "Fink Susanne" writes its own poetry. Beyond the dull redundancies inherent in every file, what emerges is a page-turner that entails elements of a compelling narrative, worthy of a Hollywood script. Her file is at once a love story, a Briefroman, a detective, and a spy story. Against the backdrop of the brutal Stalinist Romanian regime of the 1950s, the "Fink Susanne" file speaks of betrayal and deception behind the Iron Curtain. And perhaps more importantly, it is a revealing document about the tactics and the limitations of the Securitate, as it exposes its failed strategies in spite of well thought-out scenarios for recruiting West German spies during the Cold War.

11.00-12.30 – PANELS 11 A&B
11A: *Memory and Identity of Diaspora*
Chair: **Sarah Smyth** (Trinity College Dublin)

Polina Kliuchnikova (Durham University), 'The Nostalgic, the Imaginary, and the Transcultural: The 'Soviet' Discourse of Russian-speaking Post-Soviet Migrants of North-East England'

The forms of reminiscing about the 'Soviet past' and ways of dealing with this memory differ greatly within the post-Soviet space, ranging from commodifying these memories and promoting marketing moves on the 'renaissance' of the era to reconfigurations of attitudes towards the past into new, post-colonial discourses. Current strategies of building identities around the 'Soviet' outside the actual domain of this memory go even beyond this variation. It is particularly so in cases of small-scale local initiatives of post-Soviet migrant groups settled in distant regions and less popular destinations away from the post-communist space. For these migrants deal with the simultaneity of three key factors: new statuses of minorities facing a host environment with its own interpretive frames, national and cultural identities acquired recently in their countries of origin (FSU space), and ambiguous aspirations for further cooperation and self-identification as migrant communities.

Based on ethnographical data collected in 2011–2013 in the region of North-East England, this paper looks into the main strategies of coping with these three dimensions among post-Soviet Russian-speaking migrants. It focuses on how recent migrants establish and explain the elaborated commonality of their own belonging to the 'post-Soviet' while also experiencing their part in a more general 'East-European presence' in the contemporary British context. I explore, firstly, how these emerging migrant identities are presented in their personal life narratives and, secondly, in which ways they influence practices of community building within the host environment. Their Russian-speaking-ness ('russkoiazychie') and belonging to a broader Russophone culture provide not only a key factor for cooperation as such, but also plays a role of euphemistic substitute for the revoked (or, more, culturally re-interpreted) Soviet-ness. Through acquiring their peripheral position in the East-European migration, migrants also reconsider their shared language practices and discourses on the language as a crucial component for new identities of transcultural migrants on the global arena.

Tatiana Havlin (University of Siegen), 'Russaki: Identity on the Margins'

Around three million immigrants from the former Soviet Union nowadays reside in Germany. The biggest part of these immigrants consists of ethnic German resettlers, who arrived in large numbers in the 1990s. Being committed to the old German culture and language in the USSR, the first wave of ethnic German resettlers showed fewer difficulties to integrate into German society. Later groups had weaker ties with German culture and spoke German less fluently. Especially adults with developed Russian identity have faced social marginalisation and loss of opportunities. In spite of the fact that two-thirds of these immigrants have professional training, and many thousands have university degrees, they still struggle with recognition and acceptance of their education in Germany. At the end of the 1990s, problems in the labour market led to high unemployment rates within this group and especially men suffered from being deprived of a breadwinner role.

Coming from the Soviet system where the majority of them were stigmatized for their German origin, ethnic German resettlers inclined to move to their theoretical homeland. Immediate naturalisation followed by full access to citizens' rights and to the social benefits has not granted their immediate social acceptance among the local population. On the contrary, a tag 'Russian Germans' has created another dimension of stigmatization due to the Russian heritage which put them in the position of 'strangers at home'. As different studies show, in everyday life they prefer to stay among themselves in segregated city areas which isolate them from the remainder of the population. This 'isolation' serves as a shelter from otherness in the outside world. The feeling of home is increased with the predominant Russian language on the streets, a few Russian shops, the partially illegal infrastructure for services such as beauty salon utilities, events organization, etc. Russian-speaking neighborhoods provide the flair of little Russia which has very little to do with the real Russia.

This ambiguous existence on the margins has served as a fruitful ground for the development of a new type of identity 'russaki' ('руссаки') which embraces Russian elements in the German context. As an unofficial term, 'russaki' was coined by Russian-speaking immigrants to Germany from the former Soviet Union and applied predominantly by 'Russian Germans'. In this case 'russaki' is an accumulative self-name regardless of ethnicity, the country of origin or reason for migration and is linked to the common language (Russian as lingua franca) rather than another criterion.

In my talk I analyse the identity construction of 'russaki' which appeared on the margins of the German-dominant society and as a result of migratory experience from the former Soviet Union. My empirical research draws on multiple participatory observations and biographical interviews with ethnic German resettlers from former USSR conducted in 2012–2014 in Germany.

11B: *Architectures of Memory in Post-Communist Eastern Europe*
Chair: **Frane Karabatic** (Trinity College Dublin)

Madalina Alama (University of Nevada, Reno), 'Casa Poporului: The Rapport Between Practice and Material Culture'

The paper proposes a contextual archaeological inquiry into a building to understand the extent to which architectural designs simultaneously subjectify and objectify individuals who see the building. The inquiry focuses on Casa Poporului (People's Palace), a large building erected in Bucharest, Romania, in 1985 by the communist regime. I employ concepts such as *habitus*, ideology, *governmentality* to advance that the building had an ideological function at the time of its construction, and to connect past and present ideologies of the country as illustrated by the

building. The paper has three sections: the introduction, the first section, which presents the reader with the material artifact and with the historical background relevant for the discussion, defines the theoretical lenses employed, and explains how the archaeological approach employed contributes new perspectives on Casa Poporului's multiple ideological functions. Specifically, contextual archaeology is employed to bring forth the connection between past and present structures, and in doing so challenges the understanding of meaning as a homogeneous, time-proof concept. The concluding section points at the limitations of the paper and proposes further lines of inquiry into the topic.

Matthias Bickert (Otto-Friedrich-University Bamberg), 'Cultural Landscapes and Identity in Albania: Between Socialist Monuments and Re-sanctification'

The presentation deals with spatial elements of the Albanian identity. From a geographic perspective, it will follow the thoughts of Assmann (1988), Halbwachs (1991), Welzer (2008) and Kim & Park (2014) on the communicative transmission of cultural memory, as well as the immanent processes of cultural place-making and the negotiation of social identities (Tse 2014). It will discuss how Albania's post-socialist cultural landscapes, consisting of several layers of history and its socio-economic discontinuities (Nitz 1995), are at the same time influencing and reflecting the Albanian identity. It will focus on *lapidars* and mosques, two cultural landscape elements that, due to their rectangular architecture, form dominant features in the Albanian landscapes.

Lapidars are abstract socialist monuments that were a common instrument for expressing the ideals of Enver Hoxha's isolated communism. Of more than 1000, some 700 of them are still scattered around the Albanian landscapes. While *lapidars* equally represent the socialist historiography, depending on the place, time and background or their construction, today, no common practice exists for preserving, removing, transforming or re-locating them. Instead, they are found in widely varying condition, showing that there is no common cultural memory but, instead, diversified identities regarding the socialist cultural landscape of Albania.

At the same time, the often cited, but equally often deconstructed (i.e. Clayer 2007, Endresen 2012, and Pistrick 2013) myth of Albanian religious tolerance and the harmonious coexistence of Islam and Christianity is an important element of Albanian identity. Having declared Albania the first and so far only atheist state in 1967, Hoxha's regime closed all religious buildings in the country and either transformed them into cultural centers, sports halls, cinemas, storage depots, barns etc. or – as in most cases – destroyed them. After the fall of the regime, hundreds of new religious buildings were constructed, mainly financed by foreign donors. With their dominant architectural features, such as church-towers and minarets, they are now re-defining the Albanian cultural landscape. However, most Albanians do not follow any religion. Instead, as a common identity on religious denomination, the Albanian poet Pashko Vasa's expression that "the religion of the Albanians is Albanianism" is often evoked.

The remains of the historic socialist, and at the same time highly re-sanctified, cultural landscapes in contemporary Albania are therefore a mirror for Albanians' indifferent religious affiliation and diverse cultural memory regarding socialist historiography.

Gruia Badescu (University of Cambridge), 'Making Sense of Ruins: Urban Reconstruction and Mastering the Past in Belgrade and Sarajevo'

The paper explores the politics of memory in contemporary Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia through a spatial lens, examining the reconstruction of cities after conflict as an arena of different understandings about the past. It analyzes how city-makers – architects and urban planners – engage with the recent past, discussing the relationships between the processes of reconstruction, coming to terms with the past and the emergence of novel forms of identity. It

explores two different situations of experiencing destruction and reconstruction: Sarajevo after the 1992– 1995 siege and Belgrade after the 1999 NATO bombings. First, the paper discusses how the nature of war and destruction is reflected in the memorialization of conflict and the reshaping of urban space, exploring the difference between reconstructing after a "classic" attack from the outside – Belgrade – and reconstruction after Mary Kaldor's "new wars" (1999) – Sarajevo. Second, the paper examines how city makers select and reassemble spatialized collective memories through capitalizing on the violent past in order to create and disseminate novel forms of identity. The paper explores a number of situations that showcase the tensions of mastering the past and the challenges of spatializing heterogenous collective memories: the reconstruction of religious buildings in Sarajevo highlights new understandings of identity; the reconfiguration of public spaces around memorials in Sarajevo reflects the shifting nature of collective memories; the debates surrounding the reconstruction of bombed buildings in Belgrade reveal challenges to coming to terms with the past as well as a reconfiguration of Serbian identity after Milosevic. The paper discusses how reconstruction is violent in its own terms, using Johan Galtung's (1990) and Dacia Viejo Rose's (2011) framework of cultural violence. All in all, the paper argues that the production of urban environments through reconstruction on the one hand reflects the heterogenous and conflictual nature of collective memories, while on the other it contributes itself to the shaping of novel forms of identity.

13.30-15.00 – PANELS 12 A&B
12A: *Cross-border Identities, Transnational Histories*
Chair: **Conny Opitz** (Trinity College Dublin)

Katharina Tyran (Berlin), 'Divided by Borders – United in History: On Cross-Border Shared Memories and Their Impact on Minority Identification Processes'

My case study examines a linguistic minority in Central Europe, namely Burgenland Croats. Having populated former Western Hungary since the 16th century, this community enjoyed relative cohesion until the redrawing of the historic borders of central Europe following WWI, which separated the Burgenland Croats into three distinct nationally defined states, Austria, Hungary and former Czechoslovakia. This division of the community became even more entrenched at the end of World War II, as the ethnic group found itself partitioned not only by the boundaries of nation-states, but by two diametrically opposed political systems – Soviet-influenced state socialism and western-style democracy.

 With the opening of the Iron curtain, the end of the Cold War in 1989 and the expansion of the EU in 2004 a narrative of "reunification" due to loosening borders became popular within political and cultural discourses of the community. Although neither of those events reunited the Burgenland Croats into a common nation-state, the minority's elite interpreted both of them as a new impulse for the enhancement of a common identity across state borders.

 Within those discourses of ethnic cross-border cohesion, the remembrance of the settlement history in particular became a highly stressed common memory. The shared commemoration of the migration process during the 16th century functions as one of the central identification markers for Burgenland Croats, as well as the partition of a former common territory after 1921 – a fact that, in the eyes of minority entrepreneurs, should be revoked. In my talk, I outline the prevailing narratives and rhetoric figures concerning shared memories and their implementation regarding identity formation within this ethnic group, as well as their relation to further identification markers, such as linguistic affiliation and cultural phenomena.

Cristian Cercel (Center for Advanced Study, Sofia), 'The Memory of the Deportation of Romanian Germans to the Soviet Union in a Transnational Context'

In January 1945, between 70,000 and 80,000 Romanian citizens of German ethnicity were deported to the Soviet Union, for the 'reconstruction of the country', most of them in the Donbas region in Ukraine (Polian 2004). Around 15% did not survive. Following Herta Müller's novel, *Atemschaukel* (translated into English as The Hunger Angel), and her 2009 Nobel Prize, the event has started to gain some notoriety worldwide (Müller 2009).

The present paper investigates the politics of memory and the memory discourses related to the deportation, delineating the general contours of the deportation-related memory cultures within Romanian German communities. It highlights and analyses two different types of transnationalism associated with the memory of the deportation. On the one hand, it looks at the fact that the memory of the deportation has been produced and memory practices have taken place against the background of the mass migration of Romanian Germans to (West) Germany, but also to other places such as Austria, the US, or Canada. On the other hand, it investigates the memory of the deportation, together with its relationship with other memory discourses, such as discourses on the Holocaust or discourses on 'German victimhood' at the end of the Second World War. Thus, it questions the relevance of the transformation of Romanian Germans into a de facto transnational community for the production of memory discourses. Furthermore, it acknowledges the transnational and multidirectional character of memory, informed by constant implicit and explicit cross-references and by the centrality of the Holocaust (Rothberg 2010), and uses the Romanian German case in order to ask what place can discourses on 'German victimhood' occupy in such a context (Niven 2006).

By using a wide array of sources, such as literary works, memorialistic works, press materials, historiographic interpretations of the deportation, and monuments/memorials to the victims of the deportation, the present paper shows that the deportation-related politics of memory and memory discourses appear at the intersection of the local, the national, and the transnational. Thus, not only that the paper sheds light upon the reverberations of a relatively under-researched aspect of European history at the end of the Second World War, but it also reveals an interesting case of East-West interaction and communication during and after the Cold War.

Paul Vickers (University of Giessen), 'Politics, Professors and Popular Memory: Attempts at Instrumentalising (Forced) Migrants': Autobiographies in Cold War-era Poland and West

This paper presents a comparative investigation of academic projects in Cold War-era Poland and West Germany, which gathered, archived and published ordinary people's autobiographies and testimonies. I focus on the use of such autobiographies in academic publications and political debates on the territories Poland acquired from Germany in 1945, with this border change resulting in the coerced and voluntary migration of millions. While memory studies typically associates the Eastern European "memory boom" with the post-1989 era, Polish and West German scholars were already in the 1950s and 1960s collecting, publishing and analysing tens of thousands of testimonies. Equally, the states' official memories were already in direct competition across the Iron Curtain, with academics mediating political claims over the borders' legitimacy, with German Ostforschung (Eastern studies) and Polish work at Instytut Zachodni (the Institute of Western Affairs) leading mediation of massive political investment in ordinary people's autobiography.

Drawing on substantial archival research, I argue, however, that plurality was woven through both state-backed Cold War-era memory projects, with instrumentalisation towards unitary official memory disrupted by tensions produced by the often centrifugal, fragmented form of popular memory, where the traumatic and everyday normality intertwine. Synchronic comparison of Poland and West Germany, focusing on relations between ordinary people's testimonies and the academic and political-historical apparatus, to use a term from Popular Memory Group (PMG), questions the Orwellian-totalitarian paradigm prevalent in much of memory studies' work on Central-Eastern Europe, evident even in outstanding works of cultural memory studies, such as Aleida Assmann's. Instead, ordinary Poles' and Germans' Cold War-era remembering are both thus located in the frameworks of power, knowledge and re/production that shape contemporary cultural memory studies, rather than reinforcing paradigms whereby pre-1989 Eastern European memory remains completely other.

Drawing on approaches from PMG, subaltern studies and Bakhtin's dialogism, the focus here become the power/knowledge relations in the complex intersections of state appropriation, academic mediation and popular consensus and everyday resistance in the realm of memory. State censorship in Poland is also considered alongside the impact of state sponsorship in both states, with these dependencies on the historical apparatus highlighting the negotiated production of Cold War-era representations of the past, particularly where ordinary people are both producers and consumers of mnemonic discourses. In the mediation, rather than determination, of popular memory by political and academic institutions, the lapses, gaps and successes in collective memory projects become evident.