OCTOBER 14-16 2020
BRATISLAVA

MEMORY OF THE COMMUNIST PAST VIRTUAL CONFERENCE

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

MEMORY OF THE COMMUNIST PAST
VIRTUAL CONFERENCE

Institute of Ethnology and Social Anthropology

Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava

OCTOBER 14-16 2020

The "Memory of the Communist Past" virtual conference is a closing event of the APVV research grant "Current Images of Socialism" (No. APVV-16-0345) organized by the Institute of Ethnology and Social Anthropology, Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava.

The conference offers virtual space for academics who are involved in the fieldwork research, with the ambition to create an interdisciplinary platform for further potential joint projects.

Organizing Team:

Institute of Ethnology and Social Anthropology, Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava

PhDr., MONIKA VRZGULOVÁ, CSc.

Mgr. ĽUBICA VOĽANSKÁ, PhD.

Mgr. MIROSLAVA HLINČÍKOVÁ, PhD.

Mgr. SOŇA G. LUTHEROVÁ, PhD.

Mgr. ADAM WIESNER, PhD.

Institute for Contemporary History, Czech Academy of Sciences in Prague

Mgr. PETRA SCHINDLER-WISTEN, PhD.

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BALCERZAK AGNIESZKA

Institute for Cultural Analysis and European Ethnology, LMU Munich

"The Charm of the PRL."
Ethnographic Perspectives on Nostalgic Representations and Images of the Communist Past in Warsaw

"Communism, socialism – nostalgic, tragic. Nonsensical, full of hardship and still exciting. Where does our nostalgic feelings for the socialist era come from?", ask the organizers of a hip retro-tour through the communist Warsaw. During the tour visitors are taken on a journey into the communist past in a Fiat 125p, the iconic Polish automobile of the bygone era: They visit the impressive sights of socialist realism such as the Constitution Square or dine in a typical communist milk bar, which, in addition to culinary impressions, gives the visitors a feeling for the living conditions that the communist system created in Poland in the years 1952–1989.

Although Poland celebrated 2019 the 30th anniversary since 1989 elections amid dispute over communist legacy, the country's communist past is still visible, especially in Warsaw. The skyline of Poland's capital city is since the 1950s dominated by the monumental Stalinist-era Palace of Culture and Science, which recalls the highs and lows of life in the communist-era Polish People's Republic (PRL). The memory of the communist past in Poland is a part of an "off-modern tradition" (Boym 2001), in which critical reflection and longing, estrangement and affection, grief and obsession go together. Especially among the younger generation a tentative yet growing curiosity about the recent past can be observed, which results in increasing moves to preserve how life was shaped in the PRL. In recent years, a number of private museums have been therefore set up in Warsaw, in order to exhibit testimonies of the political, cultural and social life in the PRL and to document the retro-communist "charm of the past" (Rettig 2013). On the one hand, at the "Museum of Life under Communism" visitors can tour reconstructions of communist-era apartments or shops and look at exhibitions of common products available to consumers at that time. On the other hand, the "Neon Museum" is dedicated to the documentation and the preservation of the last surviving remnants of the "great neonisation" campaign across the former Eastern Bloc – the dazzling Cold War-era neon signs and electro-graphic design, which are inherent in the material nature of the city and effect it as part of the urban texture also after 1989.

Nostalgia, transfiguration and wistfulness in relation to the past always thrive on the ground of transformation, especially in times of great socio-political and cultural changes. The presented study aims to ask about the causes, representations and images of this "nostalgic turn" (Todorova and Gille 2010) in today's Warsaw by analysing the examples of two museums as wells as related retro-tour and gastronomic (tourist) offers, settled in the field of tension between aesthetic musealisation and commercial trend. The conjunction of reflections on memory culture (Macdonald 2013) and postsocialism (Hann 2002, Humphrey 2002), supplemented by theoretical

considerations about historical tourism (Groebner 2018) and material culture, especially in terms of museology (Korff 2007, Macdonald 2006) and thing significance (Kramer 1995), appear to be here a versatile and productive approach.

The concept of "postsocialism" has been developed in the 1990s from a scientific perspective in order to explore and describe the transformations of former socialist countries and their ramifications. On the one hand, the concept subsumes an "after", a certain set of similarities between the former communist countries and the emphasis on these similarities homogenizes the region to a certain degree and veils important differences. On the other hand, it denotes a plurality of places, times and phenomena and approaches the transformation from a critical perspective, e.g. on power, memory or economy. It assumes that the different experiences, manifestations and systems of beliefs of the bygone communist era as well as their institutional embeddedness continue to have an effect until today. Questions of the meaning of postsocialism are as well deeply connected to questions of memory culture, since the concept of postsocialism is based on the fact that something that once existed does no longer exist in its known shape. Thus the past is not detached from the present, since the past and recollections of what happened are constantly reconfigured within present contexts and by current agents, e.g. in museums, gastronomic facilities or tourist infrastructure. These actors and contexts, in turn, are co-constituted through interdependent acts and discursive political, social, and cultural practices. Therefore, the past seems alterable and according to the context certain events are positively emphasized or covered up.

The ambivalences and complexities of referring to and recalling the communist past in Warsaw as an analytical figure is meant to be in the focus of the presented study. In which kind of situations of the everyday life do people allude to the communist past and why? Which cultural practices and symbolic images of remembering of and referring to can be observed? Which material and immaterial objects and mechanisms favour the "PRL nostalgia" by influencing collective memories and socio-political power dynamics? How can dealing with the apparently "terminated era" foster the understanding of the ongoing political, social or economic contexts in Poland?

Methodologically, the analysis is based on ethnographic research completed 2019 in Warsaw. In addition to participatory observations and qualitative interviews it also included museum visits and urban perceptual walks, which allowed to gather a considerable amount of material in form of images, publications and artefacts such as neon signs, brochures or postcards. They mostly collected, restored or produced by a generation that only knows the past events by hearsay even though the past oftentimes still inheres in cultural practices or the material texture of the surroundings and continues to have an effect on their and Warsaw's everyday life, for example through the affective and emotionally charged meaning of communist objects and conditions, which go beyond the material quality or the instrumental and functional use of things and foster the nostalgic images of the communist past in Poland's capital city.

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PRESENTERS'S BIO

Agnieszka Balcerzak is a research fellow and curriculum administrator at the Institute of Empirical Cultural Studies and European Ethnology at the LMU Munich. She received her Master's degree in German Philology from the Adam Mickiewicz University of Poznań, her Master's degree in Eastern European Studies and her PhD in European Ethnology from the LMU Munich. Since 2019 she is mentee of LMU Mentoring programme of the Faculty of Cultural Studies. 2009 she participated in the interdisciplinary project "Invisible Cities". Places of Remembrance in European Urban Landscapes in Vilnius. The latest publication is her PhD thesis Zwischen Kreuz und Regenbogen. Eine Ethnografie der polnischen Protestkultur nach 1989 (Between Cross and Rainbow. An Ethnography of the Polish Culture of Protest after 1989, Transcript, 2020, in print), awarded with the PhD Prize of the LMU Faculty of Cultural Studies and the PhD Prize of the Schroubek Fund Eastern Europe. Her research is mainly focused on transformation processes in Eastern Europe, social movements and protest cultures, women's and gender research, material and memory culture, visual anthropology. She regularly takes part in international scientific conferences (e.g. EASA, InASEA, SIEF). She maintains memberships in following scientific associations: International Society for Ethnology and Folklore, European Association of Social Anthropologists, German Association for European Ethnology, Southeast Europe Association.

BUCHOWSKI MICHAŁ

Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań; European University Viadrina, Frankfurt/Oder

Postsocialist Others:
On Shifting Politicized Social Categories

In more than three decades that have passed since 1989 collapse of communism various global, regional, and local factors operated. Most studies focused on economic, political and ensuing social aspects, such as class restructuring, shifts on a labour market, inequalities, new rich, poverty and migration. Scholars got also interested in questions of broadly understood identity, including nationalism or xenophobia. Here I look at the postsocialist transformation as a process of creation and recreation of the politicized categories of Us and Them. The issue of identity/alterity are put in the centre of analysis.

In this presentation two intertwined issues are addressed. On the one hand, the way categories of social groups are invented in a complex discursive practices is highlighted; ultimately their characteristics depend on existing social hierarchies and access to discursive power. On the other hand, it is shown how the manifold manifestations of the category of Them has been evolving in the postsocialist transition in Poland in the last three decades in response to changing socio-cultural and political constellations. In order to realize this twofold aim, I present theoretical apparatus that helps to analyse the case studied. This preliminary theoretical consideration are, implicitly and in return, informed by some exemplary findings.

In a descriptive terms, these findings can be summarized as follows: In the history of the post-communist Poland, one can distinguish several stages in the formation of popular and dominant categories of Them (constructed by reference to ethnic, religious and social criteria), always relational to the category of Us. Within the category of Them, 'ordinary' Others should be distinguished from Significant Others, the latter being perceived as a serious threat to Us. Some Significant Others are often Distant Aliens, more imagined, represented symbolically than actually present.

Some categories of the Others designed for the purpose of making internal social distinctions reach back to the attributes known from the Cold War era depictions. In the old Orientalizing binary logic, people living behind the Iron Curtain were imagined as culturally backward. A reified image of Homo sovieticus presumably embodying negative features, was transposed onto created as subaltern social groups by the dominant transformation elites, the advocates of the neoliberal capitalism, who had a capacity to establish cultural hegemony. Interestingly, the commonsensical category invented by Alexander Zinoviev for literary and political purposes, was accepted by many scholars as a proper tool for the analysis of social, economic and political processes. The Homo sovieticus syndrome was meant to explain postsocialist

trajectories, especially economic failures for which the victims of structural reforms were blamed.

So invented, the transformation's Internal Others (within a nation state or the whole region) defined in terms of postcommunist mentality, were in the beginning of the twenty-first century replaced in Poland by the category of Mohair Berets. The latter mutated quickly in the related categories of Janusze i Grażyny and its off-spring Seby i Karyny. With slight differences in meanings, all three labels epitomize – in the eyes of their makers as users – cultural backwardness and parochialism. The emphasis shifted from post-communist mental and cultural characteristics to non-modern, non-Western and non-European cultural features and habits shared supposedly by the people classified as the Others in the modernizing society. Meanwhile, in opposition to these dominant, elitist in its spirit discourses, the mouthpieces of the depreciated classes of the people 'lost in transformation' and supposedly 'unable to catch-up with modernity', invented a powerful counter narrative. They turned to rightist-populist rhetoric by inventing categories of True People comprising the core of the nation and preserving its cultural and religious traditions by opposing globalization and celebrating locality. The categories of liberally minded 'cosmopolitan elites' and the so-called lewactwo (pejorative term for leftist-minded persons) has been invented and their members represented as public enemies of a new kind of Us, the Ordinary, True People. In the process of establishing these new internal Others an important role has been played by the figure of the Significant Others, Distant Aliens, above all Muslim phantom refugees. They have been invented as the ultimate counterpoint to the national, cultural and religious self-identification of the imagined Us, within which new internal Others function also as liberal, ready to accept their presence allies of Aliens.

In the ongoing multilateral struggles at creating a reified and essentialised internal or external Others, and/or Aliens, attempts to depreciate them, to win a symbolic domination over them always takes place. The Others are concocted as inferior or even evil, deserving contempt. This battle to gain cultural hegemony is intertwined with the fight over political domination. The human propensity to map social spaces is thus manipulated in the pursuit of political power

PRESENTER'S BIO

Michał Buchowski is Professor of Anthropology, Head of Department of Anthropology and Ethnology at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań (Poland), as well as Chair of Comparative Central European Studies, European University-Viadrina in Frankfurt (Germany). His research focuses mainly on the anthropology of post-socialist societies, migration, multiculturalism and xenophobia. The area of his interest is prevalently Central Europe seen, however, from the broader perspective of wider cultural processes pertaining to anthropological debates on the construction of the 'Other', which go beyond Central European realities and are informed by postcolonial theory. He taught as Visiting Professor Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ, Columbia University, New York, Warsaw University and at National Museum of Ethnology in Osaka, Japan. He also

participated in numerous fellowship programs in Europe and the US. Prof. Buchowski served for years as a President of Polish Ethnological Society, as well as President of European Association of Social Anthropologists and Chair of World Association of Anthropological Associations. He is Honorary Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute (UK).

BUKOVSKÁ KAROLÍNA

Freie Universität Berlin

Museum of Communism in Prague:
Museum as Tourist Attraction?

Even though it has been already three decades now, since the communist regimes in Central Eastern Europe collapsed, Czechia is still lacking a central museal institution dedicated solely to the era of Communist dictatorship. One of the few exhibitions which covers the whole period between the Communist coup d'état in 1948 and the "Velvet Revolution" in November 1989 can be found in the private Museum of Communism in Prague. This museum, located in the centre of the Czech capital, however, seems to attract rather international audience than the local population. Calls for the establishment of a „Museum of Communism", present in the Czech society since the early 1990s, together with recent initiatives for founding a „Museum of Memory of the 20th Century" in Prague or „Museum of Totality" in the former prison in Uherské Hradiště (South-Eastern Moravia) suggest that the private enterprise is not regarded as representative museal depiction of the Czech experience with the Communist regime. Based on the analysis of the current permanent exhibition and the public presentation of the Museum of Communism in Prague, I tried to capture the character of this business project and also attempted to find out why it is still being neglected by the Czech society.

A Jazz Club, Bagels and the Museum of Communism: Filling a Gap in the Market
The founding history of the Museum of Communism may seem ironic: it illustrates how the anticapitalist era was turned into a free market commodity. It was founded in 2001 by Glenn Spicker, an American who came to Prague in early 1990s, attracted by new opportunities in postcommunist Czechia. After opening a jazz club and a chain of bagel restaurants, Spicker thought that it might be a „great idea" to establish a museum dedicated to the communist era in Czechoslovakia. The display should be based on his own collections of items which had been thrown away by the locals as uncomfortable remnants of the past and which he subsequently purchased at various flea markets all over the country. Spickers new enterprise was originally located next to a McDonald's in Prague's city centre and it resembled more a cabinet of communist curiosities. Given to the location in the heart of tourist zone, the Museum of Communism attracted only few local visitors and was attended mostly by international tourists.

Museums Not for Profit?
In 2017, the Museum of Communism was moved to new spaces (not far away from the previous location) and its display was considerably reorganised. The new permanent exhibition is comprised of 62 panels which depict the history of Czechoslovakia from 1918 to 1989 and which are accompanied by selection of objects from the old exhibiton. Since its relocation and the significant make-over, the Museum of Communism seemingly resembles "traditional" museal exhibition rather than a tourist attraction.

However, its commercial character is still noticeable: the high entrance fee, late (daily) opening hours, special guided tours provided by private travel agency, or a museum shop with particular souvenirs (such as propaganda posters, magnets and candles with Lenin-face or Russian doll matryoshka in form of bottle opener or a toothpick container) suggest the museum's orientation on profit, which is not compatible with the museum definition of the International Council of Museums[1] . The impression that the Museum of Communism does not correspond with "true" museal institution is additionally strengthened by the fact that the explanatory texts, which form the main axis of the current display, contain several factual errors and partially also plagiarism. Also material content of the display, such as photographs or three dimensional objects, are not exhibited according to common standards of curatorial work.

"A Museum by and for Czech people"?
When establishing his next business project in 2001, Glenn Spicker claimed that the museum was intended to be "a place for people to learn about communism" and that it was always meant to be done „by and for Czech people". At the same time, he admitted to be also aiming at an international audience who could not understand "how different life [under communism] was". After the relocation of the museum in 2017, the museum's management, somewhat contradictorily, name two specific target groups: Czech pupils and, again, visitors from abroad. Even though the relocated museum has in deed many special offers for young Czechs (free entry at the year of 30th anniversary of the Velvet Revolution, working sheets, competition), the adaptation to non-Czech visitors seems to be predominant and can be noticed even in the narrative of the exhibition. This, however, seems to be influenced by the (national) perspective of the museum's founder: the explanatory texts make various references to events and phenomena from the US-American history and popular culture. By demonstrating this "US-American version" of the history of Communism in Czechoslovakia, the exhibition excludes the point of view of other 'Western' and non-Western visitors.

Matryoshka and Marx
Apart from the "US-American narrative" of the exhibition, there is another aspect which makes the identification of the Czech society with the museum's depiction of the communist era difficult or even impossible. From the very beginning, the Museum of Communism used matryoshka with aggressively bared teeth as its poster "mascot". This typical Russian wooden doll has been sold (to the incomprehension and outrage of many locals) for many years in souvenir shops in Prague and became a symbol of mass tourism in the Czech capital. Together with the displayed objects, such as propaganda posters, paintings depicting shock workers, busts of Karl Marx, or the selfie point with the life-sized statues of Stalin and Lenin, the Museum of Communism sends out a form of "communist kitsch" which responds to a rather stereotypical picture of the "Eastern-

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[1] "Museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment."

Bloc-Other", not necessarily shared by most Czechs, or visitors from other post-socialist countries. Due to this fact, and even though the Museum of Communism of today gives off the impression of a regular museum institution, its permanent exhibition remains something of a cabinet of communist curiosities which does not correspond with the collective memory of the era between 1948 and 1989 shared by the majority of the Czech society.

Conclusion

Almost two decades have passed, since Glenn Spicker opened his own private museum in Prague. Despite of that, the Museum of Communism is still being neglected by the majority of the Czech society. In my opinion, it deserves greater attention – not only due to its relatively high visitor numbers. It represents a specific case in which a somewhat problematic relation to the recent past (symbolized by the total absence of a museum dedicated to the era of Communist dictatorship in Czechoslovakia) was turned into a successful business enterprise. Its founding history raises questions about what the functions of a contemporary museum should be and which interests they actually follow. Furthermore, the fact that the exhibition's narrative is targeted towards an international, rather than a domestic audience can be criticized; it can also serve as an inspiration to look at the Czech communist past from different perspectives and to see it in a broader context.

PRESENTER'S BIO

My name is Karolína Bukovská, I was born in Prague, the Czech Republic, and I am currently studying the Master Programme Public History at Free University Berlin. 2018, I graduated from the Charles University where I have studied BA History – German for Intercultural Communication. My major interest lies in the public presentation of the Holocaust in culture of remembrance and especially in oral history. In July 2019, I presented at the "2 nd International Conference: Studying Public History – Methods, Difficulties, Perspectives" (Historical Institute, University of Wroclaw) a paper "Once a Witness, Always a Witness: How the Holocaust Oral History Interviews Changed in 60 Years" in which I compared the interviews given by the Holocaust survivors in 1946 and in the 2000s. In January 2020, I had the chance to talk about the "Prisoner tattoo as a situated social object in Holocaust survivors' visual history testimonies" at „Prague Visual History and Digital Humanities Conference" (Malach Center for Visual History, Charles University). I also co-wrote an article about the "Change, Loss and Return of Names in Holocaust Survivors' Testimonies" which was published in the journal Historical Socialogy (Faculty of Humanities, Charles University). However, my current study programme together with my position in the Foundation for the Study of Communist Dictatorship in East Germany as Student Assistant (Department Memorials and Culture of Remembrance) have recently evoked my interest in the memory of the communist past. Within my studies, I created a website about the Checkpoint Charlie, and I also conduct research for the educational programme in the former GDR prison "Keibelstrasse" on the reactions in the Eastern Germany on the Warsaw Pact's Invasion

of Czechoslovakia 1968. My past experience in curatorial work (exhibitions for the Charles University, Czech National Agriculture Museum and recently Museum Tempelhof-Schöneberg) brought me to the topic of the museal depiction of the communist past and therefore I decided to deal with the Museum of Communism in Prague in the proposed paper.

DOBRE CLAUDIA-FLORENTINA

Centre for Memory and Identity Studies, "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History Bucharest

Distorted Images of Communism in the Last 30 Years:

The Case Study of Romania

Shortly after Ceausescu's execution, on Christmas Day, 1989, those who took power, the second-rang nomenklatura, officers and collaborators of the secret service, the notorious Securitate, the so-called neo-communists, framed a new political order, defined by the first post-communist president of Romania, Ion Iliescu[2], as an "original democracy". The responsibility for the political failure as well as for the shortages of all sort was assigned to Nicolae Ceaușescu and his wife. Meanwhile, the neo-communists tacitly take upon the communist heritage by controlling all public institutions (Gussi, 2011) as well as factories, collective farms, etc., which eventually will be privatized in their favour.

As regards the communist period, the neo-communists aimed at imposing amnesia by encouraging people to leave the past behind and to focus on the present, and the future. However, the existence of a big number of former political detainees and deportees (Petrescu & Petrescu, 2014: 57) hindered the total oblivion of the communist past. Organized, they promoted an anti-communist discourse also supported and disseminated by several mass-media outlets and a few civic associations such as the Group for the Social Dialogue, The Memoria Cultural Foundation, the "Academia Civică" Foundation, The Association December 21, etc. They endorsed and distributed an anticommunist discourse through debates, protests, civic actions, memorial practices, publications, new institutions and memorial laws. Their anticommunism also became a means of legitimization not only in the political arena, but also in the economic, cultural and social fields of power.

Anticommunism versus amnesic neo-communism defined the Romanian political life until 2000 when the agreement of all political forces to work for Romania's admission to NATO and UE made it marginal. Anticommunism moved slowly from the political arena to the cultural field of power becoming the dominant paradigm of the public space after December 2006 condemnation of the communist regime by the president of

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[2] Ion Iliescu, born on 3 March 1930, served as president of Romania from 1989 until 1996, and from 2000 until 2004. He joined the Communist Party in 1953 and he served as the head of the Central Committee's Department of Propaganda and as Minister for Youth between 1967 and 1971. In the late 1970s, he was marginalized by Ceausescu but he held high offices in the province. During the December uprising in Bucharest, he became the leader of the anti-Ceausescu movement. He won the free general elections of May 1990 and became the first post-communist president of Romania.

Romania in an official statement assumed in front of the MP's during a plenary session of the Romanian Parliament.

After Romania has integrated the European Union in 2007, new memorial laws aiming at commemorating the victims of Communism and Nazism were adopted under the influence or under the pressure of European institutions. In 2011, the Parliament adopted the Law 198, which declared 23rd of August "the National Day of Commemoration of Victims of Nazism and Communism" as well as the day of 21st of December "the Day of Remembrance of Victims of Communism in Romania"[3]. Under the pressure of some vocal groups of former detainees and their offspring of extreme-right vocation, in 2017, the Parliament passed the Law 127, which declared 14th of May "the national day of commemoration of the martyrs of the political prisons in Romania"[4].

The memorial and compensatory laws were meant to offer some satisfaction to former repressed people and eventually to hinder any public debate about culpability, perpetrators and responsibility. Furthermore, memorial policies promoted by neo-communists transformed the events of December 1989 into the foundation myth of a new political order. The opposite opinion, which considered "the Revolution" of December 1989 as the final stage of communist aggression in Romania, is still marginal. Although, in February 2019, the General Prosecutor of Romania presented the results of an investigation, which defined the execution of Ceausescu and his wife and the bloody events which followed as a Coup d'État joined by a popular uprising, the myth of Revolution is enduring.

At the beginning of the 2000s, a new memorial trend burst into the Romanian public space: ironic (or reflexive, in the words of Svetlana Boym, 2001) nostalgia for Communism. The change of generations in various fields brought nostalgia to the forefront of public memory. This type of nostalgia, often translated into irony and self-irony, promotes the memories of the youth of the '80s and their personal and group experiences aimed at circumventing the vigilance of the communist system. Promoted by collective works – such as *Cartea roz a comunismului* [The Pink Book of Communism] (Decuble, 2004) as well as cinematic episodes collected under the common title 'Tales from the Golden Age' (2009), created by award-winning director Cristian Mungiu – nostalgic irony aimed at Communism found monumental expression in a series of artistic installations entitled 'Proiect 1990'. This project, initiated by the artist Ioana Ciocan, brought to the public space art installations designed by various visual artists, who took an ironic approach to public representations of the communist past and the transitional period. The first installation, called 'Ciocan vs. Ulyanov', was placed on the vacant plinth where Lenin had stood for several decades in front of the former House of Spark (Casa

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[3]   http://www.cameradeputatilor.ro/pls/proiecte/upl_pck2015.proiect?idp=12097   retrieved   2nd   of November 2019).

[4] This law is rather controversial as it was promoted by the Romanian fascists. Their inheritors are the only ones   to   celebrate   it   each   year   in   the   Revolution   square   of   Bucharest. https://www.juridice.ro/580565/ziua-nationala-de-cinstire-a-martirilor-din-temnitele-comuniste.html retrieved 2nd of November 2019).

Scînteii[5]), actually the House of Free Press in January 2010. Lenin, the same size as the original statue which had been pulled down in March 1990, was made of boiled grains of wheat and tiny pink-and burgundy-coloured candy, *koliva*, a mixture commonly served at funeral repasts. This Lenin was meant to suggest a funeral feast at the death of Communism and its symbols (or at least a desire to consciously bury the past).

Until April 2014, 19 other artistic installations were displayed on Lenin's empty pedestal[6]. The Lenin' pedestal was meant to be destroyed in order to erase the traces of communism. It is part of the amnesia program promoted by neo-communists. Actually, one of the prominent neo-communist leaders, Adrian Năstase, Prime Minister of Romania between 2000 and 2004, signed in 2003 the decree which enshrined the destruction of the pedestal and the construction of a new monument dedicated to the anti-communist fighters and to the victims of communism. The sculpture, called "Wings", was installed in the spring of 2016.

The image of the communist past in post-communist Romania is a twofold distortion: one the one hand, communism was demonized while its victims celebrated as martyrs, and, on the other, it was thrown away to the dustbin of history without comments. Any nationwide debate about communism was hindered. Even an ironic approach was banned as the destiny of Project 1990 showed us.

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PRESENTER'S BIO

Claudia-Florentina DOBRE is the Director of the Center for Memory and Identity Studies (CSMI) and of *MemoScapes. Romanian Journal of Memory and Identity Studies*, and a researcher at "Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History, Bucharest. She got her Ph.D. in History from Laval University of Québec in 2007, with a thesis on women memory of communist

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[5] *Scînteia* (The Spark) was the official newspaper of the Romanian Communist Party.
[6] A catalogue of all the artistic installations was published under the title *Proiect 1990.*

political persecutions in post-communist Romania. She conducted research on the memory of communism, on museums, memorials and monuments, on deportation, and everyday life in Romania during communism.

Most recent publications: *Ni victime, ni héroïne: les anciennes détenues politiques et les mémoires du communisme en Roumanie*, Electra, Bucharest, 2019; Claudia-Florentina Dobre, Bernadette Jonda, Izabela Skorzynska, Anna Wachowiak, *(Re)gaining the Future by (Re)building the Past. Women`s Narratives of Life under Communism in Poland, Romania and the Former East Germany*, edited by Izabela Skorzynska, Poznan University Press, 2019; Claudia-Florentina Dobre, Cristian Emilian Ghita, (ed.), *Quest for a Suitable Past: Myth and Memory in Eastern and Central Europe*, Budapest-New York, CEU Press, 2017.

G. LUTHEROVÁ SOŇA

Institute of Ethnology and Social Anthropology SAS in Bratislava

Photographs with a Story:
Memories of the Socialist Era in Families

The early childhood memories of today's teenagers originate in the first decade of the new millennium. At that time, even the turbulent years of early post-socialism in Central Europe were fading. Therefore, the preceding socialist era might seem to them as a distorted collection of stories about an abstract and somewhat distant past. In collective memory as well as in public discourse, the representations of the socialist era are present, but to what extent are they a vivid part of communicative memory (Assman – Czaplicka, 1995) and the everyday discourse in the families remains unclear.

In my paper, I will present research of the Institute of Ethnology and Social Anthropology SAS, realized by the project team *Current images of socialism* (supported by the Slovak Research Development Agency, more info: https://www.obrazysocializmu.net). In the project, we have asked children attending second grade of elementary schools and high schools (approx. 10 – 18 years old) to search through their family albums and choose a photograph / the photographs from the socialist era in Czechoslovakia, which interest them the most. Then, they should ask their (grand-)parents to tell them the story, which is related to these photographs. Finally, children themselves rewrite the story in their own words. The project is still ongoing, but so far we have collected 22 testimonies. In the presentation, I will present preliminary results of the research and discuss possibilities for further analysis of the data. Our research creates an opportunity to initiate the dialogue about socialism in the private environment and enhance the transmission of the knowledge between the different generations in the families. Indeed, for some of the narrators (parents, grandparents), this might be a unique opportunity to articulate their perspective on the issue, but also on their own life stories to the younger generation.

However, individual testimonies as such are often fragmented, circumstantial, schematic, and influenced by witnesses' current notions and perspectives (Jennings 1996; Olick 1999). Also, narrations are connected to the process of identity-making, construction, and objectification of self, and the stories are deeply influenced by this. As such, they are organized around a number of relevant social constructs (such as social class, race, or nationality) (Steinmetz 1992). Because of this, certain memories might be included or excluded accordingly. This creates particular friction between memories lived and memories told.

Nevertheless, one mustn't forget that in our research, there is not only one narrator, but rather two: the witness (parent or grandparent) and the listener, who retells or rather rewrites the memory (the (grand-)child). Therefore, the meanings that are implicitly and explicitly invested in the stories are twofold, belonging to the witnesses

and the listeners. Hence, the border between the storyteller and the recipient remains unclear.

And then, there are the photographs as the visual representation of the memory. Meanings of visual images vary and they are created through "the subjective gaze of the viewer" (Pink, 2007: 82). For Pink, images become embedded in the narratives as integral tools to describe the experiences, express emotions, and create identities (Pink, 2007: 87). In the case of our research, photographs are not mere passive agents in regard to the past. They might enhance the process of remembering or on the contrary to limit it or rather redirect it in a particular way. As Marcus Banks puts it, through photographs, "vague memories can be given sharpness and focus, unleashing the flood of detail" (Banks, 2007: 65). The moment captured in time could also evoke a variety of emotions of the storyteller – such as the feeling of nostalgia.

In my paper, I will present the preliminary results of the research, focusing on the themes, meanings, and emotions embedded in the photographs and the stories related to them. Also, I will shed some light on the ambiguous relationship between the narrators of the memories – the witnesses and the listeners (who retell the stories). This sheds light on the transmission of the collective and individual memories in the family concerning the socialist past.

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PRESENTER'S BIO

Soňa G. Lutherová is a social and visual anthropologist. As a research fellow at the Institute of Ethnology and Social Anthropology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, she focuses on the themes of individual/social identities, memories and material culture.

She is also interested in application of innovative and reflexive methods in ethnographic research. Her papers have been published in domestic and international anthropological journals and monographs. She has co-edited a monograph 'Beyond Borders of Science? Applied Anthropology in Society' and directed a visual anthropological documentary 'Flooded' (AH Production, RTVS, SFI). Most recently, she has written a popularization children's book on identity 'Can superheroes wear glasses?' (E.J. Publishing). Currently, she is directing a documentary feature film 'A Happy Man' (Azyl Production, Mimoid pictures, LittleBig Productions, in production).

GOLUBINOV IAROSLAV

Institute of History and Archeology, Ural Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences

Disputed Soviet Legacy:
The Case of Komuch Commemoration in Samara

The Civil War in Russia was conducted mainly on the periphery of the late Empire. Thus, when scholars wrote on the problem of state disintegration and civil conflicts, they simultaneously touched the problem of regionalism. In the late Soviet republics after 1991 scholars (re-)invented the historical discourse of independence (fights against the Bolsheviks are fights for freedom from central Petrograd or Moscow governments). So commemoration was also organised around the idea of independence and the creation of nations.

However, in nowadays Russia, the situation with the legacy of local anti-Bolshevik powers is more complicated. The investigation of different cases may help in the understanding of peculiarities of memory construction and memory politics in Russian regions. In the case of Komuch (the Committee of Members of the Constituent Assembly, June–October 1918) in Samara I emphasise and analyse four problematic fields connected with the broad problem of the commemoration of the past in Russia:

1. Historiography. How did academics (not only professional historians but a wide range of humanitarian scholars) react to the diversity of themes in the 1990s? What place in their studies do the Civil War (and Komuch) have now?
2. "Public history". The Civil War problems reflect in various blogs, fiction and non-fiction books, and films but who produce them and what kinds of narratives do these "public historians" create? Moreover, what do they borrow from the Soviet legacy?
3. Commemoration. How does the history and commemoration of Komuch intertwine with history and commemoration of the Czechoslovak Legion (CzL)? Moreover, how does it conflict with Soviet memory on revolutionaries (first of all, monuments, memorial plaques, names of the street)?
4. Politics. When and why do politicians talk about the memory and legacy? What kind of language do they use describing the past? How is the legacy of the early Soviet period used now by the descendants of the Bolsheviks and what differences between Soviet politic language of memory and language of leftists now we may see? What is the role of regionalism in it?

Professional historians paid attention to Komuch, but this topic did not initially receive much media coverage or interest from the authorities. Of course, fans of re-enactment took up the story of the confrontation between the "white" and "red" sides of the Civil War. Moreover, the re-enactment of the battle for Samara in the autumn of 1918 turned into a festival, the theme of which went far beyond the confrontation between Komuch, CzL and the Bolsheviks.

Two toposes of Russian memory of the 20th century, the Civil War and WWII are suddenly converging. Furthermore, to the categories of "violence" and "occupation" is added another one — "untruth" or "injustice". Memorial discourse takes on a moral and ethical dimension, and discussions about the need for legionary monuments turn into discussions about the fair treatment of the memory of Soviet soldiers in parts of the former Eastern Bloc and former republics of the USSR.

Two previously inseparable phenomena (Komuch and CzL) have been divided in contemporary Russian memorial discourse. Both of them are still considered together in historical works, but in collective memory, they are now depicted in different ways. The legion is cursed and accused of cruelty, looting, betrayal, and any commemorative practices against it are immediately rejected. So the rising of tombs for fallen legionnaires still appears the subject of black political PR.

Initiatives related to the Commemoration of Komuch and the CzL become factors in the short political struggle between regional politicians. However, no full-fledged historical and memorial discourse has been formed to replace the official Soviet discourse. The Russian high politicians do not seem to be interested in supporting projects related to the Komuch or the CzL. So the regional administration has tried to use the issue of the burial of the legionnaires for some bonuses in the form of international contacts, but, having encountered resistance from part of regional political activists, has frozen all activities on these issues.

Paradoxically, the memory of the Komuch and the CzL was in demand in a different, patriotic way. Criticism of commemorative practices is full of the rhetoric associated with WWII. The latter is a favourite historical period of the current Russian leadership since it became the ideological "glue" that secured Russian society. The use of the high ideologised language of the WWII in describing the Civil War (e.g., legionnaires are "fascists") indicates, rather, an expansion of the borders of memory of the conflict of 1939-1945. On the one hand, it helps to actualise (since the war of 1941-1945 is still very relevant for both the authorities and society) the events of a century ago, which are already thoroughly forgotten and practically not reflected in everyday life through the names of city places and monuments. On the other hand, addressing the memory of Komuch and Legion using the terms of WWII leads to the unambiguous "demonisation" of the anti-Bolshevik forces. It consolidates the political split of the Soviet era into "their" and "outsiders", leaving little chance for the formation of a new memory of political compromise and reconciliation.

PRESENTER'S BIO

Iaroslav Golubinov is a historian from Samara, Russia. He has worked in the Samara University, but since 2019 he is holding a position of the senior researcher at the Institute of History and Archeology, Ural Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Yekaterinburg). He was an author for the "1914-1918-online – International Encyclopedia of the First World War", journals "Le mouvement social", "Scando-Slavica" and others. Dr Golubinov's articles in journals and book chapters were devoted to the problems of the economic, social and cultural life of Europe and Russia during the Great

War as well as issues of its commemoration today. He prepared the paper for this conference as part of the project 19-18-00221 funded by the Russian Science Foundation.

GRINCHENKO GELINADA

Faculty of Philosophy, V. N. Karazin National University in Kharkiv

Oral History Practice in the Former Socialist Countries:
Peculiarities and Challenges

As a relatively young academic discipline, which is still in the process of building out its own academic niche in post-socialist social sciences and humanities, oral history in post-socialist countries occupies a unique vanguard position. In continuation of the discussion, that we have already started in our book Reclaiming the Personal: Oral History in Post-Socialist Europe (ed. by Natalia Khanenko-Friesen and Gelinada Grinchenko, University of Toronto Press, 2015), in first part of presentation several peculiarities of oral history practice in the former socialist countries meet their further argumentation.

These peculiarities are the answer for two interconnected questions: is there unique post-socialist oral history that can be distinguished from various other oral historical discourses around the world? And what defines and what drives oral historical research in former socialist countries on the European continent?

Answering these questions four main features of oral historical practice in former socialist countries are distinguished. The first is about oral history as effective (and affective) intellectual tool in accessing, evaluating, comprehending and contributing to discovering multitude pasts and presents of post-socialist societies. The second concerns oral historical practice in post-socialist scholarship as a political tool in re-conceptualizations of past serving both new and old competing ideologies. The third one emphasises central role of oral history in examining the lived experience of ordinary individuals, i.e. in reclaiming the personal in post-socialist scholarship. Finally the forth feature is about oral history's ability to produce and legitimize new or alternative agents of national histories.

All these features, multiplied by a broad understanding of oral history not only as a source, but also as social and political cooperation, give rise to the difficulties and challenges faced by oral history in post-socialist countries, the discovering of which constitutes the second part of presentation. Mostly, these challenges are determined by ongoing memory battles and high level of these memories instrumentalization as a legitimizing tool of certain political projects.

The first challenge to be discussed in the second part of presentation concerns oral history method and rises from current enthusiasm with oral history projects been dealing with the recent, ongoing past. Two questions frame this situation: when does an event end and when does it become history, for oral history method to be used for its investigation? The second challenge starts from todays certain obsession with oral

history practice, which results in huge growth of oral history collections. Should we do something to prevent the unpromising increase in recorded recollections? And what should be done with already existed thousands recorded oral histories? Here we come to the third difficulty, which is connected from one side with preservation and popularization of recorded histories, and from other – with overall digitalization and in our case with online-archives of oral histories. Here we face specific challenges, connected with ethics, privacy and safety of our respondents, security and storage of data and access to them by third parties as well.

PRESENTER'S BIO

Gelinada Grinchenko is a Professor of History at the Department of Ukrainian Studies (Faculty of Philosophy, V. N. Karazin National University, Kharkiv,Ukraine), Editor-in-Chief of the Ukrainian based academic peer-reviewed journal Ukraina Moderna, Head of the Ukrainian Oral History Association, Member of German-Ukrainian Historical Commission. Her main areas of interest are oral history, the history and memory of WWII, Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Memory Studies. She has edited several books and journals, and published many chapters and peer-reviewed articles on these issues. Her latest edited volume is *Traitors, Collaborators, and Deserters in Contemporary European Politics of Memory: Formulas of Betrayal*, ed. by G. Grinchenko and E. Narvselius (Palgrave Macmillan Memory Studies, 2018), 422 pp.

HABINC MATEJA

Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, University of Ljubljana

Shortages – of What? (Post-)Socialist Reflections on Modernity, Resourcefulness and Creativity:
The Case-Study of Socialist Commission Shops

General, first glance public perceptions sketch socialist societies as the societies of the economic and material shortages and consequently as the societies of the enhanced people's resourcefulness and creativity. Such generalisations nowadays exist in post-socialist as well as in other societies, as inner as well as outer conceptualisations. The presentation, based on the archival and field-work research of the post-Second-World War Slovenia/Yugoslavia and (Czecho)Slovakia, will therefore discuss such contemporary perceptions focusing on the commission shops as they existed in both countries in their post-Second-World-War socialistic periods.

Commission shops are a type of retail, known also during earlier as well as during later historical periods, whereas their existence during socialism was specifically, ideologically justified. Mediating between individual sellers and buyers of the used goods commission shops charge provision while they don't owe but only mediate stuff. During socialism and especially during harsh post-war existential crisis they were supposed to prevent illegal individual trading or exchanging, the "*unjust individual exploitation and profiteering of some at the cost of the distress of the others*". Therefore, soon after the Second World War both countries organised nets of such commission shops which at least in bigger cities were one of the basic legal suppliers of essential as well as other living goods. Those individuals who wanted to sell something could do that legally in such shops, which nevertheless haven't traded only with used and domestic, but also imported, new, damaged or outdated goods. Various state institutions (for example customs, corporations and enterprises) provided at least some of such goods which is why information about accessibility of goods in such stores was the hottest merchandise. Nevertheless, socialist commission shops were mostly the collections of the everyday and ordinary, of the necessary and basic. Due to various historical events, geo-strategical positions and economic orientations of the countries they preserved their role variously long: in Slovenia they had their notable role mostly in some bigger cities only in the first post-Second-World War decade, while later they either closed or joined with other types of second-hand retail (with for example antiques, imported goods etc.). In (Czecho)Slovakia commission shops were more widespread throughout the country since the first post-Second-World-War years and they existed up to the end of the 80s'. According mostly to the archival sources they were also more diverse – they were either specialised in the redemption and sale of general (household) goods (*Bazar* shops), while on the other hand *Klenoty*, *Orient* and *Autobazar* shops also existed. They (mostly) sold either second-hand jewellery and watches (*Klenoty*), goods from abroad

(*Orient*) or they focused on the car retail (*Autobazar*). Often they were also joined with the repair workshops.

On the one hand socialist commission shops are therefore supposedly a direct consequence of material and economic shortages of these societies, they are one of the examples of the supposed socialist consumerist complexity, while at the same time they are also inseparably linked to the system's as well as people's inventiveness. Publicly as well as professionally they are namely often explained as legal or even semi-legal creative paving paths through or even out of unsuccessful socialist economies and because of creativity and sociability they are also related to a bit of romanticism and nostalgia.

However, reflecting such generalised and causal representations various questions appear: since reflections usually inform us more about the position we construct them from than about what they are supposed to shed light on, what does such an image of a socialist past reveal about the contemporaneity? Let's immerse into this also with an excerpt from an author's field journal: *Nevertheless, how much the concurrent politics reflected also in the archived documents tried to present and justify Klenoty and Bazar shops, how their personnel tried to arrange, decorate and tidy them, first and most of all – at least from the standpoint of my interlocutor – they were an expression of a deep poverty. People supposedly experienced them through their basic and pure needs and limitations, felt them as signals of poverty, shame, disgust, marginality. They were survival strategies constructing their truths and wold-makings.*

Do such impressions reveal nowadays we live in a post-socialist and/or capitalist (neo-liberal) societies with no (or at least incomparable) material shortages, no such shame and feelings of marginality? Do we consider ourselves more modern and therefore luckier since we departed from socialism to post-socialism/capitalism where we're at least materialistically, economically better off? And last but not least: since second-hand shops and the whole variety of retail channels related to the reuse and recycling is nowadays wildly developing under the umbrella tag "sustainability" – who is "we" in such linear or even evolutionary perceptions of the socio-historical development where a path leads from the premodern, underdeveloped socialism to modern and better off post-socialist present? Such linear contemporary representations of the socialist past and evolutionary historical causality will therefore be questioned and compared to various other ideas about the modernisation, progress and development.

PRESENTER'S BIO

Mateja Habinc graduated in ethnology and cultural anthropology and journalism and defended her MA and PhD thesis at the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana. From 2006 to 2010 she was an assistant and later an assistant professor at the Faculty of Humanities and at the Faculty of Tourist Studies – Turistica, University of Primorska, specialised in ethnology and heritage studies. Since 2010 she is employed at the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana where she is the head of the department for the Ethnology of Slovenia. She's an associate professor specialised

particularly in the research of the material and social culture in Slovenia during its (post-)socialist period. In the past she has primarily researched various holidays and rituals (All Saint's Day, visiting and tending graves, Yugoslav socialist holiday system during the first two after-Second-World-War decades as well as some contemporary festivals) while she was also interested in the material culture – she has researched memory objects while lately she is focused mostly on the contemporary and past second-hand retail with clothing. Her research shifts from material to social topics, from the interest for memory to the rituality, from the heritage to ritual studies, more or less remaining specialised in the examples from the (socialist) past as well as contemporary Slovenia.

HARASIMOWICZ MARTA

Department of Czech History, Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague

"If you Want to Be Classy, Have Yugoclass."
Postmodern Cultural Images of Josip Broz Tito
Between Cult of Personality, Humour and Heterotopia

As stated by Stuart Hall, "the event must become a 'story' before it can become a communicative event" (Hall 1980). Mythization and "narrativization" of history have been always used by societies to strengthen the sense of community and to build collective identity. To a similar extent there are also important elements forming collective memory.

Contemporary narratology emphasizes the universal nature of narrative mechanisms: the same mechanisms can be observed on the background of high culture, as well as in popular culture. In this context, a special case seems to be the phenomenon of internet memes. It operates on the assumption of a specific communicative situation, in which a kind of negotiation of meanings – taking place on the basis of interaction with the recipient – is an important aspect. Traits as shortcut, humour and focusing on emotions can be considered as key elements of such cultural artefacts as well.

This contribution will focus on contemporary memes related to the person of the socialist leader of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito. We will concentrate mainly on cultural meanings and narratives generated by this meme culture and its relation to the narratives formed in context of official and unofficial representations of the leader during the socialist era.

The anonymity of the meme culture and its typical convention, based on communication in English, makes it difficult to determine whether (and to what extent) the analysed material is created in the cultural context of the former Yugoslav countries. A basic analysis of the structure of users actively responding to these memes on social networking sites allows us to conclude that the community of their recipients is international and is not limited to members of nations for whom Tito's legacy is a part of collective memory.

Following the meme culture related to the person of the Yugoslav leader, we can easily distinguish its few main thematic circles. These can be further divided into motives more or less embedded in specific historical facts (antifascism, the liberation of Yugoslavia, the Cold War, the split with Stalin, the unification and disintegration of Yugoslavia, the activities of the Titovian repression apparatus or events from the president's personal life), motives articulating the contemporary perspective and timeless threads (humor related to the emblematic elements of South Slavic reality and everyday life, reflection of selected physical and characterological features of Tito).

Josip Broz was an object of strong cult of personality during whole socialist era in Yugoslavia. This cult was from the very beginning based on mythological aspects. The most significant of them included the modes of presentation of his origins and the rise to power, heroic narrations about his military achievements or some kind of sacralisation through official rituals and numerous commemorations in the public space. Another element of mythization was emphasizing specific features of Tito, such as courage, bravery, strength, justice and physical beauty. All of these elements are also present in the memes which is expressed in frequent reproduction of specific set of biographical topics. An interesting example of memes referring to the narrative structures that accompanied Tito's official image in the socialist era are also those expressing positive feelings for Tito. A similarly affirmative attitude is, perhaps surprisingly, often evidenced also in memes which thematise the topic of the Goli Otok political prison – usually linked to the reflection of various (both serious and banal) problems of the contemporary world.

A peculiar tool of mythization was, however, also the numerous thematizations of Tito, which, following Bakhtin, can be included in the culture of popular laughter – such as anecdotes about his person. As stated by Ljubinko Radenković, the most common Tito's features in this humoristic stories are his cunning, cleverness and insolence (Radenković 2011). These motives are repeatedly reproduced in memes as well, especially in the context of Yugoslavia's unique position during the Cold War. Among the archetypes realized in building the image of Tito as a meme hero, however, we can also find contemporary narrative figures. In this respect, the most interesting groups of memes seem to be those that use the motives of the bodily attractiveness of the Yugoslav president as well as his hedonist behaviour and style. The image of Josip Broz is generally subject to creative modification there, which goes beyond the representation of a historical figure and becomes a carrier of a kind of autonomous narrative, the primary function of which is to articulate the aspirations and ideals of the community of meme users.

The functioning of Tito's image is a unique example of the mythization of a historical figure in popular culture. As there is no consensus around the moral and historical assessment of Tito; his contemporary cultural image is formed in constant tension between various discourses and contradictory horizons of expectations regarding the presentation of the former Yugoslav president. This tension strengthens the attractiveness and subversive potential of building and reproducing narratives centred around Tito, which actually become a medium of nostalgia as well as expressing critical attitudes towards current political situations or desires related to social and political life.

PRESENTER'S BIO

Marta Harasimowicz is a Ph.D. candidate in Czech History at Charles University, Faculty of Arts and a junior researcher in the CU FA Department of Czech History. She graduated from Comparative Literature on Charles University Faculty of Arts (M.A. degree; thesis theme: Czechoslovak Spartakiad as a Case Study of Modern Myth). From 2017 to 2019 she was a member of the Czech research team within an

international Horizon 2020 project Cultural Opposition – Understanding the Cultural Heritage of Dissent in the Former Socialist Countries (692919, EU Framework Programme for Research and Innovation). From 2018 to 2020 she participated on project The Experience of State Socialism Reimaginated, realized by the Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes (2017-2-CZ01-KA205-03577, Erasmus+). She specializes in contemporary history of Czechoslovakia, cultural history of former socialist countries (with special regard to Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Poland) and museum studies. Her major research interests are: everyday life in socialist Czechoslovakia, cultural images of past, nostalgia as a cultural phenomenon, socialist festivities and relation between ideology and performativity. She participated in several conferences in the Czech Republic and abroad. She is the author of the chapter *Rok 1989 jako předmět vystavování: dědictví – narativy – kontinuity (Year 1989 as an object of exhibition: heritage – narratives – continuity)* in collective monograph *Kde přebývá devětaosmdesátý. Sametová revoluce v absolutní hodnotě* (Agha, Geryk et al., 2020; publication in preparation). She currently works on Ph.D. thesis on narrativity and narrative strategies in popularization of contemporary history in Central European countries.

HLAVÁČEK JIŘÍ

Institute of Contemporary History, Czech Academy of Sciences

Army Makes You a Man!
Compulsory Military Service in Late Socialist Czechoslovakia as Part of the Current (N)Ostalgia Remembrance Discourse?

The paper focuses on narrative analysis of oral-historical interviews conducted within the framework of a grant project about the reflection of compulsory military service in the late socialist period in Czechoslovakia (1968-1989). The main attention is paid to the interpretation of narratives in the context of anthropological concept of *rite of passage* (Arnold van Gennep). In this case, the (traditionally) two-year basic military service is seen not only as a disciplinary instrument of socialist citizenship education, but above all as initiation ritual in a temporary closed (exclusively male) community (resp. subculture) with its own social order, which differs significantly from the rest of society at that time.

During the existence of basic military service, the public's attitude to this institute was quite ambivalent - on the one hand it represented a form of deprivation, on the other hand its completion was considered dominant gender order for meritorious proof of masculinity.

The memories of men who completed military service also show a similar contradiction. A characteristic feature of their memories is, above all, a high degree of retrospective leniency. Most men, regardless of all the negatives of compulsory military service (e.g. bullying, loss of time, restriction of liberty), remember with the passage of time one or two years spent in the barracks mostly in good and with humour. The importance of military service is also evidenced by the diverse range of memoirs, films and series (especially those made before 1989) in the public (and media) space. That is why compulsory military service is a social phenomenon that for most witnesses is associated exclusively with the communist past (although it was abolished only in 2004) and thus becomes an important element of the current (n)ostalgic culture of remembrance.

In the individual retrospective evaluation of military service, however, a number of variables play an important role (e.g. psychological profile of conscripts, place of service, type of army, team, personalities of officers, etc.), including collective memory (social discourse or prestige of the army, reference frames, national and international political situation, etc.).

Interviews with respondents who completed military service before 1989 were characterized by more extensive introductory contextual parts, which can be attributed mainly to the length of their personal experience with this phenomenon (i.e. more narrative episodes), but also to greater time lag. (i.e. propensity to balance life after years). Another characteristic feature identical for both generations of respondents

(graduates of military service in the 1970s and 1980s) is the vulgar language, through which the inherently masculine nature of this experience is (in) directly manifested.

It is the dimension of gender (masculine) initiation (i.e. the introduction of boys into the community of men) undoubtedly that represents the dominant discourse of the narrative of the army, although there is no consensus among narrators about the success or failure of this transitional ritual (in Gennep's conception). On the one hand, typically masculine collective values such as courage, honour, friendship are hardly found in narratives; on the other hand, if service is a benefit for witnesses, then rather at the level of strengthening or affirming individual masculinity.

The narrative construction of this phenomenon is influenced and shaped by different generational experiences, which are closely linked to different types of collective identities. While for the witnesses of the 1970s, the representation of military service as a "real manly duty" dominates (strengthening gender identity), which - despite the occupation of Czechoslovakia by Warsaw Pact troops in 1968 - has not lost its meaning (homeland defence or citizenship education – i.e. strengthening national, civic identities); a decade later, military service (in the context of gradually collapsing socialism in Czechoslovakia) is perceived mainly as an "involuntary prison", completely meaningless (i.e. collective identity is emptied and service in the army is reflected only as a disciplinary process aimed at is the total subjugation of the individual to the existing social order by the ruling regime).

However, a key element in the perception of the institute of military service remains the mechanism of prioritizing collective identity over the individual (i.e. the group is more important than the individual). The initial power discourse seems to paradoxically fail in these collective indoctrinal ambitions, because most witnesses construct a rather opposite discourse. In its context, military service before 1989 can be interpreted primarily as a means of strengthening personal (individual) masculine identity – i.e. the rite of passage that current young men lack.

In a broader context, most of these claims can be understood primarily as a critique of the contemporary world, i.e. the last phase of postmodern society, whose main characteristics include "fluidity" (in Zygmunt Bauman's concept) manifested by variable uncertainty, strong individualism, consumerism and globalism. Through military service, the interviews thus indirectly point to current social problems (i.e. the absence of order, collective values, ideals and national pride) and are argued for the re-establishment of this institute.

PRESENTER'S BIO

Jiří Hlaváček is researcher at the Institute of Contemporary History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, assistant professor at the Faculty of Humanities of the Charles University and current president of Czech Oral History Association. He is interested in military history, collective memory, digital humanities and methodology of qualitative research. Email: hlavacek@usd.cas.cz

KABŮRKOVÁ MARKÉTA

National Museum Archive, Prague

The First Czechoslovak People´s Democratic President and the Era of Late Stalinism According to Diplomatic, Personal, and Other Presents.
Materials from the Collection "Klement Gottwald–The Personality Cult"

In 2014–2017, the National Museum (the Czech Republic) has been taken over collections of the former Museum of the Working Class Movement (Muzeum dělnického hnutí). This institution originated as a successor and a fusion of former so called party museums such as the V. I. Lenin Museum (the first Lenin´s museum outside of the Soviet Union opened on 21 January 1953), the Museum of Klement Gottwald (since 23 November 1954, KG would be 58 on this day), and the youngest, Julius Fučík Museum (functioning hardly two years in 1988–1989) in 1990, and represented a successful way how to preserve their collections in almost intact condition – in contrast to many other institutions and materials of similarly ideologically tainted character were simply dispersed, lost, or even purposely destroyed. However, some 25 years later, in order to secure the completeness of its collections in times of decreasing funding, the Museum of the Working Class Movement (MDH) decided to donate its collections to the National Museum. The Czech National Museum accepted this rather large donation and subsequently it has received a substantial founding from the Applied Research and Development of National and Cultural Identity Programme (NAKI II), provided by the Czech Republic Ministry of Culture, for the project called *The Museum of Working Class Movement in the 21st Century. Presentation of the Use of the Museum Collection Created in the Era of State Socialism and the Ways of Use of Its Materials for Professional and Wide Public* (*Muzeum dělnického hnutí – MDH – v 21. století. Prezentace práce s muzejní sbírkou doby státního socialismu a způsoby užití jejího materiálu k potřebám odborné a široké veřejnosti).* The project has been solved together with the Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes (which focuses on the uses of collections in history education and teaching methods) as a co-investigator.

The Collections consist of some 400 000 items of collectibles of various character: objects of visual art, posters, militaria, flags and standards, honours, models, etc; photographic and film material; and books and booklets gathered in the museum library – these are sustained by the section of newer and contemporaneous Czech history – however an extensive part of collection represents the archival sources preserved in the National Museum Archive. In the process, the ANM has taken over material such as: registries and other administrative agenda of above mentioned museums, personal collections – e.g. Julius Fučík and Gusta Fučíková collection, archives of public movements - e.g. the Peace movement, material related to central congresses of the Czechoslovak Communist Party (namely salutations and work commitments addressed

to individual congresses, e.g. the ninth congress in 1949 was very popular and consists of several hundreds of items), material originating on occasions of political representatives visits, and towns and industrial/agricultural organisations representations of various character addressed to political authorities.[7]

A unique, autonomous part of the collections is a set, we provisionally named as an archival collection "Klement Gottwald - the personality cult" (to indicate that the collection is not a usual personal collection such as the already mentioned Julius Fučík and Gusta Fučíková collection)[8.] The KG collection contains various material mostly connected with the personality cult of KG as it flourished between 1945 (resp. 1946 when the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia won the elections and KG became the prime minister) and 1958 (the year when the exposition of presents for KG was finally cancelled).[9] Namely, there are birthday wishes and congratulations on various other occasions, work commitments addressed to KG on various occasions or on continual basis, reports of Five-Years/Two-Years working plans or other reports of work commitments executions, and gifts and other donations of which KG was the recipient.[10]

Originators of such material included both institutions and individuals however more or less official and system-connected organizations (i. e. municipal and regional authorities, factories and companies, leftist movement units, yet also interest groups of no political agenda such as the chess players association, etc.11) represented usual bodies which used to send this kind of deliveries to the Communist leader. Thereby the individual senders and the form of their consignments distinguish well from the institutionalised ones.

How important the type of the material these documents and artefacts represented testifies a fact that one of the first so called party exhibitions – the Exhibition of presents (for KG) – took place in Lobkowic Palace at the Prague Castle in the period between 23 February 1952 and 30 October 1958. More precisely, this rather specific project was formally something between an exhibition, a museum, and a monument or an artificially created commemorating place.12 Now, its exhibits, in fact, constitutes a core part of

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[7] Usual items represented photographic albums created on occasion of a political authority´s visit to the town or organisation, honorary citizenships in case of towns and cities, and presents, sample products, and work commitments in case of industrial/agricultural and other organisations – often in forms formerly characteristic for an advertisement and propagation material.

[8] Smaller sets existed also for other personalities, e.g. Antonín Zápotocký, Viliam Široký, Marie Gottwaldová, and, for example, one salutation was also addressed to Martička, a granddaughter of Klement Gottwald.

[9] The precise date was 30 October 1958. A decision about it preceded one month. See NA Praha, fond Ústav dějin KSČ, a. j. 173/4, k. 24. More detailed information about the exposition follows further.

[10] The earlier example of such collection of gifts and donations represented the Exhibition of gifts for Stalin opened in the World Trade Palace in 1949 (on occasion of his 70th birthday).

[11] Sometimes, specifically in earlier years when the political pressure did not yet reach its peak, we may be surprised to encounter among senders of celebratory mail and presents also groups such as the Scout Association which we imagine as belonging to marginalised and oppressed groups which later attracted the attention of the secret police of the Communist regime.

[12] Compare Vítězslav Sommer, *Angažované dějepisectví. Stranická historiografie mezi stalinismem a reformním komunismem (1950–1970)*, Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny a FF UK v Praze, 2011, p. 86–88.

our KG – the cult of personality collection. Moreover, back in the Fifties, this early exhibition represented a highly supported and widely advertised event seeking a mass attendance through organized trips from the regions, school and children organized group visits. However, we can differentiate several periods as its concept was reconsidered after Gottwald´s death, and via comparison with the Book of presents from the Presidential office held in the National Museum Department of the Newer Czechoslovak History, nowadays, we may be able to determine on which basis were the items/presents selected for the exhibition.

Nevertheless, my main aim here is to assess the KG - the personality cult collection as a testimony of the period custom and sentiments ranging from highly personalised expressions to stereotyped and formalised ways of fulfilling certain established forms of ideological affirmation to sometimes extremely emotional and individualised professions addressed to an apotheosised leader. Also, the collection may show how the life in the people´s democracy regime of the Fifties influenced the values and attitudes attested by the exemplary presents and other material from the collection.[13] In addition, I am concerned with the issue of methodology and historiography approach towards this newly assessed material, and perhaps even with the creation of a new ones. Also, I am going to characterise and categorise iconography reflected in the images in such material – for example, iconography used in relation to the ideal of (namely industrial and agricultural) work, in relation to the political and diplomatic ties and links, in relation to the ideal characteristics of the leader and other political subjects. And, on contrary, in relation to criticised, and obsolete features remaining within the political system etc.

PRESENTER'S BIO

I have obtained the doctoral title at the Charles University in Prague (2013). I have also spent several years studying and researching abroad: University of Cambridge (2008); the Ben-Gurion University in Beersheva (2009–2010); Paideia, the Institute for European Jewish Studies in Sweden (2012–2013). I have been a FIIRD post-doc fellow at University de Genève (2014–2015); at the Kurt and Ursula Schubert Centre for Jewish Studies, Palacký University in Olomouc (2015–2016); and a visiting fellow at the CERES, Ruhr-Uni Bochum (2018/10-12). Since 2017, I work as a curator and archivist at the National Museum Archive in Prague. Recently, I am taking part at the research project "The Museum of Working Class Movement in 21st Century. Presentation of the Use of the Museum Collection Created in the Era of State Socialism and the Ways of Use of Its Materials for Professional and Wide Public" led by T. Kavka, NAKI project within the programme to support applied research and experimental development of the national and cultural identity 2016–2022. Therefore, the material I am working now has significantly changed. Formerly, I have studied Jewish-Christian relations and religious

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[13] This question corresponds to your third topic listed in the CfP. Further, I can at least partly answer also topics 4, 5, and 6 which are reflected in the work of our co-investigator – the Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes (ÚSTR) whose focuses are on the uses of this (and other parts of the MDH) collections in history education and in memory studies.

confrontations. I have published several papers: "Reflection of other sources in the works of Berechiah ben Natronai ha-Naqdan ans Jacob ben Reuben in quest for God's unity." in Polemics, Biology, and Gender: New Perspectives on Medieval Jewish Philosophy. Ed. T. Visi, Olomouc 2018, 11–33; "Tela Ignea Satanae: Christian Scholars and the Editing of Hebrew Polemical Literature" in Revealing the Secrets of the Jews: Johannes Pfefferkorn and Christian Writings about Jewish Life and Literature in Early Modern Europe. Eds. J. Adams and C. Heβ, Berlin 2017, 261–273. Now, I focus on the history of the 20th century as sources and documents I asses at my present workplace stem mostly in that period.

KOLKUNOVA KSENIA

Saint Tikhon's Orthodox University in Moscow

Past Not So Forgotten:
Scientific Atheism and Contemporary Religious Situation in Russia

Scientific atheism (SA) as a research program has a controversial aura in contemporary Russia; scholars discuss its political engagement or doubt its scientific value. One of the apparent reasons for such an attitude is that the central part of the 'hard core' of this program aims to diminish its subject, religion. Not trying to solve the problem of 'normalness' for Soviet SA, I would like to draw attention to the fact that as any area of research, SA is constructing its subject, that is, creating new forms of reality and means of dealing with it. We can see that today the patterns and terms created by SA still influence both study of religion in Russia and how society sees religion and relates to it. We can see how the knowledge of religion formed by the Communist regime formatted the discourse of religion prevailing in Russia today. In most cases, contemporary believers do not know this continuity and blame scholars of religion to be 'heirs' of atheists of the past.

The most transparent example can be found in terms that were transmitted employing atheistic propaganda, in fiction, popular media, public lectures, etc. We can find traces of such continuity in discussing missionary activity, religious feelings, religious coercion, spirituality, and religion's role in history and culture. Religious dynamics show that many Russians interiorized scientific atheistic theories, but in most cases, contemporary believers do not see this continuity and blame the atheists of the past.

The example I will examine is studying religious minorities. Definitions and theoretical reflection on religious sects only reappear in Soviet literature in the era of Scientific Atheism – in the 1920s, 30s and 40s studies were based on Lenin's ideas. When it came to defining a sect, authors pointed out several features like exclusiveness, intolerance towards others, rivalry, passionate polemicist, and self-affirmation by denying everything outside the accepted circle of thought and activity. Furthermore, a sect was seen to have been engendered by the struggle with the ruling class's religious institutions and as an expression of the social groups' protest, dissatisfied with their position in the class society. The tendency to isolation, the idea of being chosen, and the desire for its members' spiritual rebirth were also attributed to sects. These studies were used for antireligious work and influenced agitation forms like fiction, specially addressed to religion.

In the post-Soviet period, the notion "sect" predominantly appeared in the Orthodox community's addresses to other faiths. It was one of the foundations for a state program for controlling religious diversity. Recently discursive codes from scientific atheism's approaches to "fanatic sects" reappeared applied to the Orthodox Christianity. Mostly we are dealing with "atrocity stories" like confessions from ex-nuns or ex-priests, and

now there is a crucial case of Sergiy Romanov. Hegumen Sergiy Romanov (or Nickolay Romanov, as he was called before becoming a monk) was a widely known orthodox leader in Yekaterinburg, where he was leading a monastery in Ganina Yama, a place of worship for the last Russian Tzar Nickolay and his family. He is a founder and confessor in Sredneuralsky convent, where he is now (August 2020) after a long conflict with the Russian Orthodox Church and secular authorities. He denied the danger of COVID, spread conspiracy theories, and called for defiance towards both church and state leaders; the diocese condemned him and his followers to be schismatic. Such fundamentalists regularly become a focus of media attention. Ksenia Sobchak, a widely known media person and journalist, published a documentary about Sergiy on the 20th of July that now has more than three million viewers. Though we can follow sources and inspiration for such film in foreign anticult movement, major features follow the patterns rooted in antireligious literature of the 1950s. This includes visual code, plot elements, and accents as well.

We can focus on a similar storyline, first person-perspective concentrating on the victim, typically drawn to the sect for psychological reasons. Sectarians are depicted as villains, morally unstable criminals, violent, killing babies, etc. Very typical is depicting the leader as an illiterate tongue-tied criminal, a man surrounded by women under his power. Major charges include fanaticism, violence, especially towards children, sexual abuse, populous community totally out of control by the state. The responsibility is shared between the leaders of the group (being criminals), the victim (for making this wrong choice), and society (for indifference).

Soviet scientific atheism contributes much to the way Russians speak of religion today. As any area of research, Soviet scientific atheism was constructing its subject, i.e., creating new versions of reality as well as means of dealing with it. We can see that today the patterns and terms made by Soviet scholars still influence both – the study of religion in Russia as well as the way society considers religion and relates to it. Today we see how the Orthodox communities can be an object of these discursive practices. Such a new trend can transform the religious situation in Russia in the future.

PRESENTER'S BIO

Ksenia Kolkunova, Ph.D., is an associate professor at Saint Tikhon's Orthodox University, Moscow, Russia. She got a degree at Moscow State University in the study of religion, with the focus of her thesis being sociological and theological approaches to religion-like phenomena. Her primary fields of research include alternative religiosity and spirituality. In 2017 she published a monograph, Spirituality: Discourse and Reality (co-auth. Georgiy Orekhanov, in Russian). With a research project at St Tikhon's Orthodox University, she studied the Soviet period of religious studies with a particular interest for the correspondence Scientific Atheism has with the approaches to religion and religious situation in Russia today. The results of this research in English are included in the recent volume Communicating Religion and Atheism in Central and Eastern Europe (De Gruyter, 2020).

KOŃCZAL KORNELIA

Faculty of History and Arts, Ludwig Maximilian University in Munich

Legal Governance of Collective Memory:
The Case of De-Communisation in Post-1989 Poland

This paper explores how post-1989 Poland has coped with its communist past. Focusing on memory laws adopted by the Polish parliament in 1998 and 2016, I investigate political discourses and legal practices revolving around the concepts of "communist crime" and "propagation of communism." Juxtaposing national, regional and local approaches to de-communisation, I explore the promises and pitfalls of the legal governance of collective memory.

Prescribing certain interpretations of historical events or processes, memory laws are a powerful instrument of the politics of memory.[14] While some memory laws incentivise certain narratives about the past, others criminalise them.[15] An overview of various attempts to govern memory via legislation reveals that most energy has been invested in criminalising Holocaust denial. Relevant legal regulations are in force in as many as 22 (mostly European) countries, including Poland, where Holocaust denial was criminalised in 1998.[16]

While the prohibition of the denial of Nazi crimes subscribes to a politics of memory common to all of Europe – rooted as it is in the historical legacy of the Holocaust – the ban on the denial of communist crimes, implemented in Poland in the same legal act, is a feature particular to the states of Eastern Europe. Though new members of the European Union made attempts to extend this regional trend across all member states

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[14] Contrary to the widespread tendency to consider any regulation aimed at the past as a memory law, the definition of memory laws applied in this article is limited to legal acts whose aim is to impose a concrete interpretation of history in the public space by criminalizing certain statements about the past. As a result, my analysis relates neither to commemorative resolutions (because, unlike the laws, they are not binding), nor to the lustration law adopted in Poland in 2006 or the so-called desubekisation laws (*ustawy dezubekizacyjne*) passed by the Polish parliament in 2009 and 2016 (because they concern individuals and not the interpretation of history in the strict sense of the term).

[15] Nikolay Koposov, *Memory Laws, Memory Wars. The Politics of the Past in Europe and Russia*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2017; on memory laws in Poland: Koncewicz Tomasz Tadeusz, "On the Politics of Resentment, Mis-memory, and Constitutional Fidelity: The Demise of the Polish Overlapping Consensus?", *in* Uladzislau Belavusau et Aleksandra Gliszczyńska-Grabias (ed.), *Law and Memory: Towards Legal Governance of History*, Cambridge, CUP, 2017, 263–290; Baranowska Grażyna et Gliszczyńska-Grabias Aleksandra, "Right to Truth and Memory Laws: General Rules and Practical Implications", *Polish Political Science Yearbook*, vol. 47, 2018, 97–109; Bucholc Marta, "Commemorative Lawmaking: Memory Frames of the Democratic Backsliding in Poland After 2015", *Hague Journal of the Rule of Law,* no. 1, vol. 11, 2019, 85–110.

[16] Ustawa z dnia 18 grudnia 1998 r. o Instytucie Pamięci Narodowej – Komisji Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu (Dz.U. 1998, nr 155, poz. 1016).

over the past few years, this effort ended in failure.[17] In fact, to treat the denial of communist crimes in the same manner as the denial of the Holocaust would amount to questioning the singularity of the Holocaust.[18] Strikingly, the risk that the Holocaust might be degraded was not even mentioned during parliamentary debates revolving in 1998 around the first Polish memory law. Both the denial of the Holocaust and the denial of communist crimes are punished in Poland with fines or imprisonment for up to three years.

The vague definition of "communist crimes" that replaced the notion of "Stalinist crimes," which enjoyed wide currency in Polish up to that point, attracted little public attention. According to Article 2 of the law adopted in 1998, "communist crimes" are "acts perpetrated by functionaries of the communist state between 17 September 1939 and 31 December 1989, consisting in repressions or other violations of the human rights of individuals or groups of people, or acts perpetrated in connection with said repressions or violations, which constitute crimes according to the Polish criminal code in place at the time of the acts." A functionary of the communist state, in turn, is defined by the law as "a public functionary, as well as any person subject to protection equivalent to that of a public functionary, especially a state functionary or person serving a leadership function in a statutory body of the communist parties." References to 17 September 1939, the date of the Soviet invasion on Poland, and "communist parties" leave no doubt that this definition of communist crimes includes acts perpetrated not only by members of the Polish United Workers' Party, but also of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

In the absence of relevant judicial data, it is hard to tell if anyone in Poland was charged with denial of communist crimes. However, the progress of court cases concerning numerous key events in contemporary Polish history, such as the Katyń massacre (1940), Operation Vistula (1947), or the pacification of the "Wujek" coal mine (1981), testifies to the difficulties of application of the law in judicial practice. If it cannot be said if a given act was a communist crime, rather than, say, an act of genocide, of raison d'état, or a simple accident, the chances that anyone is convicted for the denial of communist crimes seem very slim.

The imprecision exhibited by the Polish legislative in its 1998 definition of communist crimes contrasts with the remarkably specific definition of communism introduced by the law on the "prohibition of the propagation of communism or other totalitarian

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[17] The resolution "on the importance of European remembrance for the future of Europe" that was adopted by the European Parliament on 19 September 2019 (2019/2819(RSP)) is merely declarative and has not produced any legal consequences (https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-9-2019-0021_EN.html).

[18] Emmanuel Droit, "Le Goulag contre la Shoah. Mémoires officielles et cultures mémorielles dans l'Europe élargie," *Vingtième Siècle* 94 (2007), no. 2, 101–120; DJ Clarke, "Communism and Memory Politics in the European Union," *Central Europe* 12 (2014), no. 1, 99–114; Laure Neumayer, *The Criminalisation of Communism in the European Political Space after the Cold War*, London: Routledge, 2019.

systems" from 2016.[19] According to this legal act, "[n]ames of buildings, objects, and devices of public use, including roads, streets, bridges, and squares, assigned by agencies of local government are not allowed to commemorate persons, organisations, events, or dates symbolising communism or any other totalitarian system." The proscription applies to names "that relate to persons, organisations, events, or dates symbolising the repressive, authoritarian, and subordinate system of government in Poland between 1944 and 1989." A catalogue of such names was prepared by the Institute of National Remembrance (IPN). It includes not only names of local communist activists, but also that of Karl Marx, as well as such figures as Edward Gierek (1913-2001), the still fairly popular First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party during the 1970s, Bruno Jasieński (1901-1938), a pioneer of Polish futurism executed in Moscow, or Oskar Lange (1904-1965), a world-renowned Polish economist. The list compiled by the IPN includes the names of numerous military formations, such as the so-called Dąbrowszczacy (Dąbrowski's men), Polish volunteers fighting with the International Brigades in Spain (1936-1939), as well as historical events, such as the battle of Stalingrad (1942-1943). The justification of this decision reads that street names referring to "Heroes of Stalingrad" or "Defenders of Stalingrad" constitute "a form of glorification of the Soviet Union and of the Red Army," while the triumph of the USSR over the Germans in the battle "led directly to an intensification of activities aimed against the republic of Poland on the part of the Kremlin, with the intent to sever international ties and lay the groundwork for alternative state structures under Moscow's complete control."[20] The IPN also devised three other lists of street names. The first, cataloguing "[n]ames requiring [the passing of] new resolutions with justification" includes names that carried "a positive resonance and were falsely interpreted under communism" (e.g. Defenders of the Peace) as well as "ambiguous names" (e.g. Pioneers).[21] The catalogue of "[p]ersons of stature falsely associated with the norms of the law" only lists two names – that of the socialist politicians Stanisław Okrzeja (1886-1905) and Bolesław Limanowski (1835-1935).[22] Finally, the catalogue of "[n]ames of controversial nature and falsely associated with the norms of the law" lists street names commemorating May Day, the Commune of Paris, and Yuri Gagarin (1934-1968), as well as poet Mieczysław Braun (1902-1941 or 1942), worker's rights activist Marcin Kasprzak (1860-1905), and socialist ideologist Ludwik Waryński (1856-1889).[23]

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[19] Ustawa z dnia 1 kwietnia 2016 r. o zakazie propagowania komunizmu lub innego ustroju totalitarnego przez nazwy jednostek organizacyjnych, jednostek pomocniczych gminy, budowli, obiektów i urządzeń użyteczności publicznej oraz pomniki (Dz.U. 2016, poz. 744).
[20] Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, "Nazwy do zmiany: ul. Obrońców Stalingradu," https://ipn.gov.pl/pl/upamietnianie/dekomunizacja/zmiany-nazw-ulic/nazwy-ulic/nazwy-do-zmiany/40388,ul-Obroncow-Stalingradu.html.
[21] Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, "Nazwy wymagające nowych uchwał z uzasadnieniem," https://ipn.gov.pl/pl/upamietnianie/dekomunizacja/zmiany-nazw-ulic/nazwy-ulic/nazwy-wymagajace-nowych/38515,Nazwy-wymagajace-nowych-uchwal-z-uzasadnieniem.html.
[22] Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, "Postaci zasłużone błędnie wiązane z normami ustawy," https://ipn.gov.pl/pl/upamietnianie/dekomunizacja/zmiany-nazw-ulic/nazwy-ulic/postaci-zasluzone-bledn/36810,Niepodlegajace-ustawie.html.
[23] Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, "Nazwy kontrowersyjne i błędnie wiązane z normami ustawy," https://ipn.gov.pl/pl/upamietnianie/dekomunizacja/zmiany-nazw-ulic/nazwy-ulic/nazwy-kontrowersyjne-i/38021,Nazwy-kontrowersyjne-i-blednie-wiazane-z-normami-ustawy.html.

The reason why the commemoration of Braun, Kasprzak, Limanowski, Okrzeja and Waryński is not prohibited despite their ideological identity lies in their commitment to the sake of Poland's independence before 1918. Regarding May 1, the Paris Commune and Yuri Gagarin, experts of the IPN do not bring any arguments to justify their decision.

Though local governments were allowed freedom of choice whether "names of controversial nature" would be retained or changed, those that the IPN deemed to propagate communism had to be removed. Failure to comply with the law in due time would result in an intervention by the voivode, the state's representative on the regional level, even against the will of the people. The decision of the Polish parliament to curtail the prerogatives of the local authorities reflected the inefficiency of the less invasive methods of finalising the de-communisation of the public sphere. The previous attempts made by the IPN to convince the authorities in numerous townships to change street names associated with communism had failed to yield the expected results.[24]

The interventions of the voivodes, often reflective of the conflicts between the ruling party and the opposition, led not only to a series of public protests, but also to cases being brought to administrative courts by the local governments. Decisions by the voivodes to replace the names that propagated communism according to the IPN with that of President Lech Kaczyński (1949-2010), victim of the tragic plane crash at Smolensk, drew particular ire. In response to the resistance of the local authorities and populations, the parliament amended the law to make any protest against the decision of the voivode ineffectual.[25] Yet, the progress of court cases that had begun before the amendments were in place shows that the clear-cut definitions of communism proposed by the IPN find favour only with some of the judges.[26] Contrary to the intentions of the Polish parliament, the attempt to push through a top-down scheme for finalising the process of de-communisation thus led to regional disparities in the understanding of communism.

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[24] Joanna Kałużna, "Dekomunizacja przestrzeni publicznej w Polsce – zarys problematyki," *Środkowoeuropejskie Studia Polityczne* 2 (2018), 157–171, here 160–162; on spontaneous decommunisation of the public sphere in Poland after 1989, see: Elżbieta Hałas, "Polityka symboliczna i pamięć zbiorowa. Zmiany nazwy ulic po komunizmie," in: *Zmiana czy stagnacja?*, edited by Mirosława Marody, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, 2014, 128–152; Ewa Ochman, *Post-Communist Poland: Contested Pasts and Future Identities*, London: Routledge, 2013, 75–89; Bartłomiej Różycki, "Dekomunizacja przestrzeni publicznej w Polsce, 1989-2016," in: *Rozliczanie totalitarnej przeszłości: instytucje i ulice*, edited by Andrzej Paczkowski, Warszawa: ISP PAN, 2017, 99–158, here 137–157.

[25] Ustawa z dnia 22 czerwca 2017 r. o zmianie ustawy o zakazie propagowania komunizmu lub innego ustroju totalitarnego przez nazwy budowli, obiektów i urządzeń użyteczności publicznej (Dz.U. 2017, poz. 1389); Ustawa z dnia 14 grudnia 2017 r. o zmianie ustawy o zakazie propagowania komunizmu lub innego ustroju totalitarnego przez nazwy jednostek organizacyjnych, jednostek pomocniczych gminy, budowli, obiektów i urządzeń użyteczności publicznej oraz pomniki oraz ustawy o zmianie ustawy o zakazie propagowania komunizmu lub innego ustroju totalitarnego przez nazwy budowli, obiektów i urządzeń użyteczności publicznej (Dz.U. 2017, poz. 2495). The first of these amendments also introduced a "[p]rohibition of the propagation of communism or any other totalitarian system through monuments."

[26] Renata Krupa-Dąbrowska, "Sąd o dekomunizacji nazw ulic: nie wszystko co stare musi kojarzyć się z PRL – wyrok WSA," *Rzeczpospolita*, 22 September 2019.

PRESENTER'S BIO

Kornelia Kończal is a post-doctoral researcher at the Faculty of History and Arts at Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich. Her research interests include the social history of property and cultural heritage in post-1945 Europe, the transnational history of social sciences and humanities, and the politics of memory and memory activism in Poland. She is currently preparing a book on post-war plundering of German property in Poland and Czechoslovakia. Her recent publications include: "The Invention of the 'Cursed Soldiers' and its Opponents: Post-war Partisan Struggle in Contemporary Poland", in *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures,* 34 (1), 2020: 67–95; and "Mnemonic Populism: the Polish Holocaust Law and its Afterlife", in *European Review* (online first).

KONOVŠEK TJAŠA

Institute of Contemporary History in Ljubljana

Forgive and Forget:
Political Reconciliation and Collective Memory in Post-Yugoslav Slovenia

Recently, a great deal of public attention in Slovenia and Italy was focused on a meeting between the presidents of both states. On July 13th, Borut Pahor and Sergio Mattarella stood together, hand in hand, and observed a minute of silence at a monument to four anti-Fascist Slovenes, who were executed by Italian dictator Benito Mussolini's regime in 1930. Earlier that day, the two presidents also visited a foiba in Bazovica (Basovizza in Italian), where a number of victims of post Second World War partisan killings were buried, some among which were Italians.

The event caused significant backlash in Slovenia, not least by the historians marking the event as revisionist. Critical commentators interpreted the event as a right-wing, even treacherous act of Slovene politics. However, it was the word *sprava* (reconciliation) that made the biggest impact on broad Slovene public. Understanding negative reactions to the recent peaceful act of two heads of state holding hands requires some knowledge of history and directly addresses the question of political reconciliation and collective remembering and forgetting. This recent *sprava* was a direct reminder of another *sprava* in the state's modern history, namely the reconciliation of 1991. Unlike the reconciliation attempt between Slovenia and Italy, the reconciliation of 1991 was an act of reconciling two supposedly divided sides of Slovene nation itself. The basic idea was that the newly emerging Slovene state should take public responsibility for the killings of collaboration soldiers and (in much lesser numbers) some civilians, committed during and after the Second World War by the partisan side.

After the war has ended, the killings were first completely excluded from public life in socialist Yugoslavia, since the state built a fair amount of their legitimacy on the moral component of its antifascist history. The knowledge of killings mostly took forms of family histories. It was only in 1975 when Edvard Kocbek, one of the prominent partisan leaders, a politician and an intellectual figure, first spoke publicly about the killings of *domobranci* during an interview. After Tito's death in 1980, public debate about the killings became more intense. It reached its first peak in 1984, when Spomenka Hribar, a philosopher and like Kocbek a prominent public intellectual, started to promote the idea of *sprava* – that is, a formal state recognition of the post-war partisans' killings of *domobranci*. That would, in her opinion, give some peace to the families and allow the Slovene nation to move forward as a united entity. The nation, as she understood it, was a continuous living form that was fatally wounded and now needs to be healed. This fits perfectly with a notion of transitional justice.

Her idea came to life in 1991, when a ceremony was held in Kočevski Rog, at one of the sights of the post-war killings. The president of Slovene presidency, Milan Kučan, a prominent member of the Communist Party and the leader of its reform process, conducted a ceremony together with the archbishop of Ljubljana, dr. Alojzij Šuštar. The reality of the reconciliation ceremony of 1991 was much different from what Hribar envisioned. Both Šuštar and Kučan intended it as a unique, once in history type of act, initiated by a small circle of politicians and intellectuals that would allow a broad consensus needed for a dawning political project at hand: making an independent, democratic and liberal Slovene state. The unity, created by the reconciliation ceremony and many other political compromises of that time, reflected in a high support people had for Slovene politics at that time.

In the years that followed, the state paid little attention to the killings. The topic was no longer taboo, but the state, led by centre-left governments throughout the 1990s (priding themselves on their respect for human rights and the rule of law), was reluctant to take any further steps regarding the unmarked graves of *domobranci*. Only in 2001, the state accepted the Payment of compensation to victims of war and post-war violence act, assessing the damage done by all the wars of 20th century and financially compensating victims and their families. The first Government commission to investigate the killing sights was established in 2005 and only in 2015 a full act of Concealed war cemeteries and burial of victims was put in place.

I argue that a large time gap between the reconciliation ceremony of 1991 and the states' further actions left plenty of space for the problem of post-war killings and unmarked graves to become a major topic of Slovene right-wing politicians, who used it to claim an insufficient break with the socialist past during the 1990s. Thus, *sprava* became much less a noble idea or a national consensus project and much more a populist mobilization topic. When Italian and Slovene presidents expressed equal piety at the graves of fascist and antifascist victims, Slovene right-wing populists approved it as a step towards a complete condemnation of Slovene's partisan and socialist past, equating communism with fascism and recognizing it as one of the great evils of recent history.

I further argue that *sprava* as a form of state remembrance was and still is much more important as a political discourse than a bottom-up civic movement. Only a few family members of domobranci put up signs with names of religious items in places of the unmarked graves, thus making them more noticeable and personal. When the public remembers Yugoslavia and state socialism, their memories are often positive and nostalgic. It seems that Slovene society of 1990s was more prepared to forgive and forget the dark side of Yugoslavia's early times that the one of the last two decades, when political discourse and the media promote an idea of the Slovene nation, forever broken in two. This highly nationalistic notion found its expression in The Monument of the Victims of All Wars, erected in the centre of Ljubljana in 2013. Since then, the two block consolidate the polarization of public memory that, so it seems, grows ever further apart.

PRESENTER'S BIO

I am a junior researcher at the Institute of Contemporary History in Ljubljana, working on my PhD topic Slovene political transition from 1989 to 2004 (mentors Assist. Prof. Kornelija Ajlec, PhD, University of Ljubljana, and Jure Gašparič, PhD, Institute of Contemporary History). I completed my BA and MA in history at the University of Ljubljana. As a doctoral student I am part of a research group dealing with modern Slovene political history, trying to bring into account the international context of political changes, interdisciplinarity, and historical methodology. The topic of World War II victims is an ongoing project at the Institute of Contemporary History, making a database of the fallen and mapping the relationship of the former Slovene socialist state towards the post-war killings. As the question of the victims of post-war killings became an important question in time of Slovene independence and political transition, it is also a part of my current PhD research.

KOVANIČ MARTIN

Department of Political Science, Faculty of Arts, Comenius University in Bratislava

Struggles for the Memory of Communisms:
Institutionalization of Narratives of the Past in Slovakia

Modes of remembering of the past and the institutionalization of its memory are noticeably shaped by the narratives presented in the museums and its exhibits. These narratives are not value neutral and often present accounts that fit the contemporary predominant societal values, which is especially true for contested historical periods. In the case of the communist past, which is perceived contrarily by the various segments of population, the narratives of communism institutionalized in the museums are an integral part of the memory politics and wider political struggles over memory. The establishment of memorial museums concerning communist regimes, can therefore be considered an indicator of how post-communist societies deal with their non-democratic past and how they try to construct their post-authoritarian identity.

This research explores the development of museums of communism against the background of political struggles around transitional justice in Slovakia. The confrontation of the communist past in Slovakia happened in two periods, the first one was from 1990-92, still as a part of Czechoslovakia, in which various transitional justice measures, including lustration, were adapted. After the establishment of independent Slovakia came a relatively long period of "silence," during which no major initiatives were taken, and which lasted until 2002. Then came the second period of dealing with the communist past, epitomized with the establishment of the Nation's Memory Institute [Ústav pamäti národa] and its activities (Kovanic 2012, Nedelsky 2004; 2009).

All the attempts to establish the official museum of communism came in the second period of communist past confrontation. The discussions about the establishment of such museum first came into the public debate in 2007, but no initiative was materialized (Majchrák 2007). On November 25, 2010, the day commemorating the release of the last political prisoners in former Czechoslovakia, the Forum of Christian Institutions [Fórum kresťanských inštitúcií] submitted a petition signed by several politicians and activists, which supported the idea of the establishment of the museum of the crimes of communism. In early 2011, the idea of the establishment of the museum was also formulated by the incumbent government, which consisted of center-right parties, which prided itself in having no minister with the communist past. Although taking some preliminary steps, the initiative never materialized, due to the premature collapse of the government in October 2011. The last mention of the museum in the public debate came in November 2019, on the 30th anniversary of the Velvet Revolution, from the representatives of historical institutions and public intellectuals. However, with no response from the political elite.

As can be seen, the early failure of materialization of a state-sponsored official museum in the country, the issue of the memory and legacy of the communist regime has been a terrain of confrontation among multiple mnemonic actors, closely linked to the political elite and traditional political right, which in the context of Slovak politics adopted ideals and values of anti-communism (Appel 2005). Although there is no state-sponsored museum of communism in Slovakia to this day, there are nevertheless other cultural policies in place about the past, driven by specific institutions in charge of the 'official memory' of the 20th century non-democratic regimes, such as the Nation's Memory Institute and by other private and civil society organizations – namely Museum of 17 November in Bratislava [Múzeum 17. Novembra] and Museum of the Crimes and Victims of Communism in Bratislava [Múzeum zločinov a obetí komunizmu]. This research highlights that the narratives these institutions promote are embedded in various ideologies of political anti-communism. Anti-communist elite groupings claim that their histories are the truly 'national' ones. On the other hand, they have routinely failed to institutionalize their versions of the past on the national level; their initiatives, therefore, have been confined to private, non-professional museum spaces and temporary museal activities of the Nation's Memory Institute.

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PRESENTER'S BIO

Martin Kovanič, M.A., Ph.D. is currently a post-doctoral researcher at the Department of Political Science, Faculty of Arts, Comenius University in Bratislava. His research interests include transitional justice, surveillance and post-communist politics. He published several articles and book chapters on this issue, including a chapter on institutes of memory in the Czech Republic and Slovakia in a collective monography Secret Agents and the Memory of Everyday Collaboration in Communist Eastern Europe. During his doctoral studies, he realized a research stay at the Vienna Centre for Societal Security. He collaborated on several research projects – both national and European – on the issues of surveillance and transitional justice. Currently, he is participating on the project Politics of Personal Data, where he also researches how personal data from the secret police files affect societal and political processes in Slovakia and beyond.

KOZA BEŇOVÁ KAMILA

Faculty of Arts, Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica

Today´s Shadows of Socialist Past:
Thoughts & Notes from the Field

In my paper I would like to focus on methodological, ethical or more precisely epistemological questions which have had gradually appeared throughout realization of my biography research. The research focused on stories of people who have lived their adult lives (from 1950s to 1980s) in Czechoslovakia, predominantly in small socialist-industrial town in the central Slovakia. Inspired by Lozoviuk (2014, 3), I will prefer the term established or out-lived socialism which unlike socialism as a pure idealistic doctrine had a direct relation to everyday life. I see everyday life culture here as the central domain of the ethnologist research perspective on how to capture knowledge about the past. Everyday life includes the description of how people ate, slept, worked, shopped, looked for apartments, chose partners, raised children, as well as an in-depth critical analysis of how they gained their qualifications and jobs, how they progressed, avoided serious difficulties, communicated with each other, basically how ordinary people understood their own time (Jordan, 1999, 144). I am interested in any value judgments and comprehensive narratives (so-called mini-stories from life) that communicate everyday life in socialism, the relations between people, their usual habits, value standards, etc. (Lozoviuk, 2014, 7). At the same time, I recognize the local context as notable background of the research, as well as the situatedness of the respondents. To be placed out of the centre of power and life- at the periphery- must have influenced the perception of their own lives, as well as perception of the entire socialist era. My own perspective is based on the thesis that perception and the practice of established socialism at the local level can differ considerably from the national or state level centre (ibid.). Concurrently, as ethnologist, I do not aspire to reconstruct history and I am not primarily interested in "how something really happened", but how the social idea of a given event is constructed in its specific expression and what is its further social significance. Through people´s subjective memories I would like to thematise memory in its various forms; all the while understanding this as an instrument for creating the meaning of the past (Lozoviuk, 2014, 7).

Assmann perceives the collective memory as an umbrella term for different formats of memory that need to be distinguished (family memory, interactive group memory, social, political, national, and cultural memory) (Assmann, 2008, 55).Collective memory can also hold on to historically and socially distant events, but it always privileges the interest of the present (Kansteiner, 2002, 180).However, as Sontag pointed, maybe there is no such thing as collective memory. The society is able to choose, to think, and to speak, but not to remember. What if the term "collective memory" is just another name for an ideology? (Sontag in Assmann, 2008, 52). "Arguments about the content of collective memory are only superficial conflicts about the past, because the way the past

is interpreted shapes the interpretation of the present. … The asymmetry between biographical and collective memory is when the official image of the past does not correspond with the biographical experiences of individuals" (Kaźmierska, 2016, 100). What happens if researchers give the voice to those who have been silent and ignored; what if we focus on the private, domestic daily lives, rather than on some great event? Moreover, what if we find a counter-narrative to the dominant narrative of the past in those individual memories? What contradictions between the individual and the collective memory would the research show?

However, the past is always constituted in narrative, always representation, always construction (Hodgin & Redstone, 2013, 10). As my research has revealed, to speak about the past is still a tricky business, not only for the respondents, but also for the researchers. Therefore, I must primarily reflect my own biases and rethink possible ways of accessing and interpreting research data. "The subjectivity of the researcher is actually an important tool for understanding subjectivity of others ... A researcher can do nothing more honestly than accept his subjectivity and work with it in the project. Self-awareness of one's own contributions, prejudices and attitudes with which the researcher approaches research, and thus actually narrators, is an essential prerequisite for an open approach to the whole issue" (Vaněk, 2011, 108). According to Lozoviuk (2014), as ethnologist I have to take into account two main obstacles: firstly, this social reality no longer exists and can be observed only ex-post. Secondly, the interpretation of the past is always influenced by the current point of view; it always comes from the socially accepted outcome of the past actions, sic from the current position. With this in mind, I have to ask whose truth does the research tell? Who owns today the knowledge of the past? Is the totalitarian-historical model of interpretation of the so-called communist past satisfactory enough? It is useful to constantly remind ourselves that our understanding of the past has its strategic, political, and ethical consequences. Contests over the meaning of the past are also contests over the meaning of the present and over ways of taking the past forward (Hodgkin & Radstone, 2003).

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PRESENTER'S BIO

Kamila Koza Beňová is ethnologist focused dominantly on qualitative and engaged research in general. In her previous research and publishing activities, she has focused mainly on feminist issues and (auto) ethnographic research. What is for her research and other work typical, is placing people in the middle of her interest, a very close connection to social practice and usefulness of academic knowledge in everyday life. She works as university teacher at the Department of Social Studies and Ethnology, Faculty of Arts, Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica, where she focuses pedagogically on gender studies and applied / engaged ethnology. She is the author of the monograph Doctoral Education in Slovakia. Actors, policies, stories (2016). In an effort to reconcile personal and professional life, she divides her time between family, work, and local activism.

LEBEDEVA OLGA

University of Warsaw

Gulag and Repressions as Presented in the Museums of the Ex-Soviet Countries

This paper discusses the memory of the repressions of communist time in the ex-Soviet countries. The topic of memory in former Soviet countries is really interesting. The Soviet Union doesn't exist anymore. Each of its ex-republics have its own memory about the whole country and the role of the single republic. We can study the historical memory (or *places of memory* as Pierre Nora describes them, or *mediums of memory* by the Marcin Kula's theory) based on a variety of sources. This paper focuses on analysing the museum exhibitions. Based on visits in over 20 museums of the post-Soviet states I've categorized the memories into three main types: nostalgia, trauma and pride. Memories about Gulag and repressions belong to all these types.

The analysis is based on materials from both government museums and private institutions. Obviously, there a lot of factors in play which can influence the memory. Among these one could list: roles the Soviet republics played in the Soviet Union, political and economic situation of the countries nowadays, relations with the Russian Federation and with each other, relations with the European Union, the United States, China, the attitude towards the Ukrainian Revolution in 2014.

Memory of the repressions and specifically of Gulag is going to be presented in context of my individual research and visits to the aforementioned museums in regions formerly belonging to the Soviet Union, the Eastern Bloc and People's Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The museum is complicated source of information about memory. The exhibition can get changed (the whole narration or just few exhibits).

I will base my presentation on the few examples of the exhibitions. First of all, there is a Museum of Gulag in Moscow. The Museum of Gulag is a new institution situated near the city centre. Narration of the main exhibition is traditional for the historical museums of the Western Europe. Gulag and repressions have been shown as a great tragedy for the all Soviet people. Perpetrates have been named. Among them there are Josef Stalin, Lavrentiy Beria, Genrikh Yagoda, Vyacheslav Molotov, Felix Dzerzhinsky. The Museum of Gulag tells a whole history of the apparatus of repressions in the Soviet Union as a well-organized system.

For instance, The Museum of the The White Sea–Baltic Canal in Povenets towm (Russian Federation, Republic of Karelia) has an opposite way to show the repressions. Povenets there is a heroic Soviet past and the canal is a symbol of the courage of Soviet citizens. The museum in Povenets demonstrates complete isolation from modern approaches to the study of the Gulag. That exhibition tells just about one camp, so there is no system of mass repressions.

Another way of memorizing repressions has been demonstrated in the museums of ex-Soviet republics, in which there were camps. For example, in Kazakhstan there is a Museum of Karaganda Corrective Labour Camp. There is a place of memory for the all victims of the Gulag repression system. The same narration we can observe in the Museum of the Communist Victims in Tashkent (Uzbekistan). The tragedy of Gulag in these two museums is common for the all nationalities and social groups which were deported to Central Asia. These two museums tell not just about the nationalities lived in the Soviet Union, but also about foreigners which were deported to Central Asian, for example Poles.

The individual group includes nationalities which were deported–Ukrainians, Moldavians, Estonian, Lithuanian and Latvians. In Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia and Baltic states there are museums of occupation. All of them focus on the Soviet occupation, seldom on German or Romanian. In all these museums there is the same perpetrate–the authority of the Soviet Union. It should be emphasized that there is no time, when the Russian people were shown as perpetrate.

Sometimes the different memory of the same period of time and the same phenomenon can be source of conflicts between the ex-Soviet countries nowadays. Event The Gulag Museum still exist the politics of memory in Russia tries to displace memory of Gulag repressions. Basically there is no perpetrates. In another ex-Soviet countries as Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan memory of Gulag is the very important part of politics of memory.

PRESENTER'S BIO

Olga Lebedeva, PhD student at the University of Warsaw (Poland). In my PhD paper I analyse the memory of the communist times in the post-Soviet and post-Yugoslavian states based on exhibitions in their museums. My interests lie with the memory studies, politics of history, history of communism, especially in the Soviet Union and People's Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. My published papers most relevant to the subject are:

Lebedeva, O. 2018. One Past, Two Memories: Comparing the Exhibitions at the Museum of the White Sea–Baltic Sea Canal and the Museum of the Solovki Prison Camp. Laboratorium: Russian Review of Social Research. 10, 2 (Aug. 2018), 134-148.
Lebedeva, O. BUNK'ART – albańskie miejsce pamięci, [w:] Instytucje po 1989 roku na Bałkanach oraz w Europie Środkowej i Wschodniej, Kraków, 2019.

LOUČ MICHAL

Faculty of Humanities, Charles University in Prague

The Former Czech(oslovak) Political Prisoners and Their Perceptions of Dealing with Communism

The main topic of my presentation are the former Czechoslovak political prisoners from the era of Stalinism in the 1950s, their perceptions of dealing with communism and shifts in identity. These political prisoners became associated in the Confederation of the Political Prisoners of Czechoslovakia established in December 1989. The Confederation became their biggest and most important association in the Czech republic. It was split into Czech and Slovak branches after the dissolution of Czechoslovakia. I will discuss their expectations in the process of dealing with communism held by the former victims of Stalinism and how they were successful in promoting it. My presentation is mainly based on the KPV internal journals, the oral historical interviews and participant observation.

The KPV view of dealing with the communist past was naturally quite radical in the 1990s and the organisation had problems in promoting it. The KPV also failed in attempt to become an umbrella organisation for all people who were in opposition against the communist dictatorship. We can mention some of the main demands and expectations – for example the official recognition of the Third anticommunist resistance movement (following-up both resistance movements from the First and the Second world war), prohibition of the communist party, punishment of the perpetrators, dismissal of the compromised judges, reductions of pensions and salaries for the ex-communists or extending the lustrations law to teachers. In the KPV journals were also repeatedly published demands for establishing so-called Nurnberg trial against the communist crimes or at least some kind of moral tribunal focused on the Czech Republic. These trials and moral tribunals were seen as solution for building morally clean society. In fact, the KPV had only limited success in promoting its ideas. The KPV members felt as not recognized as moral leaders of society and felt overshadowed by the dissent and also by the memory of the Prague spring which in their view got higher public attention than the era of Stalinism which was the most important for them. The KPV members were rehabilitated as victims of communism but not recognized as heroes of resistance against it. The Communist Party was not banned and most of perpetrators were not punished. The era of transformation in the 1990s was also time of disillusion.

The disagreement with the level of decomunization influenced the perceptions of the Velvet revolution held by the KPV members. For example, one ex prisoner wrote in 1992 that: "the revolution was not what we wanted and dreamed about in prisons." The dissent was seen partly responsible for it and some its members were recognized the KPV main rivals. In this wider social and political context, the KPV developed self-legitimization discourse polarizing its own members. This discourse had many levels. For

example, the revolution was interpreted as a transfer of power between two groups of communist which in fact blocked the real decommunization of society and left it contaminated by the communist way of thinking. The dissent was also presented as harmless opposition of former communists tolerated by dictatorship and from time to time resting in fancy prisons behind the "golden bars".

This interpretation was widely presented in the KPV newsletters distributed to all its members. We can see the former president Václav Havel as an example. Václav Havel was elected a honorary chairman of the KPV in 1989 but he later became seen as responsible for the problems of decommunization. He became widely criticized and his prison experience was seen as less valuable. As former member of the 1950s resistance group Josef Mašín said to the Reflex magazine: "It is true that Havel have spent four years in prison but he had two rooms at his disposal, a TV and a typewriter. Coming from his room was a sound of a typewriter while others were shedding real blood." In my opinion the myth about the prisons with golden bars primarily points at him. This is why we can see him as a core symbol of the KPV member's perceptions of the Velvet revolution.

PRESENTERS' BIO

Michal Louč, social anthropologist and oral historian. He has been focusing on oral history theory, memory studies and use of oral history in community projects and in research into local history. He has been working at the Institute for the ÚSTR since 2017. For ÚSTR, he developed the themed popularisation website, "Jazzová sekce 1971–1988: historie, vydavatelství a dokumentace" (http://jazz.ustrcr.cz/). He was involved in processing the application for anti-communist resistance at the Ministry of Defence from 2013–2015. He is a founding member of Spolek Političtí vězni.cz. In the association, he as well as Tomáš Bouška and Klára Pinerová co-authored the book Českoslovenští političtí vězni. Životní příběhy. He also published several studies and articles with a focus on political prisoners and memory. He was a co-operator on othe project "Transformations of the Prison System in the Czech Lands in the Period 1965–1992. Systemic and Individual Adaptations".

MARKOVÁ LUCIE

Institute of Contemporary History, Czech Academy of Sciences

Czech Philharmonic on the Tour:
Business Trips of the Orchestra in 1970–1989

The issue of business trips in 1945–1989 is still a little examined topic in the Czech space. In the era of communism in Czechoslovakia, there were only a handful of jobs that allowed employees to travel abroad on business trips, even to countries behind the Iron Curtain. One of these jobs was work in the Czech Philharmonic – the most important Czech symphony orchestra, which the communist regime used as a "shop window" and "export article". These business trips were considered effective and useful not only in terms of demonstration of an excellent orchestra but due to economic aspects (foreign currencies came to Czechoslovakia) as well. At the same time, the orchestra was an instrument of cultural diplomacy and through business trips fulfilled the cultural and political interests of Czechoslovakia.

In the era of normalization, the Czech Philharmonic carried out dozens of concerts in the countries of Western and Eastern blocks and visited (often repeatedly) for example Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, GDR, West Germany, Austria but also Japan, Switzerland, the USA and several other countries. These were both short-term tours lasting several days and long-term tours that took several weeks abroad. Conditions differed depending on the length of business trips. The long-term tours were logistically more difficult (often took place in overseas and the journey took several transfers) in sense of both transportation and accommodation.

Not everyone member of the orchestra could participate on these trips due to the rotation within individual instrument groups. Among the other reasons for absence were illness, compulsory military service or the ban on travel abroad. The specificity of the Czech Philharmonic´s tours was in the departure of a group of one hundred and twenty members who interacted with each other and their perfect interplay was essential for the perfect sound of the ensemble. The conference presentation focused on some areas of business trips. The authoress reflects the business trips through the oral history interviews with ten philharmonics, who participated on the tours in 1970–1989.

The first area is the advantages and disadvantages of business trips from the musician´s point of view. The advantage was the possibility to travel abroad and visit Western countries, same as the import of rare goods (cosmetic, electronic, clothes). The disadvantage was separation from the family, discomfort on the road and in accommodation, saving the diet and also difficulties during the border or the airport checks. Many musicians smuggled purchased goods hidden in instrument boxes to avoid the customs duty, which was often greater than the original purchase price of the goods.

The next area of research was the possibility of comparing the lifestyle in Czechoslovakia with other countries, mainly between Western and Eastern countries. The musicians perceived these differences quite intensively, and they have their favourites. One of the most popular destinations was Japan, which had a touch of mystery and exoticism and musicians bought high-quality electronics there, which were in short supply in Czechoslovakia. On the contrary, the Soviet Union was an unpopular country. Homecomings were also perceived differently by different members of the philharmonics. Despite the fact the participants were looking forward to their loved ones, they did not like to return to the "grey socialist reality".

The issue of emigration was also connected with tours. Despite the very simple opportunity for emigration during the tours only a few individuals have resorted to emigration.

It turned out that the reason for staying in Czechoslovakia was not only the family but also the opportunity to pursue a privileged profession. Musicians reached the top in their careers. They played in the best symphonic orchestra in Czechoslovakia, they could travel abroad and thanks to broadcasts of concerts and recording the gramophone desks, they could improve the family budget. Their standard of living was not bad. If they moved abroad, they would have to start from scratch. It turned out, that philharmonic was perceived as one of the privileged jobs by the musicians themselves.

PRESENTER'S BIO

Mgr. Lucie Marková studied Oral History-Contemporary History at the Faculty of Humanities, Charles University and now she is working at the Centre of Oral History of the Institute of Contemporary History, Czech Academy of Sciences. Since 2014 she has been a member of Czech Oral History Association. Her academic focus is oral history and Czechoslovak history in the era of so-called normalization (mainly alternative music). She participated on several grant projects (f. e. "The Student Generation of 1989 in Longitudinal Perspective" and now she is participating on grant project "The Business Trips Abroad from Czechoslovakia in the years 1945–1989). She has published a several oral history studies.

MOŽINA KATARINA

SFU Vienna

KOMPAN ERZAR KATARINA

SFU Ljubljana; University of Ljubljana

Surviving What Was Never Experienced—The Hidden Wounds of WWII and Communist Oppression in Slovenia:

Intergenerational Transmission of Trauma and Possibilities for Post-Traumatic Growth

In our paper we will present a new study of intergenerational transmission of war trauma and post war oppression in Slovenia. Our research consists of a qualitative study of three nonclinical families who experienced trauma during WWII and post war oppression. Families where both war victims and their children had their own children were included in the study. Interviews were made with three women, direct victims of WWII, born between 1925 and 1941. The oldest one was imprisoned during the war, the second one separated from her imprisoned parents, and the youngest one lost her father due to imprisonment. In their stories different effects of unresolved and resolved trauma on their life course were observed.

Next, we interviewed their children, two daughters and a son born between 1955 and 1971, and grandchildren, two girls and two boys, born between 1994 and 2002, with the aim to trace the transmission of traumatic issues from one generation to another. Each generation was interviewed separately and data were coded and analysed according to four main categories: identification as a victim, memories about traumatic experience, quality of motherhood/fatherhood, and sources of strength. We found one example of the transmission of traumatic experiences and one example of posttraumatic growth. The ability of the first generation to mourn their losses, compounded by satisfying partner relationships and compassionate parenting of the second generation, seem to be crucial in resolving the trauma and prevention of its transmission to the next generation.

We will present a case study of one family: how representatives of three generations perceive (intergenerational) trauma, how they narrate about it, and how (intergenerational) trauma affects their identities, actions and relationships. We can say that this is an average Slovenian family that was a victim of war and post-war communist oppression, which, among other things, can be seen in terms of the following characteristics:

- In the (extended) family, some members were victims of the Slovene post-war genocide, but to date the family has not received official information on how and when this happened and where they were buried (more precisely - where their bodies lie); as

in most other similar cases, they are victims deprived of the right to a grave by the communist regime.

- Under the communist regime, family members were considered inferior, "second-class" citizens, as they belonged to several categories that were marked as morally and politically unsuitable for the regime, for example: "traitors of the nation", craftsmen, Christians.

- The life of the family was therefore marked by various forms of discrimination, humiliation and intimidation, especially in public institutions (school, work); their property (crafts) were also confiscated and nationalized, they were denied access to state social assistance…

- Like many families in which members were killed after the war, they were forbidden to publicly remember their ancestors, nor were they allowed to demand redress for the injustices that happened to them during and after the war.

- Despite the fact that the family lived with the burden of traumatic memory, pain and unjust humiliation, they nevertheless maintained a genuine emotional response, without numbness and a desire for revenge. Of course, there remains a desire to recognize their experience as legitimate and worthy of public remembrance.

It the family representative of the first generation comes from village that represented one of the centres of anti-communist resistance; the men of most families were involved in the resistance, and many were killed, imprisoned or intimidated in various ways decades after the war. So it was in the family represented. Since most families in this village have a similar experience of loss, members of family represented were mostly able to talk about it with less fear than elsewhere in Slovenia, not only within the family, but also more widely. This was, given the widespread fear of (public) speaking in Slovenia, a specific feature. As the results of the analysis show, representatives of all three generations of this family, also due to the strong support of the village community, feel that they have managed to take a step out of trauma, although they talk a lot about (still) present individual traumatic feelings. The step taken is also confirmed by their narratives of post-traumatic growth, as the traumatic experience helped them develop a sense of greater personal power, deepened interpersonal relationships and personal spiritual experience. They were able to feel gratitude for life, and see new life opportunities as well. The whole experience makes sense to them. The results also show the ways and frequency of family narratives about the traumatic experience, how they experienced themselves and their loved ones in family roles (parent or grandparent, child or grandson, spouse) and what personal and social resources helped them to process painful, traumatic experience.

PRESENTERS BIO

Katarina Možina, PhD candidate at SFU Vienna, is a systemic psychotherapist and supervisor working in private psychotherapy practice and lecturing at the SFU Ljubljana. She also holds a master's degree in social work and has worked in street programs with adolescents and their families for ten years.

Prof. Katarina Kompan Erzar, PhD, is a professor at SFU in Ljubljana and at University of Ljubljana, faculty of Theology. She is relational systemic therapist and supervisor at Study and research centre for family in Ljubljana and works at the social welfare program for families who face different types of violence, held by Slovene Ministry of Social Affairs. She is the author of several books and scientific articles. She is married and lives with her family in Ljubljana.

NOSKOVÁ JANA

Institute of Ethnology, Czech Academy of Sciences

Young Pioneers in Uniform or Holidays in Jevany?
Remembering the Communist Past Through Family Photographs

In my paper I would like to speak about a project that is being carried out at the Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences. In the project the 14–18 years old (grand)children should ask their (grand-)parents for choosing the most significant photograph or 2 or 3 photographs connected with the socialist period from the family photo-album. They should ask for detailed description of the photograph and discuss events and/or situations depicted at the chosen photograph or photographs with their (grand-)parents. The project is still "work in progress". 34 students / pupils from two high schools / grammar schools in Brno participated in the project till now.

Research questions and research background:

I found inspiration for the project in the research of German sociologist and social psychologist Harald Welzer and his team (2002). His research dealt with the question how personal memories of the national socialist past (which means dictatorship, undemocratic regime) in Germany are passed on to younger generations. I intended to ask, which memories of another undemocratic regime of the 20th century, communism, are passed on to younger generation and how they are passed. Just as Welzer, I have chosen environment of a family for the research.

In line with Welzer, I follow the concept of collective memory as defined by Maurice Halbwachs (1985) and further elaborated in the form of communicative memory by Jan Assmann (1992). From this position, I understand the family as one of the basic subjects that carry the social framework in which past events, experiences, customs and rules are retrieved and communicated. Halbwachs (1985) describes the family as an intimate and confidential commemorative community that preserves and hands down its own specific memories that are not merely "images" of the past, but also models and examples that reflect the group's overall attitudes, quality and weaknesses (Halbwachs, 1985: 209–210). I wanted to know if memories – likewise those in the Welzer's research – of the communist period would be mostly positive.

There is also another point that has to be taken into consideration. If I am interested in the way, how people "experience their reality and how they keep creating it" (Lüdtke 2001: 563), I have to be aware also of the "grand narrative" about socialism/communism. In the Czech society after 1989 the negative grand narrative about communism as a dictatorship predominated, totalitarian paradigm occurred. The totalitarian paradigm resulted also in the fact, that "heroes" began to be wanted, oppressed victims of communism, and everyone wanted to be count among them… Totalitarian regimes of the 20th century were however rather "participatory

dictatorship" grounded on majority population engagement, in other words, on certain form of social consensus referred to as a social contract, as well.

Why photographs?

Intergenerational transmission of memories in the family is very often done through ritualized family stories. The transmission can take place using materialized forms of memory. Often, these are photo albums, which in these cases serve both as a medium for the transfer of memories and as an illustration of family history. Photo albums, or photos, can certainly be considered the most important "mediator" activating memories. However, also family amateur photography is a mechanism for the selective recording of family memory and a means of enhancing social cohesion through documenting particularly positive experiences and eliminating what family members could separate (Tichá 2010).

Interpretation:

In my paper I will show some examples from the collection and I will draw my attention not only to topics that have been chosen using photographs as important/significant for the communist past (topics related to the most important fields of everyday and public life, and social structures in communism) but also to ways of narrative transmission of attitudes and values, meanings and images of the communist past within the family. The collection of personal memories represents in my opinion an interesting data file documenting both individual and collective memories, the ambiguous ways of remembering of the communist past and – last but not least – the mechanism of passing on family memory to younger generations.

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PRESENTER'S BIO

Mgr. Jana Nosková, Ph.D. studied ethnology and history at the Faculty of Arts of the Masaryk University in Brno, in 2006 she obtained her PhD-degree in ethnology at the Masaryk University in Brno and European Doctorate in the Social History of Europe and the Mediterranean at the Universita Ca´ Foscari Venezia. Jana Nosková works as a senior researcher at the Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences, she is deputy director of this Institute and head of the Department of Memory Studies. Since 2018 Jana Nosková is also Editor in Chief of the most important Czech ethnological Journal Český lid. She holds regularly lectures and seminars at the Department of European Ethnology at the Masaryk University in Brno. In her last research project (2016-2018) Jana Nosková dealt with her colleagues Sandra Kreisslová and Michal Pavlásek with mechanism and strategies of generational transmission of family memory in the selected social groups. The project was supported by the Czech Science Foundation and its main output – the book "*Takové normální rodinné history." Obrazy migrace a migrující obrazy v rodinné paměti ["Ordinary Family Stories". Images of Migration and Migrating Images in Family Memory]* was awarded in 2020 by the price of the Czech Ethnological Society in category "book of the year 2019". The main areas of interest of Jana Nosková are: oral history method and biographical method in ethnology, collective memory, everyday life in the period of communism, and history and culture of Germans in the Czech Republic (Czechoslovakia).

OTČENÁŠOVÁ SLÁVKA

Šafárik University, Košice; European Research Council Executive Agency, Brussels

Imagining the Other Side of the Iron Curtain:
Then and Now (Preliminary Outcomes of a Recent Oral History Research Conducted in Eastern Slovakia)

For forty years, the Iron Curtain had been a symbol of divided Europe between Soviet and Western influence. Powers one each side of the border invested huge efforts into creating ideologically motivated images of the Other. How people remember their pre-1989 perceptions of the Western Block and how they think of the life in the West today is the central topic of this paper. It is the outcome of a broader Oral history project conducted in Slovakia since 2017,[27] aiming for obtaining and analysing current images of socialism, as communicated today by the generation of witnesses who were living their adult lives during the period spanning between 1960s and 1980s; and understanding the relations between the current attitudes and values of the respondents and their experience of life in state socialist regimes. The presented article provides preliminary outcomes from the segment of research conducted in Eastern Slovakia between May 2018 and November 2019. The fieldwork consisted of conducting 20 interviews with 10 participants, all born before 1950, i.e. being already adult persons in the period researched. Each participant was interviewed twice – at the first meeting, it was the witness producing a biographical narrative, only with a few supporting questions coming from the interviewer. The second interview was more focused on particular topics that appeared as important in the life of the witness from his/her first narration.

The theoretical framework of the work is centred on the concept of individual remembering in a collective context. This draws on Halbwachs' concept of a memory as a production of an individual who neither acquires nor recalls his or her memories in isolation, but rather in society. The idea was further developed by Assmann suggesting that individual memories 'do not exist in isolation, but are networked with the memories of others', and it is in their ability to overlap and connect within a particular group that they have the potential to be community building. Qualitative forms of content analysis have been the dominant methods used in interpreting oral history sources. However, discourse analysis methods transcend content analysis in that they can be used to reveal underlying and contextualized meanings of texts. I have used the techniques of critical discourse analysis (CDA) – an interdisciplinary interpretative approach to the study of discourse that views language as a source of social practice – which allows me to understand the motivation of the interviewees when talking about their experiences. In addition to the real (positivist tradition which regards our thoughts as more or less good

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reflections of reality) and the imaginary (which sees reality, or at least the part that we are able to grasp, as a product of our own mental constructions), discourse analysis introduces a third independent domain. The field of a discourse study is society as it occurs in language. Language is regarded as a driving force behind human knowledge about the world, but even more radical, it brings reality into existence. In other words, the social reality is constructed within society, and here language and symbols play a central role.[28]

Memories of their work and professional lives were central and most important in all respondents' biographical narratives. This might be the outcome of the fact that nowadays they are pensioners and work-related memories bring back remembering the more active days filled in with a more dynamic social life. There were a number of statements recorded from all respondents indicating their pride in the high quality outputs of their work. These were ranging from factory workers and people employed in agriculture describing their production back then as more valuable than products of today up to nurses and medical doctors comparing two different systems of health care organization and teachers commenting on different approaches to education in two regimes. Memories of social coherence in sense of alignment and harmonious order in a network of relationships among individuals who share common interests and objectives were often articulated. Overall, comforts of socialist modernity and memories of happy times were most frequently communicated images of the Socialist past.

Majority of the interviewees did not spontaneously address the topic of the Other when thinking of their lives during Socialism. Only a few references to the perceptions of the West as they had them before 1989 were present in the narratives. It was the role of the interviewer to bring this up as the topic of the discussion. The narrators would usually refer to some closer or more distant family members who emigrated to the West, and that they acquired the image of the West only through their experience. Some of them admitted that they considered emigrating but decided to stay at home, as this ultimately looked like a more reasonable option. It can be concluded, that in general, the respondents do not nowadays recall having much interest in the West while they were living in Socialist Czechoslovakia. However, they share a strong opinion when thinking of the West today. It goes hand in hand with the image of economic emigration and depopulation due to finding work abroad. This image of an almost forced migration has been deeply embedded in the collective memory and historical consciousness of Slovaks, related to the connotations of poverty, fight for a better life but also abandoning of the family, refuge, and thus constituting a sort of a negative image. This study can be seen as a prerequisite for a more complex and more focused research on imagining the West among the population of Slovaks, taking into consideration regional disparities, generational differences as well as (un)fulfilled expectations from the regime change.

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[28]   https://www.lancaster.ac.uk/fass/journals/cadaad/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/Volume-6_Cruickshank.pdf

PRESENTER'S BIO

Doc. PhDr. Slávka Otčenášová, PhD, is an associate professor at the Department of History, Šafárik University in Košice, Slovakia. In her research, she deals with the topics of collective identity and collective memory as well as formation of social stereotypes and their representations in History textbooks. Since 2018 she has been seconded to the European Commission - the European Research Council Executive Agency where she supports the call coordination of frontier research grants.

PAVLÁSEK MICHAL

Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences

"Together in the Fight, Together in Work."
Re-emigrants from Yugoslavia as Heroes of Socialism and Victims of Post-Socialism

We live in an era of memoralism, to paraphrase the words of Pierre Nora (Nora, 2002). The societal boom in interest in memory and the lives of small people has brought an opportunity and necessity to thematize the great national narratives and dominant discourses about the past, and to confront them with the collective memories of marginalized social groups. A space for a plurality of historical memories of individuals, families, institutions, and social groups, which provides a possibility to accentuate another memory besides the correct memory that corresponds to the dominant interpretation of the past, is considered to be one of the major contributions of the post-Communist regimes that adopted liberal democracy (Slačálek, 2013). The group of Czechoslovak citizens who actively took part in the partisan (Communist) antifascist resistance movement in Yugoslavia is – as I want to suggest - among the bearers of such an alternative memory.

In this paper I will follow a group of re-emigrants who took an active part in the partisan resistance movement during the Second World War in Yugoslavia and who established their own partisan unit, the Czechoslovak Brigade of Jan Žižka. After the Second World War, the descendants of those who had emigrated from the Czech lands took up the offer of Czechoslovakia, and, within the political project of the post-war restoration of the borderlands, they settled the areas, mainly in South Moravia, from which the old German residents had been expelled. They settled mainly in two south Moravian villages, which had remained almost empty after the forced displacement of their German inhabitants – Jiřice near Miroslav and Míšovice. The first stage of re-emigration in 1945-1946 included mostly demobilized soldiers-partisans and their family members (5,000 people); later on, it was mainly middle-sized peasants with Czechoslovak citizenship who participated in the return. Between 1945 and 1949, altogether about 11,000 Yugoslavian Czechs and Slovaks moved to Czechoslovakia.

The state firstly welcomed them as antifascist heroes (freedom fighters), but after Cominform issued its first resolution in 1948, the regime of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia stigmatized them as being "unreliable for the state". In the 1960s, they were "rehabilitated". After the fall of the Communist regime in 1989, they found themselves in a position of memory bearers, a position that did not correspond to the contemporary hegemonic anti-Communist narrative (the thing is that, in contrast to the current anti-Communist discourse, they do not criticize the former political regime but they accentuate its positive aspects, such as social security or respect of the then regime for their ancestors). Due to this fact, the second generation of re-emigrants in particular feels that their ancestors have been unjustifiably erased from history, their legacy and

imagined family honour unrecognized. Because of that at their own commemorative meetings, they clearly demonstrate their dissatisfaction with the contemporary exclusion of their partisan ancestors from the post-Communist national narrative.

In this paper, which draws from research based on the interpretation of narrative interviews, biographic interviews, and ethnographic (participant) observation in the Moravian villages of Jiřice near Miroslav and Míšovice (held in 2016-2018), I argue that the "non-ethnic otherness" of the group's members alongside their specific historical experience has led them to the formation of their own memory community, which produces counter-narratives to the narrative produced as a result of the contemporary anti- Communist-oriented politics of memory.

The politics of memory of the evolving Czech democracy, which was created after 1989 based on anti-Communist sentiment, became an authoritarian discourse formed by the anti-Communist assessment of historical events, processes, and figures whose symbolism was transferred to the level of symbolic sites of memory. In a similar way, the group of re-emigrants, consisting of partisans and their descendants, draw from historical memory at the level of families and a memory community. Their cultural and communicative memory reflects a different and in many ways – in relation to the hegemonic anti-Communist politics of memory – skewed register of collective historical experience.

The alternative memory of this memory community is represented mainly by the most visible expressions of group remembering, which has been stabilized by the institutionalization of these expressions: they include interpretations, attitudes, and activities associated with the past that were clearly identified in interviews with informants, and which were simultaneously observed and articulated in the form of ritualized behaviour and public speeches at commemorative meetings. Thereby they create a contra-memory in relation to the current dominating narrative of liberal democracy, with which it comes into conflict not only in the private environment, but also in public.

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PRESENTER'S BIO

Michal Pavlásek, Ph.D. works at the Brno branch of the Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences. He is a co-founder of the Anthropictures z.s. research studio, and he also works as a documentary film-maker. He focusses on intergenerational transmission of memory, memory politics, social marginalization,

current forced migration and refugee issues, and on migration and border regime in Europe.

PINEROVÁ KLÁRA

LOUČ MICHAL

Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes, Prague

Narratives of Czechoslovak Prison Staff from Communist Era

Between 1965 and 1989 the Czechoslovak prison system was closely tied with the then political situation. However, the current historical literature examining the prison system during the so-called normalization period differs in views and conclusions. The first part of the publications highlights the repression, bullying of prisoners and emphasizes the constant control over the convicts. The second part, on the other hand, focuses on partial reforms, the arrival of psychologists and educators in prison, or the use of new research methods. These two narratives representing the perspectives of two groups of witnesses (former political prisoners vs. former or current prison staff) stand in opposition and seem to tell two different stories about the Czechoslovak prison system.

This study is part of a larger multi-disciplinary research project looking at how the Czechoslovak prison system under the political control of the Czechoslovak communist party in Czechoslovakia transformed itself between 1965 and 1992. The project pays particular attention to how the political and social context was reflected in the functioning of the prison system and its employees. This particular study examines how former university educated employees who were in expert positions within the prison system (psychologists, doctors, a librarian, social workers, teachers, top management) between 1965 and 1992 adapted to the prison system in place or tried to transform it at the time and how they reflect on their engagement with it at present. By exploring these questions, we ultimately inquire into how their experience as prison staff in communist prison influenced their professional (narrative) identity and a course of life and how dominant narratives in Czechoslovak communist dictatorship impacted on their individual lives. Because this is a multi-disciplinary project combining scholarship of a historian, a social anthropologist and a psychologist, we were looking for a common scientific language that would enable us to capture the interplay between the prison system as one level of analysis and individuals as another level of analysis. We were inspired by the psychologist Phillip Hammack's proposal that one such emerging paradigm transcending boundaries both within social sciences and humanities is narrative engagement. Narrative engagement emphasizes the inseparable link between 'self and social structures'. Narrative approaches presuppose that humans need to see meaning in their life experiences and this meaning is conveyed through narrative. It is an organizing principle of human action.

The transformation of the Czechoslovak prison system between 1965 and 1992 reflects changes in social and political sphere. The role of the prison system, attitudes to

convicts, as well as modernisation trends, are a reflection of the dominant master narratives of that time. We have identified (from many others) three prototypical society-wide master narratives that influenced the Czechoslovak penal system in the analysed period the most. We are aware that this is a simplification; however, these three narratives proved to be suitable for a complex analysis of both narrative levels in the prison system. The first and dominated master narrative was *the political-ideological master narrative*, based on an interpretation of Marxism and specifically Marxism-Leninism. This narrative was manifested in the prison system by various ways – theory of the class struggle, emphasis on collectivism or on the re-education of the criminal prisoner into a new socialist person through productive labour. The second one was *the technocratic master narrative* that is based on the supremacy of reason and rationality. One of its hallmarks is the position of science as the means for discovering objective truth. The third one was t*he humanist master narrative* that is based on the ideas of liberty and equality, democracy, progress and, in the penal context, mainly the human rights theory. In prisons, the consequence is an emphasis on psychological therapy.

The study adopts a qualitative, idiographic and social constructivist narrative engagement approach to capture the interplay between the prison system and individuals within it. It finds that former employees constructed three different identity configurations reflecting their engagement with the prison system: 1) a narrative identity configuration compliant with the prison system dominated by the Marxist Leninist ideology; 2) a narrative identity configuration rejecting the dominant narrative and instead appropriating the humanist narrative, 3) a narrative identity configuration identifying with the political-ideological master narrative. Consequences of these configurations for prison employees, prison system and society in general are discussed.

PRESENTERS' BIO

Klára Pinerová, historian. Received Ph.D. at Charles University in Prague, Institute for Economic and Social History, researcher in the field of post-war history in East Europe. Her main interest is the prison system and the history of socialist dictatorship in Czechoslovakia and she published several publications and studies. In 2011 she took a one-year scholarship at The Wirth Institute for Austrian and Central European Studies in Edmonton, Canada as a Research Assistant. Until March 2016, she worked at Herder-Institut studying individuals' prison experience. The project resulted in the monograph Do konce života. Političtí vězni 50. let - trauma, identita, adaptace. From 2017-2019 she was the implementer of the junior grant GA ČR č. 17-26073Y "Transformations of the Prison System in the Czech Lands in the Period 1965–1992. Systemic and Individual Adaptations" at the Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes (ÚSTR), as part of which she published several articles and is currently preparing a monograph.

Michal Louč, social anthropologist and oral historian. He has been focusing on oral history theory, memory studies and use of oral history in community projects and in research into local history. He has been working at the Institute for the ÚSTR since 2017. For ÚSTR, he developed the themed popularisation website, "Jazzová sekce 1971–1988: historie, vydavatelství a dokumentace" (http://jazz.ustrcr.cz/). He was involved in

processing the application for anti-communist resistance at the Ministry of Defence from 2013–2015. He is a founding member of Spolek Političtí vězni.cz. In the association, he as well as Tomáš Bouška and Klára Pinerová co-authored the book Českoslovenští političtí vězni. Životní příběhy. He also published several studies and articles with a focus on political prisoners and memory. He was a co-operator on othe project "Transformations of the Prison System in the Czech Lands in the Period 1965–1992. Systemic and Individual Adaptations".

POLOUČEK OTO

Department of European Ethnology at the Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University in Brno

Czech Rural Communities and Late Socialism:
Threat, Continuity and Sustainability

The image of late socialism in the Czech countryside is presented on seemingly contradictory scale. On the one side is the totalitarian history interpretation based on the destruction of traditional countryside and rural social structure, mainly by the collectivization of agriculture. On the other side, recent researches on everyday life and the social changes present rising of the living standard of rural people during late socialism and material welfare of the collectivized agriculture workers. Their income was higher than in the cities and due to self-supplying and strong social ties, they successfully faced limitations of non-effective socialist economy. How are these interpretations related? Decline and depopulation compared to adaptability and effective strategies of living not only by the material way but also by the continual existence of the social life?

While rethinking anthropological and geographical theories on the case of Czech socialism, the relation between these two contradictory interpretations can be seen. The research was mainly involved by theory of the symbolic construction of community (A. Cohen) and by the concept of multifunctional countryside (G. Wilson). Phenomena with symbolic meaning (e.g. dance parties) is interpreted and understood by individuals but its importance is shared by members of the community of different age. It allows to maintain continuity of the community life over modernization processes and changes of social life. Multifunctional theory reflects different aspects of sustainability – social, economic and environmental. If they are (at least on minimal level) covered, community is sustainable and can survive over different crisis and threat coming from outside.

Reflection of threat and decay of the existing social structure can lead to the higher pressure of community members to maintain recent social structure – e.g. focus on social activities with which they identify their community and its sustainability. If they have (at least limited) sources to maintain sustainability, they can adapt to state power interventions and way of governing applied from "above". One of the studied locations can be an example for this – a small village endangered by the closure of public institutions, such as the pub and the school, due to village incorporation into a close city, as well as by agricultural collectivization and subsequent transformation of the local agricultural cooperative into a big production unit, which covers the whole of the region. The feeling of crisis and threat can induce the community members to be more active in the field of activities which can protect the existence of the community. By initiative of (mainly young) members of the community a community house for organizing events (feast celebrations, dance parties etc.) was built. They had to do "formal" late socialist activities such as join Socialist Youth union, formally cover ideological trainings and use formal (hyper-normalized) language on the official level to cover their "real" motivations – to maintain community life.

The communities, which were (e.g. by the collectivization of agriculture) affected too much, weren't able to cover their sustainability and weren't able to adapt. Reflecting the continuity of normative imaginations – mainly about the state power – can also help to understand the adaptability of rural communities not only during socialism but also in the era of post-socialist transformation. The values passed down from generation to generation could considerably influence rural residents' relationship to the authoritarian regime and its ideology. The opinions of what is still acceptable and what is outside the line, were reflected in the perception of the possibility to interfere with the freedom of an individual and to determine his/her life's course. These ideas can considerably differ from the values of the contemporary urban society, and they probably may still influence the view of the past and the perception of the surrounding world and power structure. It has an effect on electoral strategies and relationships between the countryside and the city; it can mediate the discussion about the countryside and its problems.

It seems to be necessary to reflect the perspectives of the countryside and its inhabitants, who still accentuate continuity, traditions, and values, passed on from the past, not only when they express their nostalgia for the old times. The observation of the transformations in social life at the time of late socialism constitutes a very narrow and specific theme, but I believe that it can help formulate much more important and topical issues associated with the problems of the contemporary countryside.

PRESENTER'S BIO

Oto Polouček graduated in ethnology from the Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University in Brno, and in oral history – contemporary history from the Faculty of Humanities, Charles University. He is presently working at the Department of European Ethnology at the Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University. He focusses mainly on twentieth-century transformations in the countryside and their influence on contemporary problems, the social atmosphere, and the identity of rural residents. He currently works on the research project of post-socialist transformation of educational systems in the Czech Republic with focus on the teachers and their identity and impact of regional specifics to their reflection of the past and present.

SCHINDLER-WISTEN PETRA

Institute for Contemporary History, Czech Academy of Sciences in Prague

"Communism Didn´t Touch My Kids Like Me."
Images of Communism in an Intergenerational Family Perspective

The paper builds on the two projects, which consisted of conducting interviews with one hundred former student leaders involved in the events of November 1989 (Students at the Time of the Fall of Communism in Czechoslovakia, 1996-1998 and The Student Generation of 1989 from Longitudinal Perspective: Biographical Interviews after Twenty Years, 2017-2019). In the subsequent project we returned to the same group of narrators after 20 years in order to present crucial findings relating to questions of the transformation of remembering and memory processes of the studied group. The longitudinal approach was applied for the first time in the context of Czech oral history. The aim of this project was to re-interview the same sample of narrators and examine their reflections on democracy-building and changes to their understanding of their own historical role; it was based on the previous project in order to broaden and deepen it from both a theoretical and practical standpoint and offered new perspectives and methodological innovations.

The former student leaders can in many respects be considered (co)creators of the discourse and memory of the post-1989 period – some of them have actively intervened in these processes through their own work (published diaries, memoirs, essays, films, etc.), others have repeatedly offered their memories and observations about the "Velvet Revolution" to the media, in particular around the anniversary of 17 November. Former university students constitute a specific group that provides an excellent sample for examining the development of a particular educational group during the course of the systemic transformation after 1989, as well as the evolution of a generation more generally.

The same sample of original narrators was approached for the project; 18 narrators were replaced by new respondents, as some had passed away, could not be traced, or in three cases, refused to participate in the project. Altogether, between January 2017 and November 2018, we recorded interviews with one hundred narrators from nine regions of the Czech Republic, comprising more than 200 hours of audio recordings (in addition, video recordings were made with 67 narrators). In total, the transcripts of the interviews run to ca. 6,500 standard pages. It was a fairly balanced sample, both known and publicly active individuals, as well as people who did not publicly engage in public interest after 1989.

Our research, based on an examination of the views and memories of a particular group of "winners" in 1989, illustrates the process of creating memory and seeking meaning in the events of the 1989 "Velvet Revolution" captured in the subjective experience of a

particular section of society: generations of former student leaders and their immediate surroundings.

The projects brought crucial insights into the genesis and gradual formation of a (largely negative) attitude of the last socialist generation towards the political representation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. In continuing in-depth interviews, we concentrated on possible reinterpretations or, on the contrary, affirmations of existing life courses. We were interested in memories of the November revolution and the narrators' own role within it. Through tracking changes in their testimonies, we are able to capture not only changes in the subjective perception of historical events, but also wider shifts in public discourse about the past. The interviews thus also offer a window on broader shifts in social norms and memory politics.

Thanks to the longitudinal approach, we can examine identity. The apparent chaos of individual episodes is limited to the story, but the settings of these episodes may not remain the same. It can evolve and sometimes change significantly, because it is formulated all over again and differently. We each choose what is important in a specific time and space, and thus build our life story. Repeated research allows us to construct a life story that is more complete than the content of the individual parts. We gain insight not only into biographical, but also into social processes.

In this paper, I will focus in more detail on the life story of a narrator, a 1989 DAMU student (Theatre Faculty, The Academy of Performing Arts in Prague). I will try to analyse his memories of the communist period, as reflected in the first project, in 1997 and then twenty years later in 2017. I am mainly interested in the narrator's family background, the extent to which it shaped him and how he evaluated as thirty years old man and now, when he is fifty years old. What was important for his parents, how they treated the former regime, did they pass on to their son any patterns of behaviour towards the regime? How did the narrator perceive it then and now? Does the view change in any way depending on external circumstances or does it remain consistent? On the contrary, how the narrator's experience from the period before 1989 and his activities during the "Velvet Revolution" in the upbringing of his own children manifests itself? Is it important to him in any way? How does the period of so-called normalization reflect the generation of parents and, on the other hand, the generation of children?

PRESENTER'S BIO

Mgr. Petra Schindler-Wisten, PhD. senior researcher and head of the Oral History Centre at the Institute of Contemporary History, CAS. Magister in Anthropology (2002) and Ph.D. degree in General Anthropology (2010) at the Faculty of Humanities of the Charles University. Her research areas include Czech history in the so-called normalization era and transformation; oral history (especially the issues of reflexivity and ethics).

SEMANOVÁ RADOSLAVA

Institute of Ethnology and Social Anthropology SAS in Bratislava

Freedom During the Late Socialism and Today:
The Perspective of Tramps

How the totalitarian power operates is my main field of interest. I study the questions of power and resistance in the period of so called normalization in Czechoslovakia. In this presentation I would like to focus my attention on a particular paradox of the contrasting perspective on totalitarian and liberal power. This paradox is constituted through the fact that narratives of power in everyday life of people tend to blur the unproblematic distinction between the totality as suppressive and the liberal democracy as a system with liberating potential. Too often the narrators tend to depict conditions of normalization as more free than the conditions of liberal democracy:

"...yes, there was a trouble with the liberty of assembly. And we had... we were... I have mentioned many times the word „freedom", because people today think that socialism..., that it was something horrible. (...) This old system simply had its good and bad sides and that contemporary system has its good and bad sides too. And the „freedom" in that old system, however everything was set in advance, everything was predetermined... that freedom in that tramping... it was tolerated by that system."

Analysing this paradox through the narratives of the people engaged in a trump subculture I often encounter statements that despite some objectively greater possibilities of self-realization in democracy (like the greater possibilities to travel, availability of various equipment etc.) the totalitarian regime enabled them to feel more free in various aspects of their lives. The liberal democracy, on the other hand, makes them experience some aspects of their lives as less free.

I believe that by analysing and clarifying the conditions of the experience of freedom in various regimes we can understand better how these regimes create spaces for freedom with reference to lifestyles, social, cultural and economic and environmental conditions and what, correspondingly, people need to feel free. In this context, it is however necessary to emphasise that the aspects of life and modes of freedom related to them differ greatly. Some narratives relate to politics in a narrow sense, but some to personal relationships, freedom of movement, available information and technology, sense of comfort, age, time, etc.

I analyse my data by historical discourse analysis approach of Ruth Wodak. I focus my attention on five basic questions (Wodak, 2016: 32-33) connected with five basic discourse strategies (nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivization, intensification). In my data and the topic, I was not able to cover all the above mentioned strategies to the same depth. For this reason, I focus my attention on the most notable discursive strategies used in relation to everyday meaning and practise of freedom. These strategies I classify to the categories according to themes. Tramps have primarily

moved through nature: hayfields, forests, fields. There they used to have their favourite places or they were just wondering the country and slept outside. The freedom, in their narratives, tends to be connected to the possibilities of the free movement through the forests:

"You pack up and leave, get off and go. Wherever you get, though you now have... there are better maps, yeah, for example now, where were, were, it is not so... because sometimes we went really just on faith [randomly/blindly]. I never used to check, for example, when, where and how buses go, how far, what kind of this. But weirdly enough, it all worked out, we always found something. Now, for example, of course when we go somewhere further a friend finds out - the all-powerful Internet, right? - exact connections, where is what, maps more exact with the... it is possible to talk about how many hours, you can find where there is water, make a plan and you go."

It is connected also with trust (mutual among tramps and intergroup with non-tramps), leisure possibilities, comfort, equipment, movement through borderlands, transportation etc. Many narrators speak of the forest as of the "other world", the zone of freedom:

"...This was a different community (in comparison to dissident community). These people did not want to change the world, they rather wanted to experience a different one, you know. To be in that world in which we go, see a deer, this and that, make a fire, yes. There was not that political protest in this community as among the dissidents. Rather it was a silent protest, yes. Not an attempt to change the world, but a desire to be in a different one. As to find, in that prison..., the forest you can experience as a zone of freedom."

The above quoted narrations illustrate a small sample of strategies of creating and experiencing the spheres of freedom in the Normalization period. The creation of these spheres of freedom is closely related with the strategies of resistance and with the identity formation and performance. In my conference presentation I will tackle more data and strategies and analytically present relationships among various types of these.

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PRESENTER'S BIO

Radoslava Semanová completed her Master Degree at Masaryk University in Brno 2014 at the Department for the Study of Religions. Since 2015 she has been an internal doctoral student at the Institute of Ethnology and Social Anthropology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava. The topic of her long-time interest and dissertation thesis is the construing of power in the totalitarian system, especially in Czechoslovakia from the 1960s to 1980s, in the case tramp subculture.

STUDENÝ LUBOŠ

Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague

Forecasting Institute and the Betrayed Revolution

This study deals with the position of the Forecasting Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in the memory of the communist and post-communist past. It mostly stresses its ascribed role in the velvet revolution and transformation. It follows the story of the Forecasting Institute CSAS in two major narratives – in the satirical narrative of the "betrayed revolution" and the romantic liberal narrative as described by James Krapfl.

First, I will focus on the reasons why is the institute actually present in these narratives. I analyse the aspects which attach un/importance to the institute – the concentration of future and past elites, conspiracy theories, the struggle of explaining an evident attempt for some change with the claims of the unchangeability of the criminal communist regime which could be ascribed no positive attributes.

Second, I briefly analyse the image of the Forecasting Institute in newspapers and television before 1989 and then more substantially shortly after November 1989 to on one hand show the formation of its position in the romantic narrative especially through the evidence of its former employees and on the other to show the origins of the story of betrayal which gained importance only after 2010 even if it was only suppressed as propagators of this version of the story did not have much access to mainstream media. The main pillar of the story of betrayal is the connection of the institute with the Soviet secret service and its position as a source of post-communist elites.

After this introduction I argue that the reason why the Forecasting institute very much disappeared from the public space is because of the fact that the romantic liberal narrative gained dominance in how the communist and post-communist past was remembered. The institute was abolished in 1993. Up until then, its employees were active in the media and tried to influence the transformation process, but after that there was very little coverage of the institute aside from personal memories.

The lack of expert, historian attention can be explained by the restricted access to archival materials at first. Even though there have been mentions of the Forecasting institute in historical works and also in other fields there was only one study entirely focused on the institute until late 2010s. But the journalistic coverage shows that this was more of a lack of interest or that the topic was not deemed important as many of the articles which were published in recent years could have been written without detailed knowledge or open archives such as interviews with its former employees or analysis of publications of the institute.

The most attention that the Forecasting Institute has drawn in the past decade was during the 30th anniversary of the velvet revolution. And even in years leading to the anniversary we can see that there is a rise of the satirical narrative of "betrayal". This narrative has been promoted by people who have been on the "losing" side of the revolution which has been mostly pushed to the edge of the public space but gained more possibilities with its widening especially thanks to the Internet which has enabled bigger impact and reach of previously side-lined opinions and memories. But is still not present in the mainstream media.

Even the romantic side has suffered defeats after 2008 and especially after 2013 and as such is more prone to searching for culprits who could be blamed for its loses. But it is not very prevalent. I will analyse the coverage which has been plentiful around the anniversary and show how even in this new situation the romantic liberal narrative is still very much unchanged even when stressing its critical approach of investigative journalism.

The Forecasting Institute very much waits for its critical appraisal by the mainstream media and the increasing attention could lead to this as we are further from its actual existence and current culture wars require points of interest which could be used by either side when fighting over the memory of communism and transformation. The current fights are more about so-called normalization but as the focus will shift more in the direction of the 90s such symbols could draw attention. Or the anniversary was just an exemption which will push the story of the institute back to the brink where it will wait until the 40th anniversary.

PRESENTER'S BIO

I have finished my master's degree at the Institute of Social and Economic History at the Faculty of Arts of the Charles University. My master thesis was focused on the Forecasting Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. I am currently pursuing my Ph.D. at the same institute at the Faculty of Arts. It is focused on continuities and discontinuities in technocratic mode of thinking in Czechoslovakia between the 70s and 90s. I am also teaching non-compulsory seminars at the Faculty. Aside from that, I am working at the Institute of Contemporary History of the Czech Academy of Sciences. My work there is focused on the project Transformation of the Czech business: socialist enterprises in the market economy – where we collaborate with the Masaryk University which leads the project. I also work at the Technology Agency of the Czech Republic where I mostly deal with Responsible Research and Innovation. My most recent study about the Forecasting Institute will be published in the journal Studies in the History of the Academy of Sciences 2020/1. Before that I published an article about the global context and implications of the revolutions in 1989 in the journal Connections (29.5.2020). In the winter semester of 2019/2020, I accomplished my traineeship at the Federation of German Scientists. During my studies I also made study stays at the University of Thessaloniki and University of Vienna.

SUKOVÁ MONIKA

Faculty of Education, Palacký University in Olomouc

(Un)Official Activities of University Students:
Czechoslovak Youth Union at Palacký University in Olomouc Between 1948-1969

The creation of youth movements and formation of Czechoslovak Youth Union

Youth and students have played a significant role during the mobilization of society since the beginning of federal life in the second half of nineteenth century. The events of autumn of 1939 clearly manifested the driving force of students and the communist regime, which was newly established after World War II., followed their example. Therefore, one of the first things the regime did after they seized full power in February 1948 was the creation of a single youth organization of the Czechoslovak Youth Union (hereinafter referred to as CYU), which it controlled. In addition, the regime abolished all other youth movements and associations (e.g. Junak, Orel, Sokol, Union of University Students).

Cultural-ideological education

Since the beginning of its existence, the CYU primarily served the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to effectively control and influence the young generation. They concealed their goal with education for higher moral values as well as patriotic education, love for the USSR and in the spirit of internationalism. They encouraged young people to love their neighbour, however, they were supposed to love only certain role models and countries. In contrast, they intentionally steered them toward fear and hatred for the Western bloc represented by the United States. Political education in the CYU was based on Marxist-Leninist teachings, which were adjusted to Stalin's policies.

Book and political clubs

Following the example of the Komsomol, the CYU set its sights on ideological education through a system of political courses, which differed according to age and the social classification of the participants. These trainings started in the academic year 1949/1950. In October 1949, the Central Committee of the CYU ordered the regular organization of book and political clubs in the basic organizational groups of the CYU. The main difference between the two clubs was their content. The book clubs focused on reading and understanding selected political books and watching Czechoslovak and Soviet propagandistic films. Political clubs served as an advanced course for older students who voluntarily wanted to expand their knowledge of socialism and Czechoslovak and Soviet history. After getting accepted to a university, course participants were offered participation in recruitment events (convincing other students of the benefits of joining the CYU) and were often subsequently privileged during the choice for leading positions in the CYU.

For a million organization

The event called *For a million organization* (from 1 November 1949 to 17 May 1950) ranked among large scale mass events, and, as the name suggests, the goal was to make a massive recruitment campaign and recruit as many young people as possible. In order to gain a broad base, it was essential to set very mild conditions for entry (the age limit of 14-26 years, to agree with the mission of the CYU, and to pay membership fees). The CYU's promotion at universities and agitation for joining the organization took a variety of forms, such as colourful noticeboards that were decorated, posters on the walls of dormitories, short euphoric speeches on the radio, handing out leaflets and also the most effective way – personal agitation.

Labour Day

Labour Day was a recurring celebration of May Day (May 1), during which a crowd of thousands of people symbolized fervour and faith in the Communist Party, as well as the nation, the closeness of the working class and the celebration of proletarian internationalism. Labour Day was also used as an opportunity for agitation. A couple of student recruiters convinced the spectators of the parades and handed out promotional materials. Due to the general involvement of various organizations, the whole society was supposed to take part in the event, which was monitored by the basic CYU organizations. At universities, students had to bring an excuse with official stamps or, in case of non-participation in the parade, had to reconcile themselves to an interrogation and deterioration of student assessment.

Youth creativity competitions

From 1947, the communists attempted to attract pupils and students to join the CYU through Youth Creativity Competitions, which, by their nature, were meant to help engage large numbers of young people and develop people's democracy in culture and the whole society. The youth competed in several disciplines (recitation, singing, dancing, playing a musical instrument, theatre scene) with a compulsory and optional part. Gradually, the quality of performance decreased at the expense of the quantity of competitors. Individuals and entire ensembles competed at universities. A lot of students took part in the competition for great publicity, which encouraged a healthy rivalry between the faculties.

Summary

During the observed period, the interest in participating in the CYU gradually lowered despite great propaganda. Frequent cultural events organized by CYU student committees did not help either. In the 1960s, the CYU even approved of tramping and stood up for students having long hair that resembled members of the English band the Beatles, all of this despite the slight disapproval of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. The influence of the West and political emancipation had a significant impact on the Czechoslovak society and the students no longer wanted to remain in the communist organization, hence they sought other movements and associations.

Ultimately, eighteen independent apolitical children and youth associations came into existence, and the Czechoslovak Youth Union lost its influence. After the invasion of the

Warsaw Pact troops from 20 to 21 August 1968, the CYU's activites were restored, and it was soon renamed to the Socialist Youth Union, which existed in cooperation with the Communist Party of the Czechoslovak Republic until 1989.

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PRESENTER'S BIO

My name is Monika Suková and I graduated a master's degree in history and geography on Palacký University in Olomouc. I am studying the second year of PhD study in the pedagogy on the Department of Social Sciences. In my research I focus on the history of pedagogy, specifically on the cultural activities of university students during the period of communist rule (1948-1989). My publications include a catalogue of an exhibition of artists whose anti-communist activities I described in my graduated thesis at the Department of History (SUKOVÁ Monika. Not underground as underground, Galerie Caesar, 2019. Exhibition catalogue) and a review of a professional publication (SUKOVÁ Monika. Czechoslovak People's Party in the Period of Emerging Normalization (1969–1972), Central Moravia, Homeland Studies Review (2019), Vol. 25, No. 48 pp. 151–152. ISBN: 978-80-7285-219-2.) I participated as a co-researcher in student grant competitions at the Department of Social Sciences of the Faculty of Education (2018 – 2019 - Civic Education in the Czech Lands after 1848 and its Influence on the Cultivation of Historical Consciousness; 2019 – 2020 - Indoctrination of Czechoslovak Education in the Period of Lack of Freedom between the years 1939-1989). I took part of professional conferences at universities in the Czech Republic (November 2018; March, April and November 2019) and abroad (April 2019 – conference of PhD students – University of Constantine the Philosopher in Nitra, December 2019 - ICCSBS Moscow-2019, April 2020 - IAI Virtual Academic Conference in Vienna). Between of August and September 2019 I travelled to Indonesia for on a professional pedagogical internship (Trunojoyo University on Madura Island, in East Java province).

SUKOVATA VIKTORIYA

Kharkiv National Karazin University

The Stalinist Past in the Contemporary Russian Cinema: Reconfiguration of Memory

The goal of my paper is to examine the cultural memory about the Soviet post-war past in the contemporary Russian cinema. I plan to consider how the public memory in the contemporary Russia comprehends and re-constructs the post-war Soviet history and anthropology of Stalinist society in the cinema. As methods of my research I will use ideas of theorists A. Assmann[29] and C. Metz[30] who considered cinema as phenomenon of the cultural unconsciousness of a society. Also I use concepts of Marianne Hirsch[31] about the "traumatic memory" which is saving through photos, family stories, and movie images.

As material for my analyses I chose the genre of TV series because I share the views of American scholar Lee Drummond[32] that the popular genres and their plots which the most spreading in the certain culture, are most useful for understanding the political and socio-cultural situation. The "Auteur cinema", as a rule, reflects the personal experience of a director, but the most popular samples of the national culture represent the "mythological base" of a society, the "inner idea" of the culture.

During many decades, the theme of the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945 (the Soviet term which referred to the struggle of the Soviet peoples against the German invasion of the 1941-1945) was the main focus of the Soviet literature and cinema. It was due to several reasons: the millions of human losses of the Soviet people during the war and the Nazi occupation of Soviet territory, as well as the ideological tasks of the Soviet commemoration. The canonization of the memory about the Great Patriotic War took the significant place in Soviet public memory, cultural mythology and art because the losses of the Soviet Union were unprecedentedly big, more 27 millions of people among them about 17 million civilians.

However, the problem of historical memory in the Soviet post-war period was that the official memory of the war was dominant and overshadowed all other types of personal and collective experiences of the Soviet Stalinist period, such as the experience of repressions, hunger, exile, constant fear of arrest, child homelessness, forced

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collectivization of peasants and much more. The theme of pre-war and post-war Stalinist repressions was mostly absent in the Soviet public memory, as well as the themes of the Soviet prisoners of war, their post-war fates and the Holocaust. These topics were not forbidden for representations in arts and they existed in individual and family memoirs, but they were not welcome in the official culture. The issue of Stalinism as a tragedy of the Soviet society and thousands of individuals was actively discussed in the Soviet society since the late 1980s.

The purpose of my presentation is to analyse how the public memory in the contemporary Russia comprehends and re-constructs the communist past and the anthropology of Stalinist society in the cinema. My statement is that the contemporary commemorative trend in the society has drifted from the war of the 1940s to the pre-war and post-war life of the ordinary Soviet people under Stalin. I can see that focus of attention in many today Russian films and TV series has been devoted to the ordinary Soviet citizens who tried to build their personal and family lives, careers, love, friendships, well-being in situations of pressure from the Soviet authorities, of common fear and suspicion in society, deficiency of goods, post-war hunger, and loss of loved ones. This public trend to know more about personal survival during the Stalinism, was reflected in the emergence of films and TV series devoted to the first post-war years with description of the "Soviet anthropology" in the different Soviet cities, such as Moscow, Leningrad, Odessa. I want to concentrate on several representative Russian TV series devoted to the early post-war life under the Stalinism: "Liquidation" (2007), "Maryina Roshcha District" (2012), "The Cry of the Owl" (2013), "Major Sokolov's Hetaeras" (2014), "Leningrad, 46" (2014-2015).

In 2007 the TV series "Liquidation" was screened in which the director used visual and semantic quotes from Soviet TV series, rethinking them. The plot of the film begins with the arrival of Marshal Georgy Zhukov in Odessa in 1946, as he was called after the war, "the Marshal of Victory", whom Stalin, fearing the competition with Marshal in the army, expelled from the capital to Odessa. The plot is starting at the background of total poverty of the population after the Nazi occupation, the struggle of the Soviet criminal police against lawlessness and, in same tine, the repressions by the NKVD against too independent police investigators, searches for "sleeping" German saboteurs and attempts of the survivors of the war to improve their family and personal life. The memory about the Soviet past presented in cinema as a fabulous story about the tragic but distant times.

The next TV series "Maryina Roshcha District" (2012) presented the post-war life in one of the poorest and most criminal district of Moscow Maryina Roshcha. Each episode of the film was a mini-short story about one of the aspects of the post-war life of Moscovites: the life and relationships of people in communal apartments, about single widows and mothers whose only sons or husbands perished, about orphanhood of the post-war Moscow children, about depressing poverty of some families and the luxurious life of officials and senior officers at the same time. The film shows the post-war repressions within the police, corruption in the government, the rationing system and speculation on the black market, prostitution and criminal showdowns, repression against scientists and the secret research in "sharashka" (secret laboratories of the

NKVD). There were shown the life of German prisoners of war in Moscow in some series, the attitude of Moscovites towards Germans. One of the new aspects of the image were representations of the fate of Soviet demobilized officers, who, being retired to civilian life, cannot find a well-paid job for themselves.

The difference between the portrayal of the post-war life in the Soviet cinema and in the contemporary Russian cinema is obvious: on the one hand, the Soviet directors very rare depicted the taboo issue in the cinema (such as repressions, Holocaust, etc.). On the other hand, the contemporary Russian directors use the visual and plot images of the Soviet films in order to emphasize the authenticity of the contemporary plots. For the same purpose, some modern TV series devoted to the Soviet life of the 1940-1960s are filmed as black and white film: it also gives a feeling of a certain authenticity of the plot.

PRESENTER'S BIO

Viktoriya Sukovata is Ph.D. and Doctor of Habilitation in Cultural Anthropology, professor of Theory of Culture and Philosophy of Science Department, Kharkiv National Karazin University. Viktoriya Sukovata has published more than 150 articles in Ukrainian, Russian, Polish, Byelorussian, Romanian, Serbian, Italian, German, Swedish and American journals and collective monographs. Viktoriya Sukovata received more than 15 individual grants, including fellowships in Central European University in Budapest (Hungary), Hamburg University (Germany), Free University (Berlin), Kennan Institute, George Washington University, USA and Columbia University, USA.

ŠTELMACHOVIČ-BUMOVÁ IVICA

Department of Comparative Religion, Faculty of Arts, Comenius University in Bratislava

The Turning Years 1945, 1968 and 1989 in the Narratives of the Oldest Generation of Informants
(Partial Study from the Project Contemporary Images of Socialism)

The starting point for my contribution are narratives of informants who experienced the end of the Second World War as children or they were born during it.[33] Ongoing analyses of their narratives clearly demonstrates, that their experience of groundbreaking events in the social and political life of a small town is conditioned by this early life experience. Their first memories of the war, and especially of the post-war years, had a strong influence on the experience and evaluation of events they have experienced (encountered) since the late 1960s. The subsequent onset of the normalization captured them at a middle age (they had between 30-40 years old) at the peak of their professional (and family) life. In their memories, they did not avoid a comparison of the two systems (1968-1970, 1989), in which they lived out their creative years.

I realised the research in a small wine-growing town near Bratislava. All participants of the project originally came from a small urban or rural environment. My research was aimed at "ordinary people" from various social and professional groups who were not burdened by ethnic or confessional "otherness".[34] On the other hand, some informants also did not avoid "bad personal assessment" - whether it was due to the "unsatisfactory" origin of the family (for regime) or professional persecution due to their dissenting attitude to the 21st August 1968 (the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia). The main asset in their life strategies after this reality was their social capital. They used it not only to look for a job and secure a future for their descendants, but also to meet their material needs.

The informants focused the core of their narrative on their working life. Their professional realization (career) was constantly emphasized in their narratives and forms one of the primary values in addition to starting a family. As it was a war generation, the informants emphasized their (building) activities in founding new companies or institutions, or more precisely in the creation of new ways of working in the field of education and health care from the 60s of the 20th century. Family life was an important part of the story, but selective. The informants founded families on today's conditions at a very young age (about 20 years +) even under pressure from their parents and the environment (strong social control). Some of them ended their marriage during

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[33] They were born in 1939 to 1942.

[34] So far, my research has focused on the issue of the Jewish community in Slovakia, and that is why this topic was a challenge for me to record the experience of socialism through the narratives of the representatives of the majority society.

the 1970s. It follows from the context of the interviews that they considered this stage of their lives to be a kind of a failure.

The informants commented on changes in political and social life (1948, 1968) only by invitation in a structured interview. In the 60s of the 20th century they had small children, their care was focused in this direction. They perceived the invasion of troops of the Warsaw Pact in August 1968 through their war experience. They felt their families are in danger (they mentioned fears of what would happen to them, the mothers) and fear of the return of the war. These memories were also related to their life strategy to secure the essential life needs for the family (buying food, etc.). As a result of that, they did not take part in the protests. Their experience from 1968 to 1969 and the subsequent period of normalization turned into scepticism in 1989.

The year 1989 and period after the year, on the other hand, is mentioned as a significant milestone in their narratives, which they used to talk about without prompting. By this time, they were already in pre-retirement age. They emphasized their social uncertainty (often after the demise of their companies) both in themselves and in society. Their narratives emphasize the disappointment and disillusionment of the following period. When comparing the period of socialism with the socio-political change after 1989, they mentioned a limited opportunity to travel abroad (they mentioned this dimension as one of the few positives after 1989 together with the possibility of educating grandchildren abroad), but their overall assessment of the period of socialism was positive. The primary value was social security and the emphasis on modesty as another value of life. This attitude was also connected with their rejection of the consumerist way of life of today's society.

The original intention of the study was to compare the experience of the oldest generation of informants and their view of the events they experienced with the views of the generation born during the 50s of the 20th century. The younger generation was not confronted with the events of the war. Small probes into the environment of this generation indicates different life strategies and certain shifts in evaluation as well as more involved participation in the events of 1968 and 1989. Unfortunately, the current epidemiological situation does not allow field research to be followed on, especially for these generations, which are among the most vulnerable. I plan to return to research after easing the situation and measures we are experiencing globally at presents.

PRESENTER'S BIO

Ivica Štelmachovič Bumová studied history and ethnology at the Faculty of Arts, Comenius University in Bratislava. In 2004 she received her PhD. degree from the Institute of Ethnology of Slovak Academy of Science. In 2004-2007 she worked at the Institute of Memory of the Nation in Bratislava. Since 2007 she has worked at the Institute of Judaism at the Faculty of Social and Economic Sciences, Comenius University in Bratislava. She currently lectures Jewish Studies at the Department of Comparative Religions, Faculty of Arts, Comenius University. She focuses on the research of the Jewish community in Slovakia in the 20th century, among other things, the Zionist movement, post war anti-Semitism, but also the Jewish family and Jewish identities. The

focus of her professional interest is the issue of the relationship of the state to the Jewish community in Slovakia after 1945 and political trials against the so-called Zionists. She is the author of a monography, many scientific studies and co-author of several monographs.

ŠVAŘÍČKOVÁ-SLABÁKOVÁ RADMILA

Department of History, Palacký University in Olomouc

The Communist Past in Family Stories and the Power of National Narrative

This paper aims to investigate how the Communist past has been recollected in family stories and what these recollections can tell us about other factors of family functioning. The paper argues that family stories are in discussion with the national narrative about the (Communist) past. What is more important, family stories can be supported by the official narrative or, on the other hand, impaired by it. This interplay has a tremendous effect not only on the ways in which families remember the (Communist) past but also how they talk about their family identities, legacies and values. The paper invites for the integration of psychology into the studies of memory of the (Communist) past and, on the other hand, contributes to the family psychology by emphasizing the importance of family memories.

The paper draws on recent psychological research which has asserted the importance and power of family intergenerational stories (Fivush, Bohanek & Zaman 2011; Merrill & Fivush 2016; Pratt & Fiese 2004). Family stories are closely connected to family values, family functioning and family identity. Particularly family stories told to grandchildren about the past they cannot remember themselves have been highlighted as having positive effects for both grandparents and grandchildren; they help build and enhance family relationships, and educate the following generations about family and historical events (Norris, Kuiack & Pratt 2004).

Family stories that form the core of this paper were collected within a larger interdisciplinary project on family memory. Three generations of thirteen families living in the Czech Republic shared their family stories with researchers, each family member separately (altogether 39 family members). In contrast to family stories about the Second World War, family stories about the Communist past were known to every participant, even the youngest ones, in their twenties in the moment of interviews. Nobody said: "I don´t remember" or "I don´t know". The Communist past is still a vivid period of history in the Czech Republic and this fact was acknowledged by the participants.

How was the Communist past recollected? A striking feature of family stories recounted by thirteen families was the fact that participants through these stories expressed their own political leanings or the political position of the whole family. A definite rejection of Communism in conformity with the official national discourse was expressed through stories in many families. Even the youngest members of these families knew how their ancestors (parents or grandparents) had suffered because of Communism, they recounted family stories about the forced collectivization and other sorts of persecution for political or religious beliefs. Many youngest participants claimed that their own anti-

Communist orientation was inspired by family stories: 'Thanks to these stories I was able to quite quickly and clearly form a definite opinion on Communism and similar let's say dictatorships.', said one of them.

What was very surprising, it was the form of stories recounted by families who were not apparently affected by Communism, better said regretted this past has been gone. These stories were built with caution. The membership in the Communist party was avoided but in some cases disclosed by younger family members; tendency to explain or excuse the inclination of family towards Communism was noticed. These stories reflected a strong nostalgia for the Communist regime in some accounts of two older family generations. Recollections of a "beautiful childhood" invited one-sided anti-Communist discourse into discussion: I have been never interested (in politics). We attended school, then the apprenticeship, it is all the same, one had to work. I was not at all, really, interested in politics. For instance, Russians came here (in August 1968), how old was I? Did I take an interest in some Russians? Why are they here, what were they doing here? I had other troubles and not those kinds.

The position of the youngest family members of these families was interesting. They were also impacted by family stories but in another way. Or they shared family nostalgic views about the past and talked suspiciously about the current state of democracy in the Czech Republic, or they talked about the disputes on the rights and wrongs of Communism between various family branches.

The disputes didn't contribute to developing good family relations, obviously. An unexpected outcome of this research about family stories recounted in thirteen families was the fact that families who shared their anti-Communist stories in all generations, were good-functioning families who maintained good relations between family members and between family generations. The youngest members of these families recounted what they learned from their parents and grandparents, talked about values that they took as theirs from them (a political inclination being only one of the whole set of values transmitted to them through family), were able to see role models in their ancestors and appreciated their behaviour in the hard time of the Communist dictatorship. In contrast, the youngest members of the group of pro-Communist families did not exactly know what to share about the Communist past, no family stories about this period of history were advanced as pointed above. As confessed by older family members of these families, families didn't meet to share their family stories. Instead, disputes and quarrels found their place in families. The youngest family members hesitated to see role models in their ancestors and were not sure about legacies and values transmitted through family to them.

The paper argues that the Czech politics of memory, strongly condemning the period of the Communist regime, supports the telling of negative family stories about this past while it impairs the telling of other, more positive stories. Consequently, families who were not persecuted by the Communist regime or were in favour of it, can suffer not only from the shortage of narrative models for their family stories but can be also impaired in their family functioning.

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PRESENTER'S BIO

Radmila Švaříčková Slabáková received her PhD. from Pierre Mendès-France University in Grenoble, France and currently is an Associate Professor in the Department of History at Palacký University Olomouc, Czech Republic. She has published numerous studies examining the history of Austro-Czech nobility in the 19th and 20th centuries including her 2007 book Family strategies of nobility. The Mensdorff-Pouilly family in the 19th century and her 2012 book Myth of nobility. Memory and nobility in Bohemia and Moravia in the 20th century (both in Czech). Recently, she has examined the intersections of gender, oral history and family relations in the broader social network in several articles, published, among others, in the Journal of Family History and Gender Studies. Her research interests encompass a transmission of historical memory (particularly the memory of the Second World War and the Communist period); she is the main editor and co-author of two 2018 books on family memory: Family and its Memory in us as mirrored in three-generational narratives and Family also has its own memory: family memory in an interdisciplinary context.

TONELLI ANNA

University of Urbino Carlo Bo

Lessons on Communism:
Party Schools in Italy in the 20th Century

The Italian Communist Party created the most articulated and effective political school – and the only one in Italy – aimed at creating cadre leaders. Called the Frattocchie School, it was a residential school in the hills of Rome that was in operation from 1944 to 1993. The students had to attend courses lasting from six months to a year where they studied historical materialism and the history of the Bolshevik party, but where they also experienced collective life, group identity, and the theoretical and practical values of communism.

The training of the militant was aimed at building the potential career of a politician that embodied the ideals and values of a party like the Communist party, which required control, preparation and discipline. That is why communist schools represented a unique example in teaching methods and curricula, but also in the attention given to students, both in the way they were recruited and in the way they conducted themselves in school. The selected young people had to be aware that they were an investment for the party, one to be paid back with progress at school that reflected certain requirements, both in their studies and in their behaviour during the courses: commitment to learning, correction of defects, ability to self-criticise, willingness to adapt to the required tasks, the degree of harmony in the group, discipline for themselves and towards others.

The Frattocchie model began with an initial period in which training consisted of the organisation and acculturation of the working classes, starting with workers and peasants, according to a schema influenced by the Soviet schools, even if the socializing bent of the Italian institutes mitigated the sectarianism and dogmatism of Moscow. The specificity of the communist school was not only to train pupils who would become national leaders, but also to train thousands of simple militants who therefore had the opportunity to study theory and practice with a view to a future commitment in their territories, at the head of a section or local administration. A real school of life, with first-rate teachers including such as Togliatti, Longo, Berlinguer – who was also director for a year – Napolitano and D'Alema.

The first step in the training was the curriculum. To be good communists and above all capable leaders, it was necessary to understand Marxist-Leninist theory in terms of a theoretical basis to be developed in the field of concrete politics and revolutionary action. Marxism, which Togliatti believed to be "the first blow of the pickaxe that paved the way", provided the grounding for the political literacy of the communist masses. To this end, summaries and handouts were prepared which, together with the reading of the Manifesto, introduced the lessons in the courses aimed at transforming Marxist-

Leninist orthodoxy into a political and existential perspective. However, the teachers were aware that in order to make the sacrosanct communist texts known to workers and peasants it was necessary to use simple language, with many metaphors and practical examples. A way to bring teachers closer to their pupils and to establish a direct relationship capable of instilling a method of study.

That said, the communist schools were not supposed to just give lessons and ideas and raise the ideological and cultural level, but were also supposed to shape the character that determined conduct in the classroom, the relationship with others and the quality of collective life. For this character and temperament were essential parameters for the evaluation of the pupil and his or her ability to mitigate defects during school attendance. Determination, together with calmness, sociability and willpower, were some of the qualities to be developed, while impulsiveness and the tendency to give in to agitation and emotion represented a hindrance to good performance at school and thus to a potential political career. For the pupils, the ability to learn, the willingness to sacrifice and adaptation in the classroom became the requirements for measuring political reliability and party investment.

These characteristics remained unchanged over time even though the educational system had to adapt to social and political changes linked to the economic boom that changed the student profile and that resulted in the transformation of the pupils into officials at the head of local government, something that was even more evident in the 1970s. Those who entered the schools were no longer simply workers or members of the working classes, but young people with an average level of schooling, most being students and office workers, trained to head municipalities, organizations and trade unions. It is no coincidence that courses and curricula also changed, with more room for lessons in political economy, how to draw up budgets and how to speak in public.

The history of the Frattocchie school ended in 1993 with the end of communism and the transformation of the ICP into the Democratic Party of the Left. However, that pedagogical and political system represented a heritage of values and ideals which, despite the inevitable ideological excesses, formed generations of young people and militants.

PRESENTER'S BIO

Anna Tonelli is full professor of Contemporary History at the University of Urbino Carlo Bo, where she also teaches History of Political Systems and Parties, and History of Journalism. She is scientific director of the Institute of Contemporary History in Pesaro, which is affiliated with the Istituto Nazionale Ferruccio Parri. She is also a member of the scientific committee at LaPolis, the Political and Social Studies Workshop directed by Ilvo Diamanti. She is interested in cultural history as well as political and social history, in particular the history of the ICP. Her most recent books include the following: A scuola di politica. Il modello comunista di Frattocchie (1944-1993), Rome-Bari, Laterza, 2017; Per indegnità morale. Il caso Pasolini nell'Italia del buon costume, Rome-Bari, Laterza, 2015; Gli irregolari. Amori comunisti al tempo della Guerra fredda, Rome-Bari, Laterza,

2014; *Falce e tortello. Storia politica e sociale delle Feste dell'Unità (1945-2011)*, Rome-Bari, Laterza, 2012.

TÓTH ERZSÉBET FANNI

Sigmund Freud University Vienna

The Paradoxes of Remembering:
Negotiations of the Gendered Self in the Context of Early Socialism

How is the liberation of deported families in the post-WW2 and early Socialist Czechoslovakia reflected in the narratives of ethnic Hungarian women in rural regions of southern Slovakia more than seven decades after the traumatic events happened in a climate where remembrance of the consequences of the Beneš-decrees is still a political taboo and is mostly missing from school curricula and museum exhibitions? How can the pain of forced collectivisation be articulated when the memories of property loss mingle with those of significant gendered personal gain?

Past research has highlighted that narratives do have gender. Male and female accounts of traumatic events (such as the ethnic discrimination of Hungarian families was) carry different and highly gender-specific information, since even though individuals might face similar circumstances their experiences and latter narrations are highly influenced by their gender roles. Therefore, male and female recollections of the "same past" cannot be merged into a homogenous account without losing some of its significant aspects (Adams, Kuebli, Boyle and Fivush, 1995, Gillian, 1992 or Kovács & Melegh, 2004).

This article is based on a large-scale research project, which aimed at analysing narrative accounts of ethnic Hungarians living in southern regions of Slovakia, who due to the decrees issued under the presidency of Eduard Beneš were forced to alter their declared ethnic identity ("reslovakise"), were forcibly transferred to Sudeten German regions of the post WW2 Czechoslovakia, and were required to work in agriculture for approx. 2 years (Vadkerty, 1993, 1996, Popély, 2002, 2007). For the purposes of this research I conducted thirty narrative interviews (Schütze, 1983) in rural, ethnically mixed regions of southern Slovakia. In this article, I focus on the liberation narratives of post-WW2 ethnic Hungarian female deportees. By utilizing a qualitative methodology, namely interpretative phenomenological analysis of narrative interviews I reveal how the elderly women describe their self and disclose personal agency while they reflect on the post WW2 years of deportations and early phases of Socialism when the collective agency was lost. Besides, I describe how the context of Socialism created space for personal heroism parallel to collective victimisation, and how the former deportees decided for silencing particular aspects of their past to hide the personal gains and to strengthen their social ties.

The novelty of the research can be contributed to the interdisciplinary character of the study, taking into consideration aspects of psychology, socio-cultural anthropology, and oral history. As in this context, I provide a nuanced and rich picture of early Socialism in southern Slovakia, especially touching on topics of ethnicity, gender, the individual and

the social silenced and unheard trauma, and pinpoint how by silencing certain gendered (female) memories the collective and mostly masculine victim discourses are kept alive.

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PRESENTER'S BIO

Erzsébet Fanni Tóth (erzsebet.toth@sfu.ac.at) received her BA in Psychology and Socio-Cultural Anthropology from Utrecht Universityin the Netherlands. For her research on the memory of the Jews in the urban context of Budapest in which she incorporated the perspective of historiography, she was awarded an MA degree in Sociology and Social Anthropology at the Central European University in Budapest, Hungary In 2008. Her doctoral dissertation at the Sigmund Freud University in Vienna focused on the trauma of deportation of minority Hungarians within the post-WW2 Czechoslovakia. Since 2012 she is a faculty member at the Sigmund Freud University Vienna and teaches research methods and academic didactics at the Department for International Studies and coordinates the International Ph.D. Programme. Erzsébet Fanni Tóth has been active in cultural and minority studies with a unique perspective on qualitative research methods: she has collaborated in research projects focusing on the Jewish minority in Central Europe, on the Japanese immigrants in Western Europe and Southern and Eastern European labour migrants in the European Union. Her anthropological and

psychological training, coupled with her experience gained at the Hungarian Demographic Research Institute in Budapest and the Slovak Demographic Research Centre of the Institute of Informatics and Statistics in Bratislava have provided her with a strong footing in the interdisciplinary application of qualitative research methods.

TRAJANOVSKI NAUM

GSSR; IFiS; Polish Academy of Sciences

Skopje, the City of Solidarity:
A Framework for Interpreting the Local Memory of the 1963 Skopje Earthquake

One can easily say that the reinstallation of the set of letters depicting the message of condolence and solidarity stated by Yugoslavia's lifetime president Josip Broz Tito (1892-1980) was the most notable event from the 55th anniversary of the calamitous 1963 Skopje earthquake.[35] The message - "Skopje was struck by an unseen catastrophe, but we will rebuild it anew with the help of our entire community, so it will become our pride and a symbol of brotherhood and unity, of Yugoslav and world solidarity," announced just a day after the tragic event, on 27 July 1963, alongside the erstwhile, pre-1963 Central Railway Station of Skopje's frozen clock at 5.17am – the starting point of the seismic activities – were considered to be one of the most protuberant memorabilia of the earthquake.[36] The letters, formerly placed on the façade of the Old Central Railway Station, were removed in 1999 as part of a major refurbishing of the Station – nowadays serving as a building of the Skopje's City Museum – an event which was frequently speculated to be conducted from "ideological reasons".[37] The removal provoked a massive set of public reactions in the upcoming years and got articulated the best through the social media group "Tito's message should be returned" which opted for a renewal of the original message by loading the public discourse with personal and family memories of the catastrophic event. The 1963 Skopje earthquake, as it will be discussed below, took the lives of 1070 people, injured more than 3000, and left displaced more than 200000 locals.

On a different note, just five years before the reinstallation of the letters – on 30 April 2013, the monument "Skopje '63" by one of the Macedonian finest post-WWII sculptors and a member of the Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Tome Serafimovski (1935-2016), was relocated from the park across the Skopje's City Museum. The bronze object, portraying a "female body in spasm and pain, without the left breast and the heart," symbols, according to its author, the "lifeless of the destroyed Skopje," reflecting as well the "agony of the Skopjans for the loss of the closest ones, and for the city which

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[35] The commemorative highlight of the 55th anniversary of the 1963 Skopje earthquake in 2018 was "The solidarity returns home".

[36] The announcement, made public during a press conference organized on 27 July 1963, was drawn upon an earlier telegram by the then Secretary-General of the United Nations, Sithu U Thant (1909-1974), addressed to Tito, stressing that the "United Nations stands ready to offer every assistance within its resources to alleviate distress caused by the calamity". More in Tolic, "Ernest Weissmann's World City," 172.

[37] Vasilevska, "So izmenet font." See, as well, Marusic, "Macedonian Capital Restores."

ceased to exist".[38] The monument, carved in 2006, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Skopje earthquake, was placed in the park-complex surrounded with the aforementioned Museum and one of the most "iconic" elements of the post-earthquake reconstruction – the residential complex "City Wall".[39] The reconstruction of the ruined city, herein, was led by an international team of architects and urban planners, lasted up until the mid-1980s and aimed at reimagining the Macedonian capital as a "World city" – open to domestic and intra-federal migrations. The "unprecedented support" by the Yugoslav federal units and the international community offered to Skopje became a cornerstone of the policy of branding the torn city as a "City of solidarity".[40] The removal of the sculpture, however, was done to clear the space for a massive constructing "project" which took place in the early 2010s, commonly referred to as "Skopje 2014" – an umbrella term for approximately 130 memorial objects erected in the very city centre of Skopje.

The two vignettes are just a small portion of the socio-political dynamism around the local legacies of the 1963 Skopje earthquake and the post-earthquake reconstruction. While a lot has been written on the seismic features of the earthquake and the urban planning aspects of the post-earthquake reconstruction, the topic of the international support was mainly covered as a history of UN's involvement in Skopje's urban reconstruction.[41] Furthermore, several recent studies dealing with North Macedonia's post-Yugoslav memory politics touched upon the multi-directionality of earthquake's legacies in the Macedonian public discourse, juxtaposing, in all the cases, the post-earthquake reconstruction with the aforementioned "Skopje 2014 project".[42] Building upon this literature, the present paper looks at the discursive development of the notion of "solidarity" as a city-brand of Skopje in the aftermath of the earthquake up until the present point.[43] "City of solidarity" become a major byname of Skopje during the Yugoslav period, while in the aftermath of the 1990s and the Yugoslav demise, the very

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[38] Popovska, "Serafimovski: Jas ne se soglasiv."

[39] Tolic, "Ernest Weissmann's World City."

[40] See Tomovski, "Zemjotres"

[41] The UN, besides providing financial and technical support in the wake of the quake, assisted the process of creating the city's master plan, denoted as Skopje Urban Plan Project, and the plan for the Skopje's central area. An extensive overview can be found in Derek Senior's "Skopje Resurgent: The Story of a United Nations Special Fund Town Planning Project", a cornerstone, 400-pages study of the initial UN operation in Skopje. Most recently, the UN's involvement in Skopje's reconstruction was reinterpreted by Lozanovska and Martek in "Consciousness and Amnesia" and "Skopje Resurgent." Ines Tolic's work singles out the mediation of Ernest Weissmann, an architect of Croatian origins and an UN officer, who mediated the cooperation between the Yugoslav Federal Government and the UN. See "Dopo il Terremoto" and "Ernest Weissmann's World City." The Skopje earthquake, alongside its "unique" seismic character as put by Ambraseys in "General characteristics of the Skopje earthquake," was also approached as a radical break in the city's "rapid development" in Sozen's "Structural damage." As for the urbanistic and urban planning records, one should commence with the series of 22 publications by the Skopje's Institute of Town Planning and Architecture compiled between 1963 and 1967.

[42] See Mijalkovic and Urbanek, Skopje, "The World's Bastard"; Mattioli, "Unchanging boundaries" and "Regimes of Aesthetics"; Lozanovska, "Gravitas and Optimism"; Véron, "Contesting the Divided City" and "Challenging Neoliberal Nationalism"; Kulić, "Building the Socialist Balkans"; Ivanovska Deskova, Deskov

[43] Solidarity has a long tradition as a subject of social analysis. For an overview, see Mascha, "Solidarity in Europe" and Simpson Fletcher, "The Politics of Solidarity."

equation of Skopje with "solidarity" will be argued to be focal for the local memory contestations over the recent urban history. Drawing upon an analysis of media texts, museal archives and political rhetoric, the paper aims at (i) mapping the initial memory policies denoting Skopje as a "City of solidarity" and (ii) developing a framework for interpreting the discursive development of the "solidarity tag" in the post-1963 period.

PRESENTER'S BIO

Naum Trajanovski is a Ph.D. candidate in sociology at the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences and a researcher at the Faculty of Philosophy – Skopje. His Ph.D. project deals with the local memories of the 1963 Skopje earthquake and the post-earthquake reconstruction. He holds MA degrees in Southeastern European Studies (Graz-Belgrade-Skopje) and Nationalism Studies (Budapest), both defended with distinctions. He was affiliated with the Warsawbased European Network Remembrance and Solidarity as a project coordinator and the international research network "COURAGE – Connecting Collections," as an advisor and a proofreader. His recent work on the post-2001 memory regimes in North Macedonia is to be published as a peer-reviewed paper in Brill's Southeastern Europe, while his take on the Macedonian post-Yugoslav memory culture will be published as a monograph by the Macedonian publishing house Templum in 2020.

VOLCHEVSKA-VERBRUGGE BILJANA

Institute for Cultural Inquiry, Utrecht University

Gendered Heritage in the Material Culture
of Post-Socialist Skopje

By looking at the depiction of women in the semiotics of two different heritage landscapes in Skopje, my aim in this article is to show how the symbolic power of heritage can navigate and reflect actual political tendencies and ruling styles. The main question that I wish to address is: How are gender roles represented and performed in the heritage practice of present-day North Macedonia as opposed to Yugoslav times and how does gendered heritage contribute to strengthening young nationalisms? Moreover, my analysis attempts to shed light on what the real effects of symbolic gendering on women's lives are.

The discussion shows that the symbolic representation of women in the public space not only reflects the political and social agenda of the establishment, but also has an ethical and disciplinary role in shaping identities. The symbolic masculinisation of the public space in Sko014 reflects the actual "backlash" of gender equality that took place in all spheres of life during the time the VMRO DPMNE (The Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation – Democratic party for Macedonian National Unity) was in power (2006 – 2016).

In the discussion, I compare the imagery of womanhood created in the public space in two different historical contexts: socialist Skopje and Sko014. Specifically, I compare two memorial spaces: the transformation of Women Warrior Park in the centre of Skopje, its socialist monuments and the newly installed 'counter monuments', as well as the sculptures and fountain of Olympias that were recently installed in the centre of the city.

By looking at the depiction of women in the semiotics of two different heritage landscapes, my aim is to show how the symbolic power of heritage can navigate and reflect actual political tendencies and ruling styles. The main question that I wish to address is: How are gender roles represented and performed in the heritage practice of present-day North Macedonia as opposed to Yugoslav times and how does gendered heritage contribute to strengthening young nationalisms? Moreover, my analysis attempts to shed light on what the real effects of symbolic gendering on women's lives are. The aforementioned question is based on two fundamental assumptions: first, that heritage is gendered; and second, that gendered heritage is related to nationalism and its demand for controlled and strictly defined gender roles.

The comparison between the heritage produced since the Macedonian independence compared to the Yugoslavian once in many ways reflects the difference between the different symbolic systems, that refer to different ideological frames of reference. The monumental in the public space and the way the past is presented is tied to the political need of the two different nation states, different historical contexts with very different

aesthetic and political sensibilities. The Yugoslav monumental belongs to the modernist projects where the monumental similarly to the other forms of architecture becomes utopian space free from historic burden. On the other side, the performance of the national myth of the young Macedonian nation is looking for a aesthetics and cultural heritage that will legitimise and give representation of the new power structure or at least of the desired new power structures. The two different heritage also play a different political role.

The critique of the socialist heritage needs to be situated in the historical context it emerged. The socialist heritage lies on the national Yugoslavian myth of rejection of fascism, but also the rejection of ethnic identity as the mode of common Yugoslav identity was celebrated. In case of Yugoslavia the rejection of ethnicity as an identity marker is understandable as the Yugoslavian project would not have been possible. This was also shown during the Yugoslav wars when ethnic conflicts and different types of fragmentations took place across the society. The Yugoslav cultural policy was directed towards building one Yugoslav identity that very much relied on the narrative of emancipation of women and the partisan struggle. The symbolic non-traditional representation of women paralleled the politics of cultural and political emancipation of women that took place all over Yugoslavia. And although the project of women's emancipation did not remain as progressive but rather was often interrupted with political traditional statements and women never really reached the political equality of women, the socialist system opened the space for a new non-traditional imagery of women in the political as well as in the symbolic realm.

The Macedonian case of transformation of heritage aesthetics and monumetnalisation practices is not unique but is certainly a very concrete example which shows how heritage as an aesthetical and historical expression does not only participates in the shaping of the public space and the historical consciousness but can also be linked as a supportive mechanism for concrete policy strategies. At the same time the category of gendered heritage highlights the exclusive character of military history and warrior heroes that are to be seen in almost every bigger city in Europe. Political history even nowadays remains one of the favoured perspectives on the past and its representation in the public space. Such history is narrated by a man about man. Women whenever represented are situated more in the mythical rather than historical realm. Heritage as experience and imagination of the past is the experience of man, and not of every man but of warriors and political leaders. Ethnocentric and nationalistic historical narratives are not interested in the role of man as, workers, peasants, fathers, poets, scientists just to name a few. Social history that depicts the everyday struggles of common people cannot achieve the desired goal of nation building and ethnocentrism. In such representations of the past, subjects like sexuality, reproduction, women's experiences, gender stereotypes are hardly recognised as historical categories.

PRESNETER'S BIO

Biljana (b.volchevska-verbrugge@uu.nl) is a PhD student at ICON – Institute for Cultural Inquiry at Utrecht University in the Netherlands and is working under a supervision of Prof. Dr. Rosemarie Buikema. Her current research investigates the potential of memory narratives and heritage production in bringing social and political change in society on one side and the social and civil movements that emerge as a reaction to oppressive cultural politics, on the other. Next to her PhD research she also works as a project manager at Forum Civil Peace Service (forumZFD.de) in North Macedonia. Biljana holds a MA in World Heritage Studies and prior to beginning the PhD program Biljana worked as a Program Coordinator of the Dutch program in Afghanistan for rehabilitation of the Afghan National Museum

VOĽANSKÁ ĽUBICA

Institute of Ethnology and Social Anthropology SAS in Bratislava

Stories of My House:
On Interviewing Neighbours about Their Changing Home

The paper focuses on the challenges related to doing research at home – in Slovakia, Bratislava and furthermore at my earlier home: in the house I used to live. In the last year and a half, I conducted 25 in-depth interviews with several inhabitants of the Avion house of various generations – mostly the generations born in the 1930's and 1940's – and I collected their stories of "our" house. As I realised, this research might be some kind of a rescue research, given the fact that the informants are slowly passing away. The research still goes on – with the plan to continue with the interviews with more members of the total of 128 flats in this house, and more members of the younger generation, who nowadays often live elsewhere. In a case study of the Avion house, I intend to tell a story of this particular house of the period of the second half of 20th century. The remaining inhabitants as well as the changing inhabitants of the house and their particular stories reflect the historical events of this period in former Czechoslovakia (Slovakia). In this connection, I explore the ways of how particular houses, houses of flats and residential neighbourhoods can be associated with different symbolic values.

According to Pierre Bourdieu (2008), the process of appropriation and the individual housing trajectories are based not only on the subjects' rational reasoning. They are influenced by norms, preferences in taste, ideal notions and social aspirations, as well as broader social and economic factors. Shelley Mallet also argues "that the relationships between the terms house and home must be established in varying cultural and historical contexts" (2004: 68), as shown for the Slovak environment by Soňa G. Lutherová (2014). Mallet further focuses on one's identity related to home; she asks the question: "is home (a) place(s), (a) space(s), feeling(s), practices, and/or an active state of state of being in the world (2004: 65)? In my research I ask these questions: What does a home signify to its inhabitants? How is it connected with their identities? And more particularly: How does the next generation deal with the experience of their ancestors (witnesses of the period 1948 – 1989 in Slovakia) connected to this particular house? How do they integrate this experience into their own identities, and how does it influence their choices about their own dwelling?

However, in my paper I focus on the concept of doing anthropology at home that is usually understood as studying the researcher's own culture by conducting fieldwork in his or her own country. I discuss the fact that doing "anthropology at home" involves the same anthropological methodology as any other anthropological research. Some methods of data collection like observations, informal discussions, in-depth interviews

or walking interviews related to a particular place are essential to almost every ethnographic research project. They include for example: preparing the open-ended questions, recording the interviews to be able to focus better on the life stories (as it might often be inevitable in situations when walking while conducting interviews with my interview partners), and relying on the field notes that can be used later when writing down the research.

Writing my field notes and trying to separate from the "cultural immersion" after every interview / walking interview, I realised that the definition of "the other" needs to be negotiated in several ways. I used to live in Avion house and my interview partners expected that some things didn't need to be explained to me. At the same time, I haven't lived in the house for almost 20 years, which makes me a bit of an outsider. Furthermore, concerning the age positions that are produced within certain social interaction (including the context of interviewing people), I was having in mind the vulnerability of my aged interview partners. According to the experiences from my previous research, my interview partners in high age sometimes abandon the learned rules, how to present our lives in a biographical interview (Rosenthal 2015).

Thus, while conducting research at home, the same ethical and methodological aspects should be applied as in any other kind of research. Actually, even more challenges might occur when discussing the results of my work, the final text or narrative should give voice to every participant. As the story of the Avion house presents a mosaic based on memories and stories of my former neighbours, carrying often contradictory messages, I decided to discuss the particular parts with them. This participatory approach may lead to more blurring of the boundaries of a methodological distinction between doing anthropology at home and in another region. However, if the participants of the research are attempting to create a "we", it is difficult for the interviewer to position himself or herself differently.

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PRESENTER'S BIO

Mgr. Ľubica Volanská, Ph.D. (lubica.volanska@savba.sk) works as senior researcher at the Institute of Ethnology and Social Anthropology, Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava. Her main topics of interest cover (auto)biographical research, historical anthropology, family, old age and ageing. She researched topics related to the focus of projects Everyday Culture during Socialism: Practice and Strategies in an Everyday Life in Socialist Countries, and Their Impact on Transformation (2001 – 2003) and Legacy of Socialist Everyday Life: Social Networks and Trust in Postsocialism (2003 – 2005). She has been dealing with the topic of creating texts of various kinds and the role of individual actors in this creation in the research of autobiographical writing, also in connection with the functioning of human memory, for several years (Voľanská, 2016). An important topic of her research is also the relationship between researchers and their partners in research: Ľ. Voľanská dealt, for example, with the influence of the addressee of autobiographical texts on their character and subsequently on the possibilities of their analysis (Vrzgulová – Voľanská - Salner, 2017). More information: https://uesa.sav.sk/?q=en/lubica-volanska-herzanova-mgr-phd

WEISE-PÖTSCHKE SASKIA

Freie Universität Berlin

Visitor Books and Memory:
Evaluating the Bautzner Straße-Dresden Memorial Site's Significance for Former Stasi Prisoners' Individual Memory

> "The presence and circulation of a representation [...] tells us nothing about what it is for its users." (Certeau 2008)

Memorial sites document, illustrate, and interpret aspects of history. Thus, they represent a historical past deemed relevant by the initiators in the public sphere (Assmann 2007). The former GDR Ministry for State Security's (so-called Stasi) administration and remand centre in today's capital of Saxony, Dresden, employed around 3,591 official employees. Today, it is a well-known memorial site in East-Germany and is dedicated to a critical representation of the communist dictatorship in East Germany. Around 30,000 people from all over Germany and the world visited the exhibition in the former remand centre last year (2019).

This does, however, not tell much about the historical site's meaning to the users, or rather visitors. In order to get an impression of the visitors' spontaneous reactions and thoughts, I systematically examine and categorize the memorial site's visitor books. Through these books, memorial sites offer visitors the opportunity to write down their thoughts thereby enabling an open channel of communication. They can, therefore, be seen as visitors' responses to the exhibition's representation of the communist past.

Given the methodological considerations on the use of visitor books for museum studies, it is advantageous that comments in visitor books are not shaped by researchers' interests and are not influenced by the relationship between interviewer and respondent as it is the case in surveys (Macdonald 2015). Furthermore, Macdonald notes that the entries' representativeness is limited by low entry rates and missing socio-demographic information. But it is a fairly creative approach to the study of memorial sites, and visitor books offer a high intensity of reactions and emotions which previous visitor research rarely considered.

My focus is on entries by persons who explicitly identify as former inmates of the very remand centre they visited. They make up roughly 10 percent of all entries in the first visitor book of the memorial site. The number of comments decreased over the observed period. In the end, I found 91 entries of former Stasi prisoners in a time period from 2008 to 2020.

I examine which thoughts former Stasi prisoners wrote down having visited their place of ordeal. What feelings emerge after the visit? What thoughts do they want to utter? What kind of information do they write in the visitor book?

My aim is to shed light on the memorial site's significance and importance for the prisoner's individual memory by analysing the entries' type and content. The visitor books offer an authentic and intriguing access to former political prisoners' mental world and their individual memory. This contribution connects the media representation of the communist dictatorship and its meaning for the former prisoners' individual memory.

In conclusion, I point out three main findings of my analysis. These apply to the individual memory of the comments' writer as well as to the family memory. To underline my conclusions, I use (translated) examples of entries and comments from the visitors so that readers can get a better impression of how they appear. Overall, my research accentuates the importance of memorial sites as a place of encounter and personal conflict for East Germany's victims of communist tyranny.

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PRESENTER'S BIO

Saskia Weise-Pötschke holds a diploma in sociology and educational science. She is currently working as a research associate at the Freie Universität Berlin, Forschungsverbund SED-Staat on a project analysing personnel continuities in the GDR's education system after 1945. The interest in visitor books arose while working as an official tour guide in the Stasimuseum Berlin-Lichtenberg. This paper was written in coordination with the Stasi memorial site of the author's home town Dresden. Besides this, Saskia Weise-Pötschke is planning her PhD in cultural studies focusing on the GDR's Ministry for State Security media presentation in museums.

WIESNER ADAM

Institute of Ethnology and Social Anthropology SAS in Bratislava

Towards Collaborative Oral History:
Appropriating Not-Knowing Approach in Therapy
for Oral History Interview

Some oral historians are aware of the specific interview context their discipline represents. Deeply emotional encounters with people and their touching narratives are often more than an ordinary life history and, therefore, require much more than just a good technical erudition. When doing "an oral history for a dying woman", Marta Norkunas explains the challenging aspects of such interview process: paying attention to assessing "the emotional climate in the room, … the impact of the interview on the narrator, the family member present," and herself was as important as choosing the proper topics to be raised, or listening closely "to any cues she and her family members gave" her (Norkunas, 2013: 83). While many oral historians are aware of the fact that they are not therapists and feel the need to express so (Ibid.), less has been written so far on the similarity of the goals and practices of feminist / humanistic oral history and postmodern non-blaming conversational therapeutic approaches such as collaborative or narrative therapy.

In *Oral History Off the Record*, Anna Sheftel and Stacey Zembrzycki refer to an oral history interview process as to "a collaborative … space" that "acknowledge[s] the humanity of the interviewer and interviewee … and valorize[s] the relationships that grow out of these encounters" (Sheftel & Zembrzycki, 2013: 7). Similarly, postmodern therapeutic approaches influenced by the writings of Bakhtin, Bateson, Derrida, Foucault, Lyotard, Rorty, Vygotsky, Wittgenstein and many others (White & Epston, 1990; Anderson, 2007a) centre around the terms "*collaborative, dialogical, open-dialogue, conversational, constructionist,* [or] *relational*" (Anderson, 2007a: 2).

As a practicing counsellor and therapist, my latest experience with life histories via oral history interviews with people who lived through the "socialist" era in former Czechoslovakia, has been an opportunity to apply several techniques from the postmodern therapeutic setting into an oral history interview process and its specific context. Through appropriating the Not-Knowing Approach from Collaborative therapy for an Oral history setting, I have been consciously aiming at strengthening the collaborative aspect of the interview process. Via "entertain[ing] uncertainty", Not-Knowing Approach values the "sense of unpredictability" that instead of being feared by the interviewer is welcomed as a space liberating from the need to be a "content or outcome expert" (Anderson, 2007b: 27). Such an approach allows for "mov[ing] from a one-way inquiry toward a mutual inquiry" through "learning [the participant's] language" and spontaneous engagement with each other (Ibid.: 26).

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PRESENTER'S BIO

Mgr. Adam Wiesner, PhD. (ORCID: 0000-0001-8071-2961) is a post-doctoral research fellow at the Institute of Ethnology and Social Anthropology SAS in Bratislava, and a collaborative and queer affirmative counsellor and therapist. His research interests include Queer, Mad and Monster studies, postmodern therapeutic approaches, autoethnography and reflexive writing. Correspondence can be addressed directly to adam.wiesner@savba.sk.

MEMORY OF THE COMMUNIST PAST
VIRTUAL CONFERENCE

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS