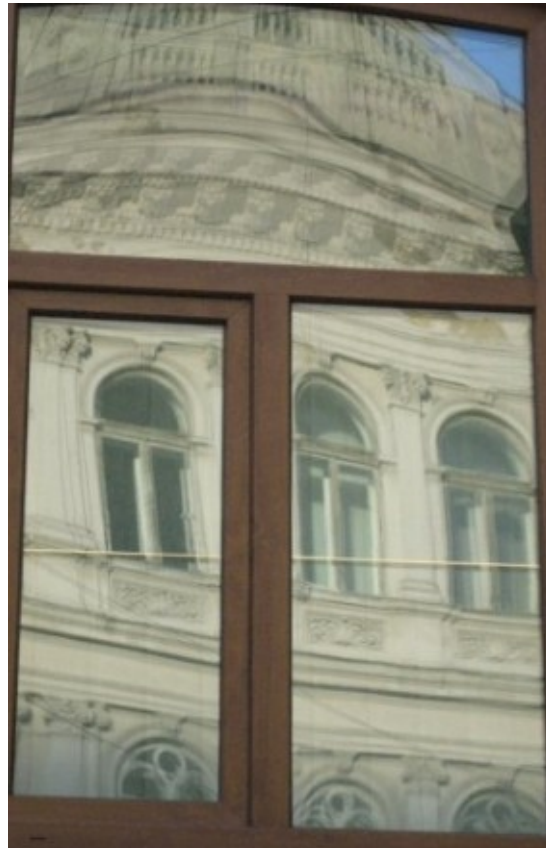


*Conference pack*

**‘Identities In-Between: East-Central Europe,  
c. 1900-present’**

Wolfson College, Oxford, 12-13 September 2016



*Convenors:*

Drs Jan Fellerer, Robert Pyrah (University of Oxford)  
and Marius Turda (Oxford Brookes University)

**Concluding conference of the four-year research project,  
‘Sub-Cultures as Integrative Forces in East-Central Europe, c. 1900-  
present’, sponsored by the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council**

<http://subcultures.mml.ox.ac.uk/>

*Conference email:*

[subculturesoxford@gmail.com](mailto:subculturesoxford@gmail.com)

## CONCEPT

Interrogating the notion of ‘identity’ remains a central concern in Humanities and Social Sciences research. For East-Central Europe, the subject has particular resonance: this was a region forged in diversity, remade after 1945 along ethno-national lines, and which in the present, continues to resist alternative narratives.

**This two-day conference engages with a specific definition of ‘sub-cultures’ through case studies drawn from the East-Central European region, over the period c. 1900-present.**

It concludes a four-year research project (<http://subcultures.ox.ac.uk> / <http://www.facebook.com/subcultures.oxford>) that proposes a new definition of the term. Its purpose is to understand identities that do not conform to the fixed, standard categories imposed from the top down, such as ‘ethnic group’, ‘majority’ or ‘minority’. Instead, a ‘sub-culture’ is an identity that sits between these categories. It may blend languages, e.g. dialect forms, cultural traditions, or ethnic identifications. It may be drawn on particular conceptions of race and biology that, similarly, sit outside national projects, or else in the interstices. In short, a ‘sub-culture’ in these terms is not ‘subaltern’, but is an identity resisting complete incorporation into the standard categories of ‘majority’ and ‘minority’. The region offers many examples of such identities: among working-class inhabitants of Lodz or Lviv in the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century, with their mixed dialect practice; Germans who lived in Wroclaw after the city became Polish in 1945, with their blended tradition and mixed identifications.

## PLANNED PUBLICATION

An important aim of the conference is to facilitate scholarly exchange with a view towards a peer-reviewed edited volume with a good publisher. The deadline for submission of papers and further preparations for the volume will be announced at the conference.

## PROGRAMME

### Monday 12 September

- 13:00-14:00 Haldane Room  
REGISTRATION AND SANDWICH LUNCH
- 14:00-14.30 Haldane Room  
KEYNOTE 1  
**Tomasz Kamusella**  
*University of St. Andrew's, UK*  
'Between National Teleology and Self-Identification'  
(20 minutes then questions / discussion)
- 14:30-16:00 Haldane Room  
PANEL 1: MINORITIES AND THE NATION STATE 1:  
NEGOTIATION AND (SELF-)REPRESENTATION  
Chair / discussant: Marius Turda
- **R. Chris Davis**  
*Lone Star College, Kingwood, Texas, USA*  
'Sub-cultural conformity and non-conformity in 20th--  
century Romania and Hungary: The Csangos and the  
sociological movements that made them'
  - **Steliu Lambru**  
*Romanian Broadcasting Corporation, Bucharest, Romania*  
'Hybrid Identity. The Sub-culture of Aromanians in  
Romania (1900-1940)'
  - **Oana Soare**  
*Romanian Academy, Bucharest, Romania*  
'The Memory of a Wounded Identity. Bucharest's Jewish  
Sub-Culture between Fiction and Non-Fiction. From  
Apparent Tolerance to Partial Destruction'
- 16:00-16:30 Main Hall (immediately adjacent to Haldane Room)  
COFFEE
- 16:30-18:30 Haldane Room  
PANEL 2: IMPERIAL VECTORS:  
BORDERLANDS AND HEARTLANDS  
Chair / discussant: Robert Pyrah
- **Simon Lewis**  
*Freie Universität Berlin, Germany*  
'Sub-cultural Memory: Cosmopolitan Remembrance in the  
Polish East'

- **Péter Techet**  
*Leibniz Institute of European History, Mainz, Germany*  
‘Italian Catholicism in the Austrian Littoral (Trieste and Istria) at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century: Sub-cultural Position between Italian Nation/Culture, Austrian Loyalty and Catholic Religion’
- **Olga Poliukhovych**  
*National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Ukraine*  
‘The Past That Never Passes, and the Future That Never Comes: “Palimpsestual” Identity in Oleksandr Dovzhenko’s Diaries’
- **Wiktor Marzec**  
*Central European University, Budapest, Hungary* ‘The class in-between. Militant working class biography, identity and sub-culture in late Russian Poland’

18:45-20.00 Leonard Wolfson Auditorium  
DOCUMENTARY FILM SCREENING  
Introduced by Producer **Tomáš Kaminský**  
*Felvidek: Caught in Between* (2014), dir. Vladislava Plancíková

20.15 Private Dining Room  
DRINKS & CONFERENCE DINNER

Tuesday 13 September

10:00-11:00 Haldane Room  
KEYNOTE 2  
**Nils Langer**  
*University of Flensburg*  
‘Volk-identity in other nations’ conflict: North Frisian as a sub-culture in the 1920 German-Danish referendum  
(30 minutes then questions / discussion)

11:00-11:30 Main Hall (immediately adjacent to Haldane Room)  
COFFEE

11:30-13:00 Haldane Room  
PANEL 3: ALTERNATIVE VECTORS:  
IDENTITIES BEYOND ETHNICITY  
Chair / discussant: Jan Fellerer

- **Zsuzsa Bokor**  
*Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities, Cluj, Romania*

‘Minority Women and National Revival in Interwar Transylvania’

- **Anna Kawalko**  
*PhD student at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel*  
‘East Meets East: Polish-German Coexistence in Lower Silesia, 1945-1947’
- **Razvan Paraianu**  
*University of Petru Maior, Targu Mures, Romania*  
‘Overlapping Memories in the People’s Republic of Romania: From People’s Culture to Sub-cultural Identities’

13:00-14:00 Private Dining Room  
LUNCH

14:30-16:00 Haldane Room  
PANEL 4: MINORITIES AND THE NATION STATE 2:  
IDEOLOGY, HYBRIDITY AND BRICOLAGE  
Chair / discussant: Philipp Ther

- **Benedikts Kalnačs and Pauls Daija**  
*University of Latvia*  
“‘Small Germans’ and ‘Half-Germans’: A Comparative View of Central and East European History in the Baltics during the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century through the lens of ‘sub-cultures’”
- **James Koryani**  
*University of Durham, UK*  
‘Fascist divisions: A Romanian-German “Historians’ dispute” in the late Twentieth Century’
- **Vasilijus Safronovas**  
*Klaipėda University, Lithuania*  
‘Sub-cultures of War Veterans in a Bilingual Border Region: The Case of the Territory of Memel’

16:00-17:00 Haldane Room  
SUMMATIVE DISCUSSION & COFFEE

18:00 Leonard Wolfson Auditorium  
BOOK PRESENTATION  
**Philipp Ther**  
*University of Vienna, Austria*  
‘Europe since 1989: A History’

c. 19:00 Wolfson Café (next to the Leonard Wolfson Auditorium): wine

DOCUMENTARY FILM SCREENING  
(Conference participants only)  
At the Conference, 'Identities In-Between: East-Central Europe,  
c. 1900-present'

LEONARD WOLFSON AUDITORIUM  
MONDAY 12 SEPTEMBER  
18:45-20.00

mandapictures film& sociologie Ceska televize rtv: SLOVENSKÝ FILMOVÝ ÚSTAV SLOVAK FILM INSTITUTE

# Felvidek

an animated documentary by  
**Vladislava Plančíková**  
*„Memories come alive.“*

WRITTEN BY, DIRECTOR AND ANIMATION: VLADISLAVA PLANČÍKOVÁ / EDITORS: TERÉZIA MIKULÁSOVÁ, ZUZANA CSÉPLŐ  
CINEMATOGRAPHERS: DUŠAN HUSÁR, VLADISLAVA PLANČÍKOVÁ / MUSIC: JANA KIRSCHNER  
CREATIVE SUPERVISION: PETER KEREKES, GESÁ MARTEN  
PRODUCER: TOMÁŠ KAMINSKÝ / PRODUCED BY: MANDALA PICTURES (SK) / IN CO-PRODUCTION WITH: FILM & SOCIOLOGIE (CZ),  
RTVS - RADIO AND TELEVISION SLOVAKIA (SK), CZECH TELEVISION (CZ), SLOVAK FILM INSTITUTE (SK)

Produced with the financial support of

With the support of

SLOVAK AUDIOVISUAL FUND

Ministry of Culture of the Czech Republic

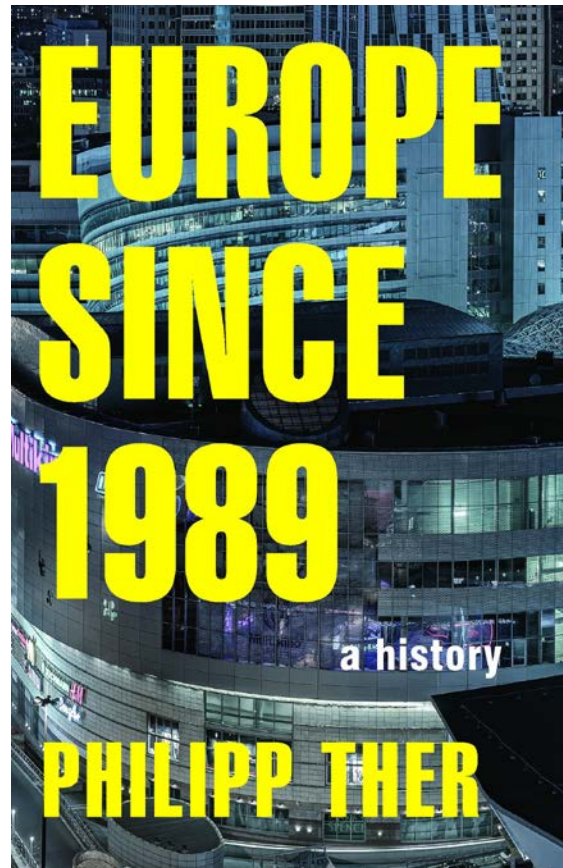
with financial support of the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic

Introduced by Producer **Tomáš Kaminský**

# **BOOK PRESENTATION**

*In conjunction with Wolfson College, Oxford*

TUESDAY 13 SEPTEMBER, 6pm



**Philipp Ther is professor of Central European history at the University of Vienna. He was a firsthand witness to many of the transformations, from Czechoslovakia during the Velvet Revolution to post-Communist Poland and Ukraine.**

*He will introduce his award-winning work, now launching in English translation – a compelling and often surprising account of how the new order of the New Europe was wrought from the chaotic aftermath of the Cold War.*

**WOLFSON COLLEGE, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD  
LEONARD WOLFSON AUDITORIUM**

*All welcome*

## PARTICIPANT BIOGRAPHIES AND ABSTRACTS

### **Zsuzsa Bokor**

Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities,  
Cluj, Romania

#### *Biography*

Dr Bokor is a researcher at the Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities. She holds a PhD in History and Social Sciences from Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest. She graduated in Ethnology and Hungarian Language and Literature at the Faculty of Humanities, Babes-Bolyai University, and holds a masters degree in Cultural Anthropology, from the Faculty for European Studies of Babes-Bolyai University.

Her main research interests are gender studies, the history of sexuality, and medical anthropology. She has published several articles about the problem of venereal diseases in interwar Transylvania, medical discourses around prostitution and on Transylvanian women figures in public discourse after WW1. She is author of the monograph

*Body tales. medicalization of nation and venereal diseases in Interwar Cluj. (Testtörténetek. A nemzet és a nemi betegségek medikalizálása a két világháború közötti Kolozsváron)* (Cluj: ISPMN, 2013).

#### *Abstract*

„Our minority’s culture is crying for mother...”<sup>1</sup>

Minority Women and National Revival in Interwar Transylvania

In 1925, Alexandrina Cantacuzino, President of the Romanian National Council of Women (Consiliul Național al Femeilor din România) convened a meeting of the Romanian and minority women organisations in Bucharest. 75 Transylvanian Hungarian organisations attended the meeting, along with several Jewish, Saxon and Ukrainian organisations. The goal of this meeting was to address the grievances of minorities. After this event more than a hundred existing women’s associations were connected under the umbrella organization of the Central Secretary of Minority Hungarian Women in Romania (Romániai Magyar Kisebbségi Nők Központi Titkársága), an organisation which intended to represent the interests of Hungarian women and children toward the state, and constantly urged collaboration with the Hungarian Party (Országos Magyar Párt), the main political organisation of the Hungarian minority community. The Central Secretary basically consisted of members of the aristocracy, and middle-class intellectual women. Contrary to the usual patterns of establishing voluntary associations, it was designed in an ethnic framework, and took part in a broader ethnic and cultural self-discovery process.

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<sup>1</sup> Pálffyiné Gulácsy Irén 'Az erdélyi kisebbségi nőegyletek szövetsége és kultúránk', *Magyar Kisebbség* 1924. III. 8; 322-329 (322).



The ethno-political mobilisation of Hungarian women in Transylvania resulted in assuming additional roles and responsibilities in economic, political, educational and cultural spheres. This group was more agile than any other social groups and could be mobilised as such. In fact, was much more present in the public life than at any time before or after.

Even though there were strong connections with other interwar Hungarian organisations, we need a new vocabulary to refine the concepts of conservative/liberal women's politics, because this binary categorisation is not suitable to describe the Central Secretary of Minority Hungarian Women in Romania. Here I propose the term *minority femininity*, based on the Hungarian intellectuals' constant struggle with conservative and progressive ideas, but also on the confrontation with the new state's legislation and regulations (e/g. with the Romanian Civil Code, or with the new religious law [date here needed]). Within the new frame of ethnicity during the interwar period, the 'classic', family-oriented rhetoric of women's movements was overridden, and the nation and race became the real battlefield.

My presentation examines the role played by Hungarian women's organizations from Transylvania in the regeneration process of their ethnic community during the interwar period. My aim is therefore to discuss these complex processes and to determine how was created the special category of *minority femininity* in the politics and political discourses of Hungarian minority community in Romania. I investigate the way in which Hungarian female identity was embedded into an ethnic frame, creating a new form of identity. This process can be seen as a self-identification process of the Hungarian women, but also as part of a political strategy of the Hungarian ruling elite.

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### **Annabelle Chapman**

D.Phil. (=PhD) Student, University of Oxford

#### *Biography*

Annabelle is working on a doctorate concerning the milieu of the new History department at Wroclaw University after 1945, focusing on the work, ideological, political and intellectual developments of the married couple of historians, Karol and Ewa Maleczyński. Her research is sponsored by, and forms part of, the AHRC-backed research project, 'Sub-Cultures as Integrative Forces: East-Central Europe, c. 1900-present' at the Universities of Oxford and Oxford Brookes. She has also held the Starun Scholarship in Polish Studies at Hertford College, Oxford.

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### **Pauls Daija**

Institute of Literature, Folklore and Art, University of Latvia

#### *Biography*

Studied literary theory and history in the University of Latvia and University of Freiburg (Germany). Lecturer at Faculty of Humanities, University of Latvia (2008-

2012), researcher at the Institute of Literature, Folklore and Art in Riga, affiliated with the University of Latvia. (2012-present), editor-in-chief of the journal of humanities *Letonica* (2012-present). Published articles in English, German, Russian, Latvian about Latvian-German historical relationships, history of Latvian and Baltic German literature in the 18th and 19th century, literary and cultural theory; participated at conferences in Germany, Russia, USA. Translator of Peter Burke's book „Cultural Hybridity” into Latvian (2013), author of the book *Enlightenment and Cultural Transfer: The Making of Latvian Secular Literature* (in Latvian, 2014).

*Abstract* (joint with **Benedikts Kalnačs**)

In our paper we propose to discuss the necessity to include the Baltic experience in the debates about the sub-cultures in Central and East European cultural space. A territory often falling out of the focus of interest as a periphery of both Western Europe and Russia, the Baltics might be considered to be an intriguing case study with the potential to explore important facets of cultural exchange, adapting and transforming mainstream social and cultural models or interaction between ethnic, social and cultural groups.

While the history of national clashes and conflicts in the Baltics has most often been told in terms of the mutual encounter of different political and national groups – Baltic Germans, Latvians, and Russians – we find it crucial to use the concept of sub-cultures in order to explore the lesser known cases of border identities and strategies of mixed or hybrid cultures in the Baltic cultural space during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. These cases, often overlooked in previous studies, offer an alternative view on social and national changes by foregrounding the experience of subcultures and therefore deconstructing the idea of social changes as an encounter between stable and fixed communities.

In order to develop our argument we will focus on two border groups in terms of subcultures, namely the ‘small Germans’ and ‘half Germans’:

- (i) The lower social classes (peasants, artisans, tradesmen) of German descent were called ‘small Germans’ (*Kleindeutsche*) in Baltic colloquial language. While the Germans in the Baltics (similarly to the Habsburg Empire) were understood as a “class nation”, e.g. the cultural, social and political elite in contrast to indigenous Latvians who were identified with the peasant class, the ‘small Germans’ were a group which combined the ethnicity of the ruling class with the social identity of subaltern ethnic Latvians. Therefore, they were excluded from the definition of ‘Germans’ in Baltic ethnic discourse.
- (ii) By ‘half Germans’ (also ‘wicker Germans’, or *kārkluvācieši* in Latvian) were meant those Latvians who either assimilated into the German community, or attempted to do so. The assimilation was closely connected with upward social mobility in the era when acquiring the German way of life and language was regarded as the only way to get education and higher social status. ‘Half Germans’ were condemned from the perspective of both the German elite and also emancipated Latvian society, as they dismantled the stable and fixed opposition between Germans and Latvians.

Both of these groups are characterised by the lack of their own voice in the public space as they were not able to create their own media or institution being in constant transition – while ‘small Germans’ gradually assimilated into Latvian society, ‘half Germans’ assimilated into the German society. However, as this assimilation process was slow and met with resistance from both dominating groups of ‘pure’ Germans and Latvians, the time during the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century made both border groups an object of numerous attacks in the public space on the grounds that just by their very existence these groups threatened the stable and fixed identities of the German and Latvian societies.

Up to this point, in historical as well as cultural studies accounts of these groups have been either overlooked, or mentioned as peripheral cases demonstrating discrepancies in the national emancipation movement in terms of romantic nationalism or were even treated as ‘errors’ in identity building. Such attitudes towards the aforementioned groups might be explained by the lack of a theoretical framework which would have allowed border identities to be included in discussions about social and national changes in the region. Both ‘small Germans’ and ‘half Germans’ embody a fluid transition between the German elites and the Latvian emancipating middle class, and a critical evaluation of historically condemnatory attitudes toward both groups can help us to understand the problems in identity building in the region.

By re-evaluating the mixed identities of both ‘small’ and ‘half’ Germans it is possible to demonstrate how the use of tools elaborated by recent sub-culture studies may be employed in comparative perspective in different regions (in our case, the Baltics). By focusing attention on the shifting ethnic identities, it is possible to provide a more accurate look at the pluralism of multiple or simultaneous belonging as exemplified by Baltic borderland/marginal identities, as well as to demonstrate that hierarchical attitudes between ‘majority’ and ‘minority’ cultures are not sufficient in analysing the modernisation of Central and East European societies.

In our paper, we will deal with the perception of the mentioned marginal groups by interpreting them as subcultures and trace the most important characteristics of these groups by bringing attention to their hybrid everyday practices, linguistic fusion and cultural self-expression, well documented in early 20<sup>th</sup> century comments (in media and literary narratives). We will attempt to prove that the cases of margin identities analysed in the framework of subculture studies might serve as an illuminating example for comparative analysis within the context of Central and East European cultural space.

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**R. Chris Davis**

Lone Star College, Kingwood, Texas, USA

*Biography*

R. Chris Davis is an Assistant Professor of History at Lone Star College–Kingwood. He obtained an MA in Cultural Studies from Jagiellonian University in Krakow, and an M.St. and D.Phil. (= PhD) in Modern History from the University of Oxford. Prior to his graduate studies he served in the U.S. Peace Corps in Romania. Chris researches and writes about the social and cultural histories of East-Central Europe,

focusing on minorities, identity, population policies, scientific movements, and religion. He is now completing a book based on his dissertation thesis. Chris's research and teaching have been supported by fellowships from the U.S. Fulbright Commission, the American Council of Learned Societies, and the International Research & Exchanges Board, among others. He has taught as a visiting lecturer at Romania's National School of Political Studies and Public Administration, and consulted for the European Network for Research & Cooperation on Roma/Gypsy Issues. Currently, Chris serves as the book-reviews editor for H-Net (Humanities and Social Sciences Online). He also serves as a board member for the Society for Romanian Studies and the Humble Museum. In 2016 Chris established the Center for Local & Oral History at Lone Star College, Texas.

### *Abstract*

'Sub-cultural conformity and non-conformity in 20th-century Romania and Hungary: The Csangos and the sociological movements that made them'

This paper applies the concept of 'sub-culture' to the case study of the Csangos, a 'hyphenated community' of Hungarian- and Romanian-speaking Roman Catholics living predominately in eastern Romania. While this author has himself written about this community as an 'ethnic minority', the newly proposed theoretical approach of Pyrah and Fellerer (2015) offers a new and more provocative interpretation of this case study and of the sociological discourses that attempted to classify.

To date, categorization of the Csangos as an 'ethnic minority' tends to conceal the historical, geographical, linguistic, and ethnic fluidity and hybridity of the community that has made them such a conspicuous object of contestation between states, churches, and even individual historians. The sub-cultural non-conformity of the Csangos over the last century is evident: some have maintained their Hungarian ethnic/national identity and language, while others maintained or switched to Romanian ones; some have maintained or switched over to a Hungarian ethno--national identity of varying degrees (archaic, racial, civic) while speaking Romanian or else code switching between Hungarian and Romanian, with some equating Hungarian not as a linguistic expression of a people but rather of a religion, i.e. the language of their Roman Catholicism; many others, especially since World War II and the communist period, have abandoned all vestiges of Hungarian-ness and invoked a latent but potent Romanian ethno-national identity. In many ways, the community exemplifies what Rogers Brubaker identifies as 'nationally mismatched' persons with 'structurally ambivalent membership status, belonging by residence and (in most cases) by formal citizenship to one state and by putative ethnonational affinity to another' (2000).

What binds this Csango subculture is an adherence to Roman Catholicism amidst the encroachment of other religions in East-Central Europe, particularly Eastern Orthodoxy and Judaism. Also binding this community – and visually marking its 'otherness' – is a distinctive style of dress, music, dance, and religious pilgrimage in the Eastern Carpathian borderland between Transylvania and Moldavia. Both the material and symbolic cultures of the community lend themselves to a better understanding through Pyrah and Fellerer's the subculturalist approach, with its

emphasis on recovering and examining these ‘missing dimensions of style, ritual, and cultural practice’ from the staid ethnic and political debates about group identity.

The lens of ‘sub-culture’ enables a sharper focus (if retrospectively) on a number of broader, important themes and events during the interwar period, World War II, and the communist period, ones that have led to subcultural conformity and non--conformity in 20th--century Romania and Hungary, the seemingly intractable categories of nationality and ethnicity, and the binary offshoot ‘minority’ and ‘majority’. Specifically, this paper will highlight a number of folk–populist, sociographic, and youth movements that emerged in the contested ‘shatterzone’ of Transylvania and Moldavia during the twentieth century. I argue that these sociological projects can likewise be viewed through the subculturalist lens, as they emerged through an overlapping of mentalities, especially between students and intellectuals, as well as historians, ethnographers, folklorists, musicologists, and popular writers. Reflexive and overlapping, these movements at once reified parameters of ethno--national belonging and exposed the hybridity or ‘amphibiousness’ (Chu 2012) of numerous ‘non--conforming’ communities. The syncretism or fusion between these movements and their discourses had the power to define and re--define subaltern groups, becoming modalities in which ‘minorities’ or ‘subcultures’ could subsequently ‘conform’. These non-conforming sub-cultures deployed newfound sociological discourses in order to locate, select, project, or preserve their respective ‘identities of in-betweenness’.

This paper’s twofold approach – which examines as sub-cultures 1) a putative ‘ethnic minority’ known as the Csangos, and 2) the sociological movements that articulated the Csangos’ status as both an ethnic group and a minority – offers a window into how various political, social, and demographic projects led to the refashioning of identities and histories in 20th Century East-Central Europe.

\*\*

### **Jan Fellerer**

University of Oxford, UK

#### *Biography*

After a few years at the Department of Slavonic Philology at the University of Basel (Switzerland), Jan Fellerer took up the post of University Lecturer in non-Russian Slavonic Languages at the University of Oxford, Wolfson College (UK). His main research interests lie in the fields of Polish, Czech and Ukrainian linguistics and philology with special reference to the modern period from the 18th century to the present day. He has published widely on Slavonic syntax, aspects of the history of Polish, Czech and Ukrainian discourse analysis, language contact and historical sociolinguistics, including a book on multilingualism in 19th-century Galicia and an edited volume on discourses of resistance in the late Habsburg Monarchy. His current work focuses on Polish and Slavonic grammar, and on linguistic identity-formation in multilingual East Central European cities at the beginning of the 20th century.

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## **Benedikts Kalnačs**

Deputy Director of the Institute of Literature, Folklore and Art, University of Latvia

### *Biography*

His research focus is Latvian and European drama as well as studies of Baltic literary cultures of the nineteenth and twentieth century in comparative and postcolonial perspectives. His book *20<sup>th</sup> Century Baltic Drama: Postcolonial Narratives, Decolonial Options* was published by Aisthesis in 2016. Kalnačs was one of the principal organizers of the International Seminar *Colonial Encounters in Europe: New Approaches to the Internal European Colonial Experience*, Institute of Literature, Folklore and Art (2015) and the International Conference *The Changing Baltics: Cultures within a Culture*, Institute of Literature, Folklore and Art (2014), with papers subsequently collected and published as special issue of *Interlitteraria* by Tartu University Press in 2015. He was head of the ESF research project *Cultures within a Culture: Politics and Poetics of Border Narratives*, Institute of Literature, Folklore and Art (2013-2015) and currently is leader of a thematic research group of the State research program *Letonica* led by the Latvian Academy of Sciences (2014-2017). In 2012 Kalnačs was Fulbright scholar based at the University of Washington in Seattle.

### *Abstract*

Joint paper – see entry for **Pauls Daija**.

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## **Tomasz Kamusella**

University of St. Andrew's, UK

### *Biography*

Dr Tomasz Kamusella: MA (Potchefstroom), MA (Katowice), MA (Prague), PhD (Poznań), Habilitation (Warsaw), FRHistS – Reader in Modern History, School of History, St. Andrew's University. Tomasz Kamusella's research is mainly devoted to the comparative history of mutual influences between politics and language in modern Europe. At present he is working on an Atlas of Language Politics in Modern Central Europe and a monograph that analyses the political underpinnings of the linguistic classification of the Slavonic languages.

### *Abstract (keynote)*

'Between National Teleology and Self-Identification'

From the 1850s to the 1950s, nationally teleological vocabulary developed in Czech, German and Polish for writing about Upper Silesia's diglossic population in order to claim it for the respective nations. In Czechoslovakia, and the German and Polish nation-states this vocabulary gave 'scientific' sheen to assimilating projects imposed from above on the region's inhabitants. At present, anglophone researchers aspiring to uncover vernacular self-identifications and their dynamics at the grass-roots level

across Central Europe, strangely fall back on such nationalizing vocabulary of state administration in quest for ‘homogeneity’. This unreflective tendency silently continues to deny identificational agency to non-national populations and may prevent uncovering the story of how they identified themselves and dealt with the assimilating pressure deployed from above.

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### **Anna Kawalko**

PhD student at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel

#### *Biography*

Born 1990 in Racibórz (Poland), Anna Kawalko is a PhD student at the Department of History of the Jewish People and Contemporary Jewry at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. She earned her Bachelor’s degree at the College of Inter-Faculty Individual Studies in the Humanities at the University of Warsaw (2012), and completed her Master’s degree (*magna cum laude*) at the department of German Studies at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem (2015). Her Master’s thesis (‘Abandoned, Nationalized, Lost? Polish Repatriates and German Property in Lower Silesia, 1945-1947’), written under the supervision of prof. Yfaat Weiss, deals with German material heritage and various processes of nation building in Lower Silesia after WWII. Currently, Anna is preparing her doctoral dissertation on the restitution of Jewish cultural property in Czechoslovakia after 1945. Her research interests include Jewish cultural property after 1945, heritage and migration studies, Central and Eastern European borderlands in the 20th century, and historical study of material culture.

#### *Abstract*

‘East Meets East: Polish-German Coexistence in Lower Silesia, 1945-1947’

In the aftermath of the Second World War, the geopolitical map of Central and Eastern Europe entirely changed. The process of redrawing European borders was closely related to both reinforcement of the Communist order and the emergence of homogeneous nation-states, which replaced pre-war multiethnic societies. As a result of the postwar peace treaties Poland lost its Eastern Borderlands to the Soviet Union and moved about two hundred kilometers westward, having gained the eastern territories of Germany as compensation. In 1945-1947, the majority of German inhabitants of these areas (overall about 3.5 million people) were expelled and replaced by Polish citizens (overall about 3.1 million people). However, in these years, many of the so-called Polish repatriates from the East lived together with “eastern” Germans awaiting the ‘verification’ process and deportation.

The proposed paper explores this singular co-existence, viewed from the perspective of Poles resettled in the former Prussian province of Lower Silesia (pre-war German *Niederschlesien*). Relying entirely on the examination of primary sources and oral testimonies (mostly from the archival collection of the *Pamięć i Przyszłość* [Memory

and Past] Center in Wrocław), the paper presents everyday life of German and Polish neighbours, their joint struggle with various difficulties of the immediate postwar period as well as with memories and experiences of the wartime past. In this portrayal of a fascinating, multilingual and multicultural community, particular focus will be given to the role of daily material culture, flourished in the intimate domestic space of shared Polish-German households, in the development of the local microcosm. This unique community posed a serious challenge to the programme of postwar national reconstruction and the 'Polonization' of the Western territories, both imposed by the Polish communist government.

Furthermore, the proposed paper underlines the significance of these two years as a distinctive stage in the process of personal and political making of a Polish sense of belonging after 1945. Finally, it seeks to contribute to the regional historiography of Lower Silesia Poland's Western borderland that became an area of a unique encounter between (Polish) East and (German) East as well as to the historical discourse on the origin of the homogenous nation states in postwar Eastern Europe, deeply rooted in ethnocultural diversity, particularity, and local communities.

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### **James Koryani**

University of Durham, UK

#### *Biography*

Lecturer in Modern History at Durham University. He has published on Romanian Germans, minorities in East-Central Europe, and Habsburg memory cultures. He is currently completing a monograph on Romanian Germans in the 20th Century and is co-writing a book on transnational history with Bernhard Struck. His research interests include memory, minorities, and space.

#### *Abstract*

'Fascist divisions: A Romanian-German "Historians' dispute" in the late Twentieth Century'

By the latter stages of the Cold War, more Romanian Germans were living in (West) Germany than in Romania. In their new homeland, Germany, they were exposed to pervasive public disputes on the Nazi past, German expulsions, and the Holocaust. These debates were not merely received, passively, by Romanian German émigrés. Instead, there were comparable arguments within the émigré community. Already by the late 1970s clear divisions were opening up over the fascist past in Romanian German history and these disputes rumbled on until the early 2000s.

While the *Historikerstreit* in West Germany (1986-89) has been studied in great depth, the Romanian German case of a longer dispute over the National Socialist legacy has barely been looked at. And yet this episode reveals a great deal about late-modern European history. Particularly the early debates during the 1970s and 80s uncover a great deal about the crisis of identity in the late Cold War. Certainties about what it meant to Romanian German – a persecuted German minority on the margins



of Europe – came under pressure from a younger generation of writers, historians, and public figures. Belonging to a ‘sub-culture’ within the Romanian German community, individuals such as Johann Böhm, Dieter Schlesak, and William Totok sought to give Romanian Germans a more central role in contemporary European history. The *Landsmannschaften* (homeland societies) resisted this with great force and insisted on passive victimhood. What this dispute left behind was a collection of rich and often fierce correspondence, articles, conferences and other material. It paints a complex picture in which Romanian Germans were not simply a ‘minority’, but were made up of different layers of contention. In this way, the *Landsmannschaften* were both minority representatives and defenders of a master narrative. The challengers to this were both a sub-culture within the Romanian German community and closer to particular ‘mainstream’ opinion in the broader German public. All the while, the connection to Romania and the remaining Romanian Germans complicated matter further. In short, then, this paper will explore these intricacies and present a web of identity that confounds simple explanations of minority and minority identity.

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### **Steliu Lambru**

Romanian Broadcasting Corporation, Bucharest, Romania

#### *Biography*

Graduated in History from Bucharest University in 1997, followed a year later by an MA in that subject at the same institution, and in 1999, a further MA, in journalism. In 2000, he then obtained an MA in History from the Central European History in Budapest followed by a PhD (2006) from Iasi University with a thesis on theory of history in Ceausescu's Romania between 1965 and 1989.

His fields of interest are modernity in Europe, minorities in the multinational empires of Europe, nationalism, history of communism and fascism, history of the European Union. Following their conquests, the Ottoman, Austrian, and Russian empires incorporated many heterodox groups which have mutually exchanged cultural components and have developed their own particularities. Equally, the national states established after 1918 inherited various minorities which have continued to express their identities.

He now works as an independent historian and journalist. Dr Lambru directs and edits cultural, political, and history reports on themes and topics related to the European Union. Having the European bloc as a field of interest, minorities and subcultures along with their history represent a reference point that may help improve the European model of preservation and coexistence of hybrid communities.

#### *Abstract*

‘Hybrid Identity. The Sub-culture of Aromanians in Romania (1900-1940)’

Starting with the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, the Aromanian or Macedo-Romanian ethnic groups have been continuously elaborating a multi-layered narrative in order to become part of the Greater Romanian project and, at the same time, to

maintain their own cultural specificity. The origins of such hybrid identity may be traced back to Ottoman rule, when Macedonia was a territory whose mixed population of Albanians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Serbs, Aromanians, Jews, Turks, and Roma had created a supra-national, hyphenated, and regional identity. But it was the political transformation taking place in the first three decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Southeastern Europe which made all former Macedonian nations live separately in various national countries: Albania, Greece, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Romania. During the period of Macedonian civil war (1904-1904), Balkan Wars (1912-1913), the First World War (1914-1918) and the establishment of Greater Romania (1918-1920/30), the volatile political climate of the region forced Aromanians to adapt permanently and negotiate their identity as “Romanian”. The partition of Macedonia (1913) finally emerged as the ultimate solution among competing Albanian, Bulgarian, Greek, and Serbian nationalisms and Aromanians had to make their own choice but never in a complete separation from their native geocultural area and its multicultural habits. Macedonian nationalisms, including the Aromanian one, managed to divide Aromanian communities largely into Graecophiles and Romanianophiles, with few individuals having Serbian and Bulgarian sympathies, but kept a sense of sharing common values as a whole.

After 1923, many Aromanians were colonized to Romania’s province Southern Dobrudja and the shape of their new state citizenship separated them from their co-nationals in Southeastern Europe. Around 10% of the Aromanian population from Macedonia was transferred to Romania and their hybrid identity became related to ethnic diversity of this province. Far from being assimilated, Aromanians in Romania kept alive the memory of the birthplace of their ancestors, their dialect and customs, all converging to form a unique identity based on what might be termed regressive nostalgia. Facing the Romanian hegemonic cultural discourse, the Aromanian hybrid narrative centered on linguistic difference, traditional crafts, food, and clothing, and an oral tradition of stories. Linguistically, Aromanians have been using their dialect as a cultural code and as a means to convey traditional values seen as ultimate repository of sub-cultural specificity. As I will discuss in my paper, the majority of the colonised Aromanians spoke two or three languages and in the territory of Southern Dobrudja, Aromanians rediscovered a certain sense of togetherness alongside Bulgarians, Turks, and Romanians.

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**Nils Langer**

University of Flensburg

*Biography*

Nils Langer completed his university education at the University of Newcastle with a PhD in German Historical Sociolinguistics in 2000. His current research interests focus on prescriptivism, standardisation, and the invisibilisation of linguistic diversity through language policy, Nils Langer was a lecturer and professor at the University of Bristol from 2000-2016. Since 2016, he has been Professor of North Frisian and Minority Research at the University of Flensburg. He hails from Holstein and he now lives in Schleswig.

## *Abstract*

### 'Volk-identity in other nations' conflict: North Frisian as a sub-culture in the 1920 German-Danish referendum'

The 1920-referendum in the former Duchy of Schleswig asked whether the population in two (originally three) areas wished to be part of Germany or Denmark: its results created the political border between Germany and Denmark as it still stands today. By moving the previous border southwards by some 100 kilometres, a German minority in Denmark was created and the Danish minority in Germany retained, though much reduced in numbers. The status quo of a third minority, that of the (North) Frisians living on the west-coast mainland and islands, was unaffected by the plebiscite: they continued to live in Germany, even though the only districts south of the current (1920) border that voted to become part of Denmark were also the districts with the strongest Frisian identity and language competencies. In this paper, I will explore the principal political, cultural and sociolinguistic positions expressed by the Frisian community in the run-up to the 1920 referendum. I will seek to explain the tension between those advocating to remain in Germany or to become part of, or rather, to return to Denmark and in this context I will discuss the suitability of considering twentieth-century North Frisians as a sub-culture in the understanding of Pyrah & Fellerer.

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#### **Simon Lewis**

Freie Universität Berlin, Germany

#### *Biography*

Simon Lewis is a Research Fellow at the Institute for East European Studies, Freie Universität Berlin. He completed a PhD in Slavonic Studies in 2014 at the University of Cambridge, where he was also a member of the international research project *Memory at War: Cultural Dynamics in Poland, Russia and Ukraine* (2010-13). In 2014-15 he worked as a Research Assistant on the project "The Jagiellonians: Dynasty, Memory and Identity in Central Europe" (University of Oxford), and was a Visiting Fellow at the Social Memory Laboratory, Institute of Sociology, University of Warsaw. He co-convenes the "Genealogies of Memory" conference series. He has published several articles on cultural memory, postcolonialism and trauma in Soviet and post-Soviet Belarus, and is a co-author of the collective monograph *Remembering Katyn* (2012).

#### *Abstract*

In the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth Centuries in the former territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, where there was previously one political nation – the imagined community of Polish-speaking aristocrats – there gradually emerged separate ethnolinguistic communities that vied for supremacy, frequently claiming the same spaces. This process was particularly heated in the eastern parts of the Commonwealth, which subsequently came to be known in Polish as the *Kresy* (literally, Eastern 'limits' or 'verges'; often translated as 'Former Eastern Provinces').

The term itself, coined in the mid-nineteenth century by the poet Wincenty Pol, connotes an innate Polishness, and indicates a tendency in Polish thought to claim these historically heterogeneous lands. By the early 1900s, Belarusian, Lithuanian, Polish and Ukrainian ethnolinguistic nationalisms were mainstream ideologies, propounded in political writing, historiography, fiction and poetry. These nationalist narratives aligned the territory's pre-national and multi-ethnic past with their own needs to construct national histories.

Nonetheless, there were notable exceptions: writers and thinkers who saw the Commonwealth and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania not in exclusivist, monochromatic terms but as a polyphony of cultures. They made identity claims that countered the paradigmatic ethnonationalisms, and thereby complicated what it meant (or could mean) to be Polish, Lithuanian, Belarusian or Ukrainian. These articulations of memory and identity are fruitfully analysed using the theory of 'sub-cultures' because they straddle the divide between majority and minority: a Polish cosmopolitan still claimed to be Polish, but rejected the hegemonic pull of ethnolinguistic nationhood.

This paper considers examples of Polish intellectuals who produced narratives of sub-cultural memory. A particular focus is placed on Marian Zdziechowski (1861-1938), literary critic and philosopher born in what is now Belarus, whose writings about the Polish East starkly contrasted with most other treatments of the area's cultural geography. A comparative analysis with contemporaneous writers of the 'Kresy' shows that Zdziechowski certainly went against the grain. Whilst, as professor and rector of the University of Wilno, he could hardly be considered a member of the subaltern classes, his ideas formed a peculiar subculture that would influence several major writers of the twentieth century, including Czesław Miłosz.

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### **Viktor Marzec**

Ph.D. Candidate, Central European University, Budapest, Hungary

#### *Biography*

His research interests concern intellectual emancipation, political mobilisation, ideological languages and conceptual innovation in early 20th century Russian Poland, constituting the emergence of the political modernity. His recent publications include articles in *Thesis Eleven*, *Journal of Historical Sociology* and *Eastern European Politics and Societies*. He is the author of *Rebellion and Reaction. The 1905 Revolution and Plebeian Political Experience in Russian Poland* (in Polish; forthcoming this summer with Łódź University Press and Universitas). He is also Social Science editor for the journal *Praktyka Teoretyczna / Theoretical Practice* and is currently pursuing a doctoral degree at the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Central European University, Budapest. The dissertation concerns workers and the political in late Russian Poland.

#### *Abstract*

'The class in-between. Militant working class biography, identity and sub-culture in late Russian Poland'

So as to comprehend hybrid identities in entangled urban settings in Eastern Europe standard categories depicting national, ethnic or religious groups may not suffice. Moreover, there is no clear demarcation line helping gauge analytical apparatus to label those groups as majority or minority, apart from the very obvious cases. Recently a re-reading of 'sub-culture' as „identity that sits between categories” was proposed. While it may scale down the analytical gaze in a way detecting blended languages, cultural traditions, or ethnic identifications, it might be also used to deal with occupational specificities or heterogeneous class differentiation.

My contribution zooms in to look at individual biographies of proletarian militants reshaping their own selves through autodidactic effort weaved into their political activities. This process put them in the in-between, sub-cultural position. While leaving behind their class-based culture, they did not, and did not want to, fully embrace the alternative milieu of radical intelligentsia and the world of (socialist) letters. I trace deep, implicit political change around the Revolution of 1905 in Russian Poland on the level of cultural micro-practices of working class militants, epitomized in forms of intellectual pursuits, new language acquisition and forming of particular sub-culture of proletarian autodidacts. The aim is to sketch the ardent struggle of overcoming proletarian position of biological self-reproduction and performative redrawing of class boundaries instituting available cultural practices and circuits of knowledge.

While a corpus of around 80 biographies delivers contextual knowledge, I focus in particular on three cases of troubled relationship to one's own self and ways out of it to the newly established militant biography. All three epitomize a particular trans-class subculture. Being involved in international socialism, narrators had to refashion the germs of their national identity so as to build a stable political community with German and Jewish comrades. What is even more important, however, they were all the time involved in renegotiation of their status between workers and party intelligentsia, and often confronted with reservations on both sides. In order to build an ideal type analysis I investigate a biography of impoverished former noble class militant who consciously made a proletarian out of himself; a worker from a mixed background who used his untypical habitus as a launchpad for autodidactic and political career, and last, but certainly not least, a disenfranchised peasant, who step by step moved on to become a “conscious worker” and finally a people’s writer, giving voice to his class, maintained, but simultaneously left behind.

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### **Răzvan Pârâianu**

University of Petru Maior, Targu Mures, Romania

#### *Biography*

Already in possession of a first degree in electronics and telecommunications, under the new circumstances of the post-totalitarian regime, Dr Pârâianu re-enrolled at the History Department at the University of Bucharest (graduation: 1997). His MA and

PhD studies continued at the Central European University in Budapest, writing a thesis about Octavian Goga, a prominent Romanian poet from Transylvania, who after the First World War turned into a populist politician and eventually the first extreme right-wing Prime Minister of Romania. His case offered the opportunity to reinterpret the history of Transylvania as a cultural history of a part of Austria-Hungary.

Dr Pârâianu is also interested in history teaching and textbook reform. After the PhD, he spent time as a researcher at the Past Inc. Centre for Historical Studies and since 2008 has taught Modern History and International Relations at Petru Maior University in Târgu Mureş.

### *Abstract*

‘Overlapping Memories in the Popular Republic of Romania: From People’s Culture to Sub-cultural Identities’

At the end of the World War II, the Soviet Union established its hegemony over Eastern European countries. All of them experienced a dramatic change, not only in political and economic terms but culturally and socially, too. During the first ten years of proletarian dictatorship and popular democracy, dramatic changes happened for most of the people of Eastern Europe. My presentation addresses some of these changes and their consequences in the case of the People’s Republic of Romania.

I take into consideration the response of various social actors to the official hegemonic discourse produced since the early 1950s. Because of the very ambiguity of the official policy, cultural practice under the totalitarian regime was extremely contextual and, therefore, often inconsistent if not contradictory in itself. Though they all were inspired or even produced by official activism, different layers of sub-cultural practices survived almost independently, and became a source for identity and tradition for various social groups. Thus, there was a continuous interrelationship between central/official culture and local/popular sub-cultures, most of them multiplying themselves within a limited range of possibilities, due to the inherent monopoly over the means of social communication.

In this context, I discuss *socialist patriotism* in Romania, and the creation of what was called *people’s culture*, a surrogate of folk culture created by various activists and agitators at the level of local cultural institutions. In order to do so, besides various publications regarding the mainstream official discourse about cultural aims of the new regime, I examine periodicals for popular use published by military institutions, by local administration and particularly by the Philatelic Association. All these sources shed a light on how symbolic elements of official discourse are permanently combined and recombined among themselves resisting through long period of time, even couples decades after the popular regime was gone. Monuments are highly symbolic for public rituals and collective identity as well. They represent the physical place where a discourse ‘from above’ meets subjective experiences ‘from below’; where official culture intersected with the population’s sub-cultures.

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## **Olga Poliukhovych**

National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Ukraine

### *Biography*

Olga Poliukhovych holds a PhD in Philosophy and Literature from the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (2015). Dr Poliukhovych has presented her research at academic conferences in Canada, Georgia, the UK, and Ukraine. Her research interests include modernist literature, gender studies, identity politics, power relations, memory studies, exile and émigré literature, existentialism, ideology, and totalitarian society.

Dr Poliukhovych's most recent publications are: "The National Odyssey: Culture, Melancholy and Nostalgia in Yuri Kosach's Regina Pontica" in: *Against All Odds: Ukraine and Ukrainian Studies a Decade after Yuriy Shevelov*, ed by. N. Bernsand and R. Horbyk (Lund: Lund University Press, 2016; in press); "Women's Postmemory Narratives in Yuri Kosach's Literary Works" in: *Women's Narratives and the Postmemory of Displacement in Central-Eastern Europe*, ed. by S. Mitroiu (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016; in press).

She teaches a course entitled "National and Cultural Identity in Ukrainian Literature of the 20<sup>th</sup> –21<sup>st</sup> Centuries". The course was prepared for Master's students at the Humanities faculty of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. She was a Visiting Scholar at Ilia State University, Tbilisi, Georgia (April, 2013) and at MacEwan University, Edmonton, Canada (November – December, 2014). Currently Olga Poliukhovych is also Managing Editor of Kyiv-Mohyla's Humanities Journal (<http://kmhj.ukma.edu.ua/>).

### *Abstract*

'The Past That Never Passes, and the Future That Never Comes: "Palimpsestual" Identity in Oleksandr Dovzhenko's Diaries'

In my presentation I analyse the Moscow Diaries of the 1940s and 50s of Oleksandr Dovzhenko's (1894-1956), a Ukrainian writer, screenwriter, film producer and director, and I interpret them in the context of the artist's multilayered identification. In Dovzhenko's diaries, two identities can be distinguished, the Ukrainian and the Soviet. Their logic is inclusive and complementary rather than oppositional. The tension between these two identities leads to "palimpsestual" identity, which is most obvious in his late memoirs. While the Soviet reality is associated with heroic discourse and the future, the Ukrainian memoirs refer to the suffering and the past. In Dovzhenko's diaries, the sentiment to Ukraine is visible, and it becomes a realm of imaginary and memory.

On the one hand, Dovzhenko belonged to the dominant (Soviet) discourse (e.g. he was personally acquainted with Joseph Stalin). Sometimes his inner impulses and ambitions correlated with the Soviet ideology. On the other hand, the artist's diaries reveal how unbearable his life was in Moscow. He wanted come back to Ukraine, but he was not allowed to do that. Thus, the memory of Ukraine becomes a shelter that could provide a salient connection to the homeland. He interprets his life in Moscow as purposeless; it resembles a panopticon where he cannot survive. Proving his

devotion to Stalin, Dovzhenko always feels guilty. This becomes a psychological problem, which required artist's constant justifications and excuses.

Dovzhenko's in-between identity creates a tension that becomes the source of repentance and pain. Therefore, the nostalgia for Ukraine in Dovzhenko's diary is of reflective type in Svetlana Boym's terms. It is contemplative as being blocked by the Soviet ideology, national identity cannot be reflected as a future-oriented project. The national identity is an inward-looking and self-centred phenomenon. As it is impossible to combine the Ukrainian and the Soviet types of identification; they slide into a "frozen identity" (Simona Mitriou) that paralyzes Dovzhenko's, activity and makes him stuck in the moment, repeating the scenario of unbelonging.

The 'national' becomes a test for Dovzhenko's both personal and artistic sensitivity. It is a common knowledge that the totalitarian (read Soviet here) subject does not suffer, and Dovzhenko's diary is full of the anguish and misery as an individual and a representative of the Ukrainian people. Based on this fact, I can argue that Dovzhenko was not truly a Soviet artist and that his awareness of his origins made him resistant to Soviet system.

Young Dovzhenko served in the army of the Ukrainian nationalist leader, Symon Petliura (1879-1926). This is a national plot, referring to the past, which, in fact, can never be forgotten as it is associated with a homeland. Defending his personal space from the Soviet homogeneity with regard to memory, Dovzhenko establishes personal borders and thus resists the influence of Soviet ideology. It gives meaning to his life, but his narrative identity remains in-between its national and Soviet aspects.

Thus, Dovzhenko finds himself in the situation where the past never passes (the Ukrainian aspect) and the great future never comes (the Soviet aspect). Dovzhenko's in-between identity demonstrates: (1) further development of the tradition of the post-revolutionary groundlessness of the 1920s-1930s in Ukraine; (2) the impossibility of combining Ukrainian and Soviet aspects, which results in his marginalization; and (3) maintenance of Dovzhenko's devotion to national roots through memory on a symbolic level, unreachable by Soviet ideology.

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### **Robert Pyrah**

University of Oxford, UK

#### *Biography*

Robert Pyrah, a Research Fellow of Wolfson College at the University of Oxford, is a historian specialising in post-Habsburg identity politics in East-Central Europe from 1918, with special emphasis on Austria, Poland and Ukraine. He jointly runs the research project 'Sub-Cultures as Integrative Forces in East-Central Europe, 1900-present', which explores phenomena that fall outside traditional nation-building projects. He was previously CEELBAS Postdoctoral Fellow at St Antony's College, Oxford (2007-2011) and a Senior Fellow at the International Cultural Centre in Krakow, Poland (2012). His publications include (ed. with Marius Turda)



*Recontextualising East-Central European History. Nation, Culture and Minority Groups* (2010); 'From Borderland and Bloodlands to Heartland? Recent Western Historiography of Ukraine' in the *English Historical Review* (2014) and a monograph, *The Burgtheater and Austrian Identity* (2007).

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### **Vasilijus Safronovas**

Institute of Baltic History and Archaeology, Klaipėda University, Lithuania

#### *Biography*

Dr Vasilijus Safronovas is a principal investigator at the Institute of Baltic Region History and Archaeology, Klaipėda University. In 2011, he defended his PhD dissertation "The Competition of Identity Ideologies in a City of South-Eastern Baltic Sea Region: the Case-Study of Klaipėda in the 20th Century". The work was awarded with the Lithuanian Society of Young Researchers Prize (2012) and the Immanuel Kant Scholarly Prize (2012) founded by German Federal Government and was later issued in three different languages.

Safronovas has published widely on issues of memory, identity, and cultural contacts. His record of publication includes several books and over 40 articles in professional journals and collected volumes published in Lithuanian, Polish, German, French, Russian, and English languages. His recent monographs include *Kampf um Identität. Die ideologische Auseinandersetzung in Memel/Klaipėda im 20. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2015) and *The Creation of National Spaces in a Pluricultural Region: The Case of Prussian Lithuania* (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2016) which is scheduled for publication in October 2016. Safronovas is also editor or co-editor of nine collected volumes.

Currently, he manages the project 'Remembrance of the First World War: A Comparative Analysis of Lithuania and East Prussia' conducted at the Institute of Baltic Region History and Archaeology of Klaipėda University.

#### *Abstract*

'Sub-cultures of War Veterans in a Bilingual Border Region: The Case of the Territory of Memel'

According to the Treaty of Versailles, East Prussia's northern part, then called the Territory of Memel, was split off from Germany. In line with the mandate handed down by the Conference of Ambassadors, in 1920–1923 this land was administered by France. After a military operation by the Lithuanian government, in 1923–1924 it was joined to the Republic of Lithuania and given autonomous rule. With changes to the power relationships in Europe and Germany's ultimatum given to the Republic of Lithuania, in 1939 the land once again became part of Germany.

Within the Republic of Lithuania, the Territory of Memel (or Klaipėda Region) was a rather exclusive area. The majority of its residents were Lutherans who belonged to

Prussia (German Empire) for centuries and were not enthusiastic about becoming the citizens of a newly created Lithuanian state. The rest of Lithuania was a Catholic country that emerged on a territory of the former Russian Empire. The national composition in the Territory of Memel was also different. A census held on January 20, 1925 was the first census where people in the region were asked to name their nationality (*Nationalität*). It gave the following results: 41.88 percent declared themselves Germans (another 3.4 percent of inhabitants were so-called Reich Germans, i.e., individuals who did not have Lithuanian citizenship), 26.56 percent Lithuanians, 24.24 percent of the region's inhabitants denoted their nationality, or national affiliation, as *Memelländer*. Historians have been arguing about the 'real' identity of people who entered *Memelländer* during the census for several decades. Combining the census data with other statistical information, they tried to prove that *Memelländer* were indeed Germans or Lithuanians. In 2010, I proposed to consider the appearance of this category as a result of the situational identification chosen by adepts of what I called the Memellanderism ideology. Local politicians and public figures that sought to entrench the anti-integrational moods among the local population (both German and Lithuanian) developed this ideology. Its adepts, however, were far from being homogenous in terms of their political orientations. Therefore, the functionality and impact of this ideology can be realised by analysing different structures of society, or sub-cultures, that shared their common views and experience and developed in the Territory of Memel during the interwar period.

My presentation will focus on the sub-cultures of the First World War veterans. I intend to explain the relationship between these sub-cultures and the Memellanderism ideology and to show how different war experiences were instrumentalised in order to deepen the anti-integrational moods among the local population and to widen the gap between Lithuania and the Territory of Memel. The paper will present the veterans' organisations, their relations with (and attitudes towards) both Germany and Lithuania and their role in developing the anti-integrational commemoration of the First World War in the Territory of Memel.

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### **Oana Soare**

Romanian Academy, Bucharest, Romania

#### *Biography*

Oana Soare is a Researcher at the Institute of History and Literary Theory G. Calinescu, Romanian Academy. Her PhD was on Petru Dumitriu's Life and work (Bucharest) and the Anti-Modernists of Romanian Literature (Paris IV Sorbonne). She now lectures on cultural studies at the University of Bucharest. Areas of specialisation: Romanian modernism, historical concepts, Romanian socialist realism.

#### *Abstract*

„The memory of a hurt identity. Bucharest's Jewish subculture between fiction and non-fiction. From the apparent tolerance of the space to the partial destruction through pogrom and demolition’

I set out to analyse, based on fiction and non-fiction sources, different representations and narratives of and about Bucharest's Jewish sub-culture, especially in the interwar period, from objectively and symbolically mapping the space (the Jewish neighbourhood and all its networks, from Sf. Gheorghe square to Văcărești and Dudești streets) to the different manifestations of traumatic memory (anti-Jewish actions and the 1941 pogrom, the subsequent expansion of the space – Calea Văcărești, one of the main memory sites – through the demolitions carried out during the Ceausescu era). Caught in an apparently tolerant urban geography (the Jewish neighbourhood in Bucharest destroyed the limits imposed by the space of the ghetto in other cities of Central Europe) interrupted by all sorts of ideological discourses and imaginary projections (from those belonging to the community to those of the far-right), this sub-culture develops a hybrid identity which is hidden and partially destroyed: by itself as self-conservation, or because of a dissonant self image; by 'official' history, during the legionary rebellion or the communist period.

Between maintaining memory (tradition, the symbolic endowment of its own inheritance) and the acculturation brought about by the desire to integrate, and the bet on modernity, the Jewish sub-culture in Bucharest will tailor its own hybrid identity code and its own identity 'stories' which are hidden or partially destroyed by the political discourses of the 'majority'.

I try to re-create the track of this multiple representation using a multivector approach (history and historical anthropology, imagology, sociology, literary discourse/geography) and by analysing multiple sources. These include (1) fictional sources, e.g. the so called 'ghetto novels' by I. Peltz, „corrected” afterwards by the vision of Ury Benador, both of them reflecting the hybrid nature of the sub-culture through their own personality; (2) non-fictional sources, e.g. coverage about the ghetto and Peltz's or Brunea-Fox's memories of the pogrom, the way the Jewish community is depicted in the journals of the time, either in the Jewish press or nationalistic and anti-Jewish press, in political speeches, laws, and the dominant ideological discourse, in interviews, stories, commercials, photographs or urban legends; (3) the mapping of the places, e.g. symbols, monuments, emblems. This way, we will mirror the tension between the community's own identity projections, through which this sub-culture, with its witness, or victims, represents itself either as a marginal and 'bloody' space (Peltz) or as a multi-cultural and traditional one (Brunea-Fox or Benador) ,or as a commercial space in the advertisements of the time, and the anti-Jewish discourse of the period, increasingly strong during the 1930s. This tension will eventually change the real demographic and the structure of this community.

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### **Péter Techet**

Leibniz Institute of European History, Mainz, Germany

#### *Biography*

Born in 1984 in Budapest (Hungary). 2003-2009: studied Law and Political Science in Budapest; 2010-2011: German Law in Munich, with a specialization in German Legal History and Philosophy of Law (LL.M); 2011-2014: East-West Studies in

Regensburg, with a specialization in South-Eastern European History and Politics (MA); 2012: Certificate in Journalism and Public Relations in Vaduz (Liechtenstein); since 2008: freelance journalist for Hungarian, Czech, Swiss and Austrian newspapers; 2012/2014: research assistant at the Institute for East and Southeast European Studies (IOS) in Regensburg; since May 2014: doctoral researcher in the Emmy Noether Research Group "Battles over Belief: Religion and Violence in Catholic Europe, 1848-1914" at the Leibniz Institute of European History (IEG) in Mainz with a project on the national motivated inner-, and anti-Catholic conflicts at the Austro-Hungarian Seacoast (Trieste, Istria, Fiume/Rijeka). Publication of a book about the German lawyer, philosopher Carl Schmitt in Hungarian (2013).

### *Abstract*

‘Italian Catholicism in the Austrian Littoral (Trieste and Istria) at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century: Sub-cultural Position between Italian Nation/Culture, Austrian Loyalty and Catholic Religion’

Italian Catholics of the Austrian Littoral were living across borders – not only geographically, but also mentally, because they were supposed to have conflicting identities. Their position was sub-cultural regarding their nationality (within the liberal dominated, local Italian Culture) and their religion (within the South Slavic dominated local Catholic Church).

The Catholic Church in the Habsburg Monarchy could hardly satisfy its responsibility as a supra-national force. Intra-Catholic conflicts – e.g. about the language of liturgy – spread into national battles. Conflicts between clericals and anti-clericals were interpreted as inter-ethnic tensions between “liberal Italians” and “clerical South Slavs”, although both nationalities had their clerical and anti-clerical camps. The Italian Catholics of the Austrian seacoast had two points of reference: their belief – which connected them to Rome –, and the Austrian Empire, which was an acceptable and historical (we can say: even religiously) legitimized political framework for all Catholic subjects. The “italianità” of the Italian Catholics was not related to a homogeneous, geographically defined unity such as a modern nation-state.

The picture of Italian Catholics having conflicts of identities was therefore only a national-liberal narrative, which identified Italian nationality with the Italian nation-state; in this national-liberal narrative, the sub-cultural position of the Italian Catholics of Trieste and Istria was perceived as indecisiveness. While they rejected the national-liberal hegemony within the Italian Politics of Trieste or Istria, they were perceived within the South Slav-dominated Catholic Church as outsiders, as members of a liberal-minded nationality (i.e. the Italians). The position of the Italian Catholics of the Austrian Littoral cannot be described in the dichotomy of “majority” and “minority”, because their situation was more a sub-cultural one. The Italian Catholics included Italian and Catholic elements by belonging both to the Italian (but liberal dominated) and the Catholic (but South Slavic dominated) spaces.

In my presentation, I would like to discuss the question how Italian Catholics in Trieste and Istria dealt with their “multiple memberships” of, at once, the universalist

(but locally South Slav dominated) Catholic Church, the supranational Austrian Empire and the particular Italian nation/culture. Their position “in-between” is a good example how local communities, sub-cultures in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, did not fit with constructed, exclusive national and other categories, such as the narratives “Italian Liberals vs. South Slavic Catholics” or “Urban Liberals vs. Rural Catholics”. The position of the Italian Catholics represents a sub-cultural case study about how complex identities were experienced and perceived between and beyond national categories.

My presentation is approaching this issue by analysing (1) the supra-national character of Austria and the Catholicism as integrative factor, (2) the local political hegemony of Italian liberals at the Austrian Littoral and (3) South Slavic dominance within local Catholicism. (4) With reference to debates and identity-concepts within the Italian Catholicism of Austrian Trieste and Istria, I am questioning the static concept of conflicting identities/loyalties, which can substituted by the concept of “sub-culture” involving different identity-elements.

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### **Philipp Ther**

University of Vienna

#### *Biography*

Philipp Ther is Professor of Central European history at the University of Vienna. His books (among dozens of other publications) include *The Dark Side of Nation-States: Ethnic Cleansing in Modern Europe* and *Center Stage: Operatic Culture and Nation Building in Nineteenth-Century Central Europe*. He lives in Vienna.

#### *Book presentation*

‘Europe since 1989: A History’

The year 1989 brought the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe. It was also the year that the economic theories of Reagan, Thatcher, and the Chicago School achieved global dominance. And it was these neoliberal ideas that largely determined the course of the political, economic, and social changes that transformed Europe—both east and west—over the next quarter century. This award-winning book provides the first comprehensive history of post-1989 Europe.

Philipp Ther—a firsthand witness to many of the transformations, from Czechoslovakia during the Velvet Revolution to postcommunist Poland and Ukraine—offers a sweeping narrative filled with vivid details and memorable stories. He describes how liberalization, deregulation, and privatization had catastrophic effects on former Soviet Bloc countries. He refutes the idea that this economic “shock therapy” was the basis of later growth, arguing that human capital and the “transformation from below” determined economic success or failure. Most important, he shows how the capitalist West’s effort to reshape Eastern Europe in its own likeness ended up reshaping Western Europe as well, in part by accelerating the pace and scope of neoliberal reforms in the West, particularly in reunified Germany. Finally, bringing the story up to the present, Ther compares events in Eastern and

Southern Europe leading up to and following the 2008–9 global financial crisis.

A compelling and often-surprising account of how the new order of the New Europe was wrought from the chaotic aftermath of the Cold War, this is essential reading for understanding Europe today.

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**Marius Turda**

Oxford Brookes University, UK

*Biography*

Marius Turda is Director of Centre for Medical Humanities at Oxford Brookes and former Director of the Cantemir Institute at the University of Oxford. He is Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, Senior Fellow of the Higher Education Academy and Fellow of the Galton Institute. His current areas of research are racism and race, history of eugenics, theories of ethnic specificity and national character, and ethnic utopias, with a special reference to East-Central Europe. Recent publications include: *Ideea de superioritate națională în Imperiul Austro-Ungar* (2016), *The History of Eugenics in East-Central Europe, 1900-1945: Texts and Commentaries* (2015), and *Eugenics and Nation in Early 20th Century Hungary* (2014).